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THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO

AMERICAN HISTORY.

ILLUSTRATED.

VOL. XVI.
APRIL, 1892—NOVEMBER, 1892.

NEW YORK.
THE NATIONAL HISTORY COMPANY,
132 Nassau Street.

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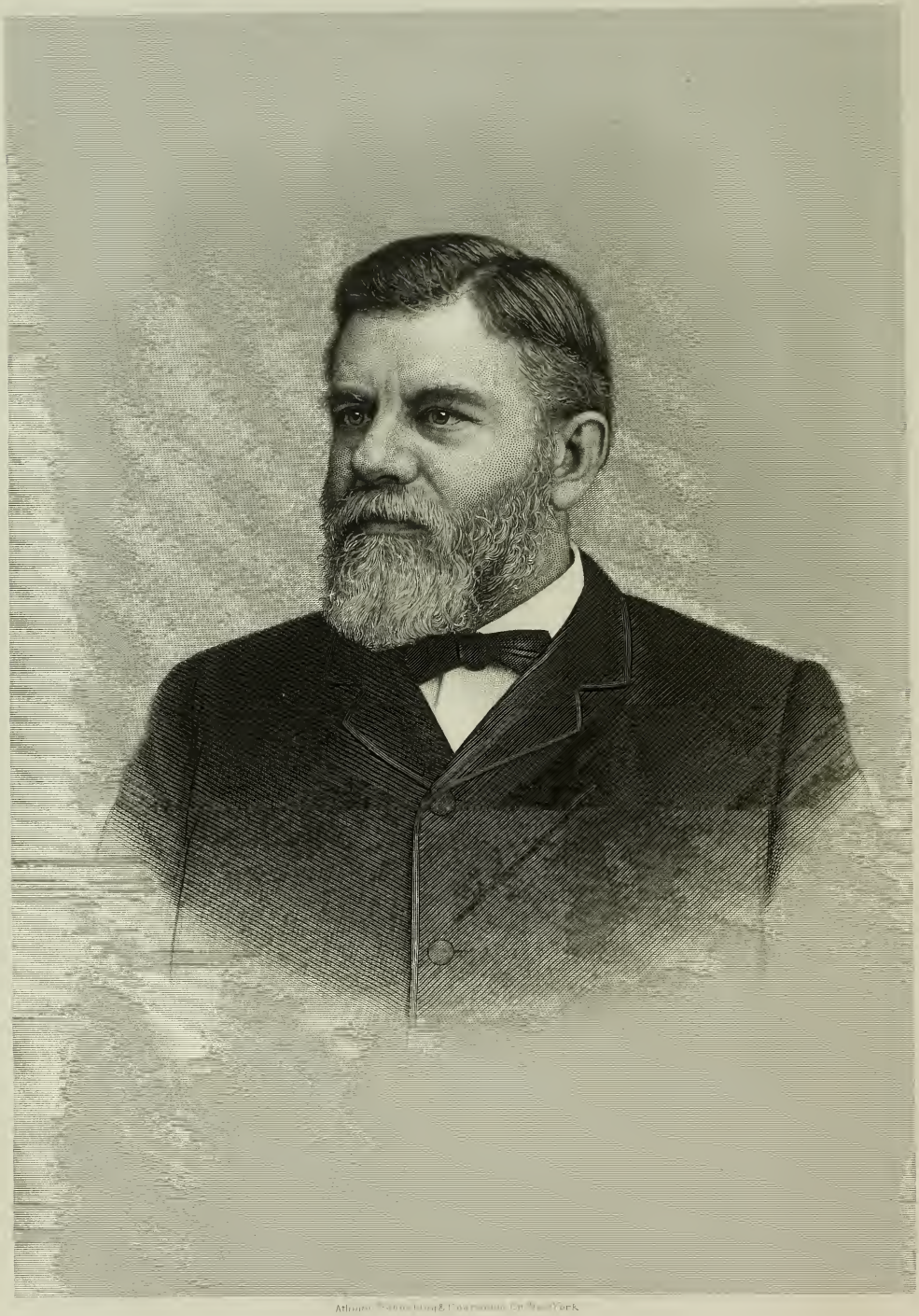

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THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. XVI. MAY, 1892. *No. 1.*

RICHARD NICOLLS, THE FIRST ENGLISH GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.* 1664–1668.

RICHARD NICOLLS, by the right of conquest, became Governor of New York, on the 29th of August, 1664. He was welcomed by the Dutch civic authorities whom he retained in office, and his first act was to direct that the city should henceforth bear its new name; it was no longer "New Amsterdam," but "New York," and the fort was named "Fort James."

Thus our city perpetuates the memory of the last of the Stuarts. But it also recalls the York or Eboracum of the Roman period in Britian, of the historic city whose libraries and schools in the days of Alcuin and Charles the Great began the civilization of modern Europe.

Richard Nicolls, the new Governor, had been the confidant and faithful follower of the royal Stuarts. He was born in 1624 at Ampthill in Bedfordshire; his father, a lawyer, had married a daughter of Sir George Bruce. Nicolls studied at the university, was a good scholar, but in the civil war joined the royalist forces and commanded a troop of horse. He fled with the Stuarts to the continent, became attached to the service of the Duke of York, and fought by his side in the French armies. He came back to England at the Restoration, was a member of the duke's household, and was trusted by him in his most important affairs. Of Nicolls's private character we know little. It is difficult to see how any honorable man could have remained the friend and follower of James Stuart, or could have joined in an expedition so plainly dishonest and piratical as was that against the Dutch in New Amsterdam. But Nicolls seems at least to have been

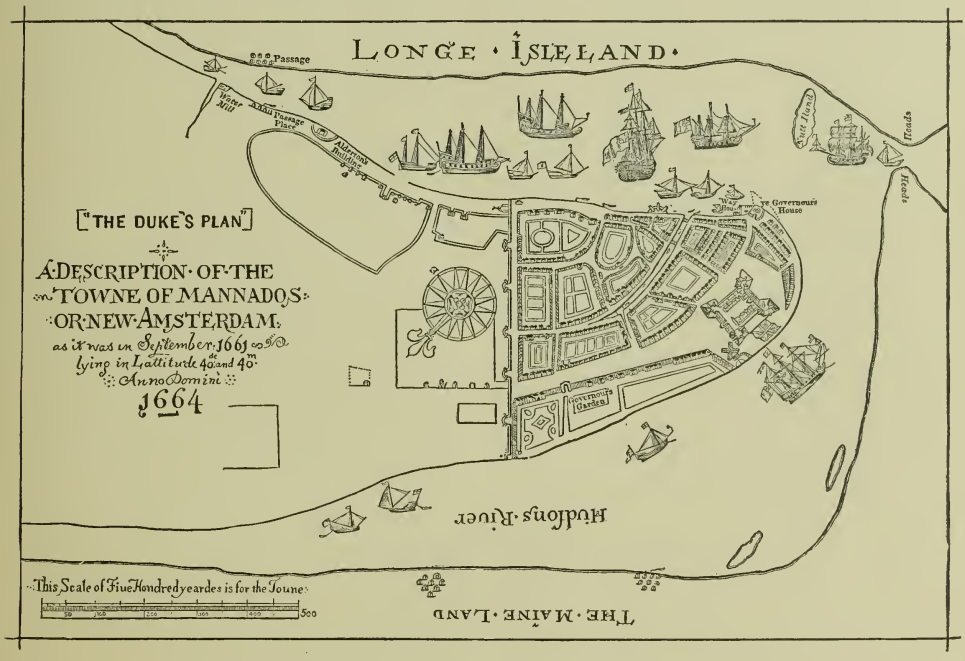
*From "The Memorial History of New York."

more humane and prudent than most of the dependents of the royal court. He gave to the Dutch the most liberal terms of surrender. He neither robbed nor massacred; he seems to have made little profit from his conquest; and he returned to Europe to die in the service of his master the duke, in the second Dutch war, faithful to the end. To the Dutch inhabitants Nicolls proved a gentle master, and evidently won their good will. No one was injured in person or property. The Court of Burgomasters and Schepens met on the day after the capitulation, and the business of the city went on as usual. The Dutch officials wrote an account of the surrender to the West India Company, in which they very plainly complained of the little care it had taken for their protection, and Stuyvesant sent a defense of his own conduct and a representation of the helpless state in which he had been left. The ship Gideon carried away the Dutch garrison, together with these memorials of disaster, and, provided with a pass from Nicolls, bore the evil tidings to the directors. Their utter neglect of the defense of New Amsterdam is certainly almost unaccountable. Had they sent a few frigates to its aid, and some Dutch troops, its fall might have been delayed but not averted. Nicolls, too, dismissed the troops from Long Island and the east, who had been so eager for the plunder of the city and whose loud threats from the "Ferry" on the Brooklyn side had carried terror to the quiet citizens. He promised rewards to all who had taken up arms for "their King and country;" he thanked the Massachusetts delegates, and he declared that he would soon summon deputies from the Long Island towns to discuss matters relating to its peace and prosperity. The government of the province was renewed by the appointment of English officials. Captain Matthias Nicolls, of Islip, Northamptonshire, a lawyer, who had come with him from England, was made secretary of the province. The council was composed of Englishmen; Delavall, an Englishman, was made collector of the port, but the Dutch city officials were to retain their places for six months or more and administer justice as usual.

The city of New York as it was now to be called, embraced the whole of Manhattan Island. Its population at the surrender was about fifteen hundred, chiefly Dutch. An engraving remains of the appearance of the small town, and a contemporary description of New Netherland, explains and illustrates the picture. The island was covered with woods, meadows, fens, and lakes, and some lofty hills. What is now the Battery was then only a reef of numerous rocks often covered by the tide. Broadway, an Indian path, ran over the highland from the Battery to the Park. The river on the west came up to the hill on which stands Trinity Church. The East River flowed

along Pearl or Great Dock street almost to Broadway. On the narrow point of highland extending from Wall Street to the Battery was the site of the infant city.

In the illustration of 1664 we see a few houses gathered near what is now Whitehall, another group above, perhaps along Broad street; the fort, an earthen work of rude construction, forms the center of the town. raised at the foot of Whitehall. A few Dutch vessels are anchored in the harbor. A huge rock rises out of the river near what is now the South Ferry. The rocky shore around the fort is without wharves or piers; the rocks are the only landing places; a rowboat is seen sculling over what is now Front and South streets; an inlet offers a safe harbor in Broad street, and a canal and


LONGE · ISLELAND ·
Passage
Water Mill
Path Passage Place
Hudsons Rivier
THE · MAINE · LAND
Governours House
Trees
Woods
["THE DUKE'S PLAN"]
A·DESCRIPTION·OF·THE TOWNE OF MANNADOS ·OR·NEW·AMSTERDAM, as it was in September 1663 lying in Lattitude 40 and 40 Anno Domini 1664
This Scale of Five Hundred yardes is for the Toune
500

Above its walls rose the square church steeple, the double roof of the building, a windmill and the roofs of houses. It stood where State street now runs in front of the Battery, on a rising hill. A gallows and a whipping-post, we are told, were brook open a way into the heart of the settlement. In the interior of the island were farms and bouweries. Broadway or the Heereweg led through the rich land of Domine Bogardus; and the Bowery, another Indian track, passed through hill and

dale to the marshy fields where Stuyvesant hid in his gloomy retirement. A pleasant refuge from the cares and toils of his European home must New Amsterdam have seemed to the Dutch immigrant accustomed only to his native fens and level lowlands, his narrow fields slowly won from the stormy sea by incessant labor and guarded by his patient vigilance. Here in Manhattan and its neighborhood he seemed to live in luxurious plenty. The fertile soil, the chronicler tells us, produced all the fruits and vegetables of Holland in unrivaled excellence. Apples, pears, peaches, plums, cherries, quinces, medlars throve better than at home. Vines grew wild everywhere, and there was an abundance of blue and white grapes; a wine was already made from them equal to any Rhenish or French. All the vegetables known to the Dutch filled the gardens of the settlers; corn grew rapidly; the virgin soil was suited to every kind of plant or tree, and flowers of pleasant odors and rare beauty adorned the scene. The picture of ease and plenty drawn by the early travelers to New Netherland must have seemed almost an earthly paradise to the less fortunate Europeans. It was so real as to win back Stuyvesant to his bouwery and to console the Bayards, Beekmans, and their Dutch contemporaries under the rule of their alien governors. No one was willing to go back to the Fatherland.

It was Nicolls's aim to soothe and win the support of his new subjects by a perfect religious toleration. The Dutch ministers were allowed their stipends and their pleasant homes on Beaver and Pearl streets undisturbed. The usual services were performed in the church built by Kieft in the fort. But it was arranged that after the Dutch service was over, the Episcopal should be read by the chaplain of the English forces; and for thirty years, we are told, this practice was observed, the two religious bodies occupying the same building. But the governor had more difficult duties to perform: he was to secure the submission of the wide tract of territory reaching from the Hudson to the Delaware, over which he was expected to enforce the English rule. To assure the control of the Hudson an expedition was sent up in September, under Colonel Cartwright, to reduce to obedience the Dutch settlements at Esopus, Fort Orange and Rensselaerswyck. In our golden autumnal days the English for the first time sailed up the broad river, beside the Palisades, through the deep shadows of the Highlands, and reached after a weary voyage the Dutch fort and settlements. No resistance was made; the town was named "Albany," a garrison was placed in it; Van Rensselaer was not disturbed in his possessions, but was required to take out a new title, or to prove his claim in New York.

With Cartwright went Willett of Plymouth, who was to aid him in treating with the Indians and Captain Breedon; his two military aides were Captains Manning and Brodhead. The only opposition they met with at Albany was from the Dutch Councilor De Decker, who was afterwards summarily banished from the province by Nicolls. On their way down the river they landed at Esopus, and were well received. They made little change in the officials; William Beekman was retained in office as sheriff and Thomas Chambers as commissary; Captain Brodhead and an English garrison were left in charge of the fort. So peaceful had been the change to the English rule that no one had yet any reason to complain.

Unfortunately the expedition sent to enforce the submission of Delaware was not so free from blame. Sir Robert Carr, the least reputable of the four commissioners, was placed in command. He wanted wholly Nicoll's prudence and self-restraint. After a long and weary voyage around the capes of Delaware Bay, the frigates arrived in front of Amstel,—now Newcastle,—the chief fort of the Dutch. Carr summoned it to surrender; a part of the garrison would have yielded, but the commander, Hinnoyossa, refused to capitulate. With less than fifty men he resolutely held the fort. The English ships opened their broadsides upon it, the English soldiers stormed the works, and the place was taken by assault. Three of the Dutch were killed and ten wounded. Then began a barbarous pillage and sack of the Dutch settlement; Carr seized upon the farms of Dutch officials, and kept one for himself; one he gave to his son, and others to his officers. He sold the Dutch soldiers into slavery in Virginia; he sacked the village of the Mennonites, and robbed them of all their possessions. He even declared himself independent of Nicolls and sole governor of Delaware. When Nicolls and his colleagues heard of his conduct, they at once sent orders to him to return. But he refused, and Nicolls went himself to Delaware in November, to repair the wrong. He rebuked Carr and obliged him to give up part of his plunder, but he was still left for a time in charge of the place. The name was changed to Newcastle and a garrison stationed in it under Captain John Carr, the son of the commissioner. Delaware was for several years a part of the province of New York.

The next important act of the governor was to determine the eastern boundary of New York. His wise foresight led the way to the compromise by which all future disputes were settled. Under the charter of 1664, granted by Charles to James, the Connecticut River was made the eastern limit of his territory, and New York would thus embrace more than half of Connecticut, a large part

of Massachusetts, including the Berkshire region, and all Vermont. But Connecticut, by its earlier charter of 1662, was entitled to all the land to the Pacific Ocean,—"the South Sea," as it was called,—or at least to the borders of the Dutch; and now it pointed out to the commissioners that to limit its boundary to the Connecticut River would deprive it of the best portion of its domain. The Connecticut government, under Governor John Winthrop, had in fact laid out for

JOHN DAVENPORT.

itself an extensive province; it ruled over all the east end of Long Island, it claimed control over "The New Haven Colony" and Stamford, and it had even intruded its officials into Westchester County and occupied a part of New Netherland. But under Stuyvesant a line was drawn limiting it on the west. New Haven, under Davenport's guidance, still refused to submit to the Hartford government, and Stamford professed to be independent of both. The quarrel between the rival settlements was at its height when Nicolls, by his prudent compromise, founded the present State of Connecticut.

It furnishes a comic element in history to trace the easy assurance with which the kings of this early age bestowed whole empires of wild lands upon their relatives or dependents and fixed the title to property to which they themselves had no possible right. Charles II., in 1662, had plainly granted to Connecticut a tract of land reaching across the continent; in 1664 he revoked his gift and had presented the larger part of Connecticut to the Duke of York. No one ventured to doubt the royal prerogative. Connecticut, unlike Massachusetts, was too weak or timid to oppose the will of the King. Her officials pleaded chiefly the ruin that must follow to their trade should the grant be confirmed. They showed their earlier charters and claims. But they appealed to the better feelings of the commissioners and found a friend in Nicolls Had he insisted on the plain words of the patent, New York would have gained a large territory. But he represented to his master the injustice of despoiling Connecticut of the better part of its lands, and induced his associates to yield to his arguments. It was de-

cided that a line should be drawn as nearly as possible twenty miles east of the Hudson.

This decision gave a new impulse to the growth of Connecticut. But still greater results followed from the example of Nicolls. New York yielded the same boundary to Massachusetts that it had given to Connecticut. The line was not run until 1787, and when the dispute arose between New York and the settlers in Vermont as to their rival titles—the well-known controversy of the New Hampshire grants—New York appealed to the charter of 1664 and the settlers chiefly to the line of twenty miles east of the Hudson which had been laid down by Nicolls and his associates. New York abandoned its claim with a graceful compromise, and in 1790 Vermont came into the Union, the only State that had ever from its first settlement condemned slavery as a crime.

At the same time that Connecticut received this addition to its territory it was deprived of its authority on the islands. All except Block Island were included in the grant to the Duke. All Long Island, with Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, were joined to New York. Even Fisher's Island was claimed to belong to it. But the change of government was distasteful to the people of Southold and the Hamptons; they preferred the free institutions of Connecticut.

It was a sight of singular interest when in October, 1664, the chief citizens of New Amsterdam came to take the oath of allegiance that made them subjects of the British crown. At first they offered some opposition, fearing they must renounce wholly their connection with the fatherland; but Nicolls assured them that every article of the capitulation should be strictly observed, and they yielded. The chief citizens within five days hastened to take the oath. Stuyvesant and the two Dutch clergymen led the way; Beekman, the three Bayards, Van Rensselaer, and other leading citizens followed; in all two hundred and fifty of the Dutch inhabitants swore allegiance to the English King. Many did so, no doubt, unwillingly; some refused; but the city authorities joined in a letter of compliment to the Duke of York, praising the "wise and intelligent" Nicolls, and asking that their commerce might be as free from burdens as that of Boston. Nicolls was now sole master of an immense territory. He called the province "New York"; Long Island was named "Yorkshire," and to the fertile lands across the Hudson he gave the name of "Albania." Thus everywhere the faithful follower strove to pepetuate the memory of the Duke of York and Albany.

Meanwhile the news of the capture of New Amsterdam had reached Europe, and De Witt sent over an order to the ambassador, Van Gogh, in London, to demand its restitution from the King. Charles listened to

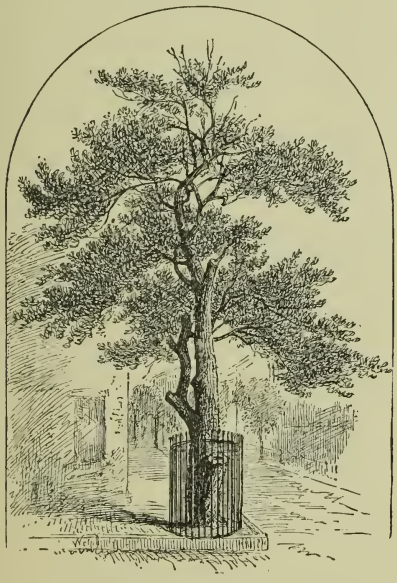
him with impatience, denying the title of the Dutch to New Netherland, and prepared for war.

Downing, the English envoy in Holland, sent an insolent memorial to the States-General. De Witt insisted that "New Netherland" must be restored. He sent out De Ruyter with a strong fleet to recover the Dutch settlements on the American shore, taken by the English; and Charles in turn ordered his fleet to seize Dutch merchantmen wherever they could be found. Teddeman, the English commander, attacked the Bordeaux fleet and made many prizes. On November 21st, Pepys writes: "The war is begun: God give a good end to it." A fine English fleet put to sea with the Earl of Sandwich on board. But Pepys tells us the English had now begun to fear the Dutch as much as they had once contemned them.

The West India Company, enraged at the loss of their fine possessions in the New World, now sent a summons to Peter Stuyvesant and his secretary, Van Ruyven, to come home and explain the causes of the surrender. Stuyvesant went in May to Holland. He carried with him a certificate of good character from the burgomasters and schepens and a long defense of his own conduct. He threw the blame of the loss of the colony on the West India Company, who had left it without any means of defense, without a single ship of war, and with only a few barrels of powder. He pointed out his own helpless condition when the English besieged him —cut off from all succor, left alone upon the hostile continent, surrounded by foes on land and sea. He said he would rather have died than surrender. He yielded only to the prayers of the inhabitants and to save women and children from the terrors of assault. To all his arguments the directors of the company replied by violent charges of cowardice and treason. They asserted that he should have fired his guns upon the hostile fleet and sent his troops to dislodge the few companies at the "Ferry." But Stuyvesant was evidently right. He saved the city from sack and perhaps destruction. The Dutch were too few to resist the forces of New and Old England, and the fate of New Netherland was not to be averted. Stuyvesant, after two years' absence, came back to New York to his fond wife and children, his fine bouwery and wide possessions. While in Europe he had prevailed on the English King to allow several ships to carry goods between Holland and New York—a seasonable relief to its trade. He lived in retirement the remainder of his life. He planted the pear-tree on the Bowery which some of us have seen. He died at a great age, and lies buried in the vaults of St. Mark's Church.

But his successor began now to feel the cares and weight of his wide command. De Ruyter was at sea, and every moment a powerful Dutch

fleet might be looked for in the harbor. Nicolls repaired the ancient fort and would have quartered his soldiers on the citizens, but the officials interposed, and provided that each citizen should pay a weekly sum for their support. Stuyvesant paid four guilders a week, others three and two. Yet the soldiers suffered various hardships, and Nicolls complained that owing to the poverty of the city they slept on straw and had scarcely a tolerable bed.



STUYVESANT'S PEAR-TREE.

Nicolls, a bachelor of about forty, was a scholar, fond of quoting Latin, and wrote letters that are full of good sense and good feeling. His mind was active, his knowledge considerable, and in the leisure moments of his first winter in New York he employed himself in planning a code of laws for his wide domain that should be in unison with the wishes of the Duke and not displeasing to the people. On one point the Duke had insisted—there should be no trace of a popular assembly. Nicolls formed his constitution and laws upon the principle of a perfect despotism. All officials were to be appointed by the governor; all taxes were laid, all laws were imposed by him. There were to be no elective magistrates. There could be no opposition to his autocracy. He was endowed with more complete authority than any Persian satrap or Turkish bey,—a despot, but a benevolent one.

In producing his digest he had studied the laws of Massachusetts and Connecticut and borrowed their best traits. He was humane, and insisted that every one else should be so; perfect religious freedom he granted to all; he would have wrong done to no one. His code was arranged in alphabetical order, like the New England codes, and was known generally as the "Duke's Laws." The Court of Assize met in New York City; trials were by jury; each person was assessed according to his property; all land was held by license from the Duke, and all persons were required to take out new patents and pay a fee when the seal was affixed; all conveyances were to be recorded in New York. These are only a few

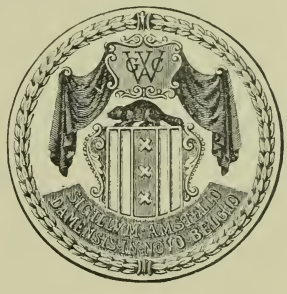
of the leading articles. When his code was ready, Nicolls summoned a deputation from all the towns on Long Island to meet at Hempstead on the last day of February and listen to the new plan of government. The deputies, full of expectation, came punctually to the meeting. There were Dutch from the Holland towns, English from the east end,—a respectable list of names, many of whose descendants are still known in their ancient seats. Nicolls, as governor, began the proceedings by reading his commission and distributed among the deputies his code of laws. They no doubt received it with eager interest. But great was the disappointment of those who had lived under the Connecticut charter and elected their own rulers. They asked to be allowed to choose their own magistrates, but Nicolls showed them the Duke's instructions by which all officers of justice were to be selected by the governor alone. The deputies found that they had only assembled to hear the laws of an autocrat. They passed a loyal address to the Duke of York and separated. Nicolls proceeded to appoint sheriffs and other officers for the various towns; but the people murmured; they felt that their liberty was gone.

To amuse them or himself the governor introduced the favorite sport of the English, and founded the Hempstead race-course. The broad plain around the town offered a level, convenient site, well covered with soft grass; it was known as "Salisbury Plain." The race-course was called "Newmarket," after that famous scene of license in England. Nicolls gave a cup to be run for at the annual meeting in June. Newmarket has long passed away, but Long Island has always been famous for its fine horses and its bold riders, male and female; they may well trace their origin to the sport-loving governor of the seventeenth century.

Besides the conquest of New Netherland, the four commissioners were intrusted with a duty almost equally ignoble. They were to take away, if possible, the charters and liberties of New England. Two separate instructions had been given them,—one to be shown publicly, the other to be known only to themselves. In the first the King expressed his warm affection for New England subjects, directed his commissioners to consult their wishes, win their regard, and act as arbiters of their differences and disputes. In the second and secret one they were instructed to induce them to give up their charters, to allow their governors and officials to be appointed in England, and to reduce them to an entire and perfect obedience to the crown. It seems that by some unknown means the Massachusetts officials had obtained copies of both papers, and were well acquainted with their secret purpose. And hence, when on a fair Sabbath eve in July the English frigates sailed into Boston harbor, they were met

with no eager welcome. The stern Puritan officials received the commissioners with cold civility. Never before had an English frigate sailed into Boston harbor; the event was ominous of change, and Endicott and Bellingham saw with alarm the first footsteps of European tyranny. A second time Maverick and Cartwright now went to Massachusetts. They had gone through Connecticut and Rhode Island and been received everywhere with evidences of respect. But when they reached Boston in February, they met with a worse reception than before. Endicott had now passed away; the sternness of the earlier generation was softening with time. But Maverick and Cartwright soon roused the fierce tempers of the Puritans; they knew their object and contemned them. Bellingham was chosen governor, and Willoughby in the second place, in the face of the commissioners. The people defied them; they read their declaration of rights by the sound of the trumpet, before the house where Maverick and Cartwright stayed. Nicolls came to Boston to their aid by a long and tedious journey, but could be of little use. Massachusetts, "presumptuous and refractory," drove off the royal commissioners.

Cartwright and Maverick went eastward to Maine and Nicolls went back to New York. In June Cartwright sailed for England, carrying with him papers and despatches that would give no favorable account of the Massachusetts rulers. His violent temper was roused by disappointment; he suffered from the gout, and he left America in no pleasant mood. But, fortunately for Massachusetts, he was captured by a Dutch privateer and carried into Spain. His papers were lost, and when at last he reached England the dangers of the war engaged all the attention of the English ministers.



SEAL OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

A memorable day now came in the history of New York City, when its Dutch government forever passed away. By a single proclamation of its autocratic governor, burgomaster, schout and schepens were removed from office, and the English system of mayor, aldermen, and sheriff took their place. They have remained ever since—except for the brief period of the reconquest—the officials of New York. It was the 12th of June, 1665, when Nicolls issued his proclamation. "I, Richard Nicolls," it ran, "do ordain that all the inhabitants of New York, New Harlem, and the island of Manhattan are one

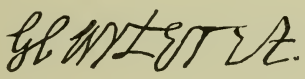
body politic, under the government of a mayor, aldermen, and sheriff, and I do appoint for one whole year, commencing from the date hereof and ending the 12th day of June, 1666, Mr. Thomas Willett to be mayor." Willett was from Plymouth, a useful and active man. The first aldermen were Delavall, Van Cortlandt, Van Brugh, Van Ruyven, and John Lawrence. The sheriff was Allard Anthony, who had been the Dutch schout. Three of the new officials were English—Willett, Delavall, and Lawrence; four were Hollanders. Yet the Dutch murmured when their old government passed away. They wished at least to retain the right of appointing their successors, but this Nicolls would not allow. With pleasant words he soothed his angry opponents, and on the 14th of June the magistrates took the oath of office and the new government began; the bell in the fort rang three times to celebrate the new birth of the city.

The first meeting of Willett and his associates was on June 15, 1665. The Dutch language was prescribed; the English was to be used in future in all civic matters. To translate from the English to the Dutch, Johannes Nevius was first appointed secretary, and when he resigned Nicolas Bayard took his place.

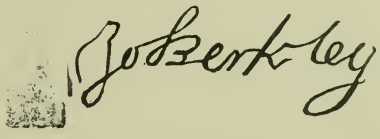
Seated on his uneasy throne, the ruler of immense regions, peopled by only five or six thousand persons, most of whom were his avowed or secret enemies, with a small garrison and a crumbling fort, Nicolls might well feel at times all the perils of a despot. War began; he was ordered to put his poor stockades in order to resist invasion. He knew that De Ruyter was abroad. Nicolls found himself perfectly neglected by his countrymen at home. No ship from England directly had entered the harbor; no supplies nor soldiers had reached him since the surrender in August, 1664. Nearly a year had passed. He seems to have been in want of everything; money he could only raise by borrowing, and he soon came to be deeply in debt. The cares of his government weighed heavily upon him, and he would have been glad to resign his office. He had given liberal grants of land to his fellow-officers; for himself, he had wasted his private fortune to feed and pay his soldiers, and now war was to still further diminish the resources of his province and cut off what little trade had lingered after the port was closed to the ships of the Dutch.

Suddenly a blow came upon him that he had scarcely looked for, and the larger and fairer part of his dominion was taken from him. Across the Hudson lay the broad tract of territory now known as New Jersey. It was as yet an unknown wilderness; no traveler had penetrated the fertile

wilds where now great cities flourish and railways of unequaled speed bind together the two chief seats of Eastern trade. A few Dutch settlements were struggling for life on the river. Thin tribes of savages roamed over the interior. The country was believed to be fertile beyond Long Island, and the shores of the Hudson rich in furs, fish, and game. But as yet no one had settled on the banks of the Raritan and the Hackensack, and imagination painted the interior country in its fairest colors. Perhaps Nicolls had already planned to obtain a grant of Albania for himself, and hoped to leave behind him to his collateral heirs a fine estate. He had already given tracts of land at Elizabethtown to four families from Jamaica, Long Island, and had confirmed another purchase from the Indians near Sandy Hook. He was evidently preparing to extend his authority over the fair lands of Albania.



The Duke of York in June, 1664, before the fall of New Netherland, had conveyed all of what is now New Jersey to two court favorites—Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley of Stratton. Carteret, brave, passionate, impulsive, had deserved well of his king. When Charles was an exile Carteret had given him a refuge on his island of Jersey, of which he was governor and where his family had been eminent for many centuries. He had boldly resisted the parliamentary forces and yielded only at the command of his king. He came back at the restoration, to become a favorite servant of Charles and James, and to live forever in his true colors. In the amusing portraiture of Samuel Pepys, no one can forget the bold, fierce controller of the navy, or the rare art with which Pepys brought his son Philip Carteret to marry Lady Jemina Montague.



Berkeley, too, had deserved rewards and favors. But the grant to the two patentees had been kept secret from the commissioners and was a perfect surprise to Nicolls. The first news of it came to him from Virginia. Here Philip Carteret, a cousin of Sir George, had been driven by storms into the Chesapeake. He had been appointed governer of the new colony, which was to be called New Cesarea or New Jersey, in honor of the Carterets and their native island. Carteret brought with him a letter from James to Nicolls directing him to aid the grantees and give up the province. He obeyed, but evidently with intense disappointment and regret. He even ventured to write a remonstrance to the Duke, pressing him to give Carteret and Berkeley other lands along the Delaware. He urged

that New Jersey was the most valuable part of the Duke's possession, capable of receiving "twenty times more people than Long Island." "I gave it the name of Albania," he adds, and the blow was one that he felt most keenly. Yet it was a most fortunate event for the future progress of the country. Carteret by the "concessions" was able to give free institutions to his people. Carrying a hoe on his shoulder, he landed at the head of thirty emigrants he had brought over and founded Elizabethtown. It was named in honor of Sir George's wife. New Jersey under his liberal government soon began to flourish; New York, however, under the despotic rule of Nicolls, scarcely advanced. Many towns grew up on the Jersey shore: Elizabeth, Perth Amboy, Middletown, and Newark, were settled by active and cultivated immigrants. Carteret had no easy place at the head of his free and turbulent people. He lived amidst perpetual discord. But his temper was mild, his disposition liberal. He married an intelligent and wealthy wife, and lived and died at Elizabeth. To the free spirit of his laws New Jersey owes much of its greatness and of the vigorous growth that has made it always a bulwark of union and independence.

Late in August Nicolls sailed up the Hudson for the first time, surveyed its wild and desolate shores, and reached Albany in safety. He went there ostensibly to quiet the Indians, but more probably to observe the conduct of the Dutch inhabitants. He placed Captain Baker in charge of the fort at Albany, with instructions to keep strict watch and discipline, to live in peace with the Dutch, and avoid all disputes and differences. Captain Manning, he removed to New York. He licensed the first English schoolmaster at Albany, one of Baker's soldiers. On his return down the river in October, he stopped at Esopus, where Brodhead was in command, and gave him some wise counsel. He was to be patient, prudent, forbearing. But Brodhead forgot the advice, and was soon in open hostility with the Dutch settlers. At Esopus, Nicolls bought large tracts of land from the Indians. The loss of New Jersey had evidently led him to wish to draw settlers to the banks of the Hudson. He wrote a prospectus, a taking account of the advantages offered to planters under the "Duke's Laws" and of the fertility of the lands. This paper he was obliged to print at Cambridge. Here the only printing press existed in all the English possessions of America; New York had not a printer then.

One of the peculiar traits of the time when printers were few was the trial of Ralph and Mary Hall for the "abominable crime" of witchcraft. It was held before the Court of Assize of New York in October; 1665. A jury of respectable merchants and others was summoned, of whom Jacob Leisler, afterwards so conspicu-

ous and so unfortunate, was one. The sheriff, Anthony, produced his prisoners. They were from Seatalcott or Brookhaven, Long Island, and were charged with having procured the deaths of one George Wood by wicked arts and of the infant child of Ann Rogers, "widdow of ye aforesaid George Wood." Several witnesses testified to the facts. "Then the clarke calling upon Ralph Hall, bad him hold up his hand and read as follows: 'Ralph Hall, thou standest here indicted for that, not having the fear of God before thine eyes, thou didst upon the 25th day of December, as is suspected, by some wicked and detestable arts, cause the deaths of the said George Wood and the infante childe.'" The wife, Mary Hall, was summoned in the same way. Both prisoners pleaded not guilty. The jury, who had some intelligence, gave them the advantage of the doubt. Hall was acquitted. Some suspicion, they allowed, rested upon his wife. and he was directed to give bonds for her good conduct. But Governor Nicolls in 1668, with his usual moderation, set them both free. Some years later Katherine Harrison, a widow from Wethersfield, Connecticut, was charged by the people of Westchester with witchcraft. They were anxious to drive her from their borders, but she proved her innocence so clearly that she was allowed "to remaine in the towne of Westchester." New York officials were free from the mad superstition that covered Old and New England with judicial murders; her juries never condemned a witch.

Nicolls in November wrote to the duke that his government was satisfactory to the people, and that even the republicans could find no cause for complaint. He urged his patron to send over merchant ships, for the trade of the city was nearly lost. Yet he foretold the future greatness of New York; he saw that it must become the chief port of the continent. Hither, he said, and not to Boston, must come the commerce of America. But he complained of the neglect shown towards him by the ministry; no supplies had reached him from England, he had nearly ruined his private fortune to save his soldiers from want, and now he begged to be relieved of his command.

At this moment there was good reason why no troops nor supplies came from England. Charles had entered upon the war with the Netherlands, hoping to crush them easily. At first he had been successful. De Witt had sent out one of the finest fleets the Dutch had ever possessed. It was commanded by Obdam, a brave if not a skilful officer; Cortenær was his vice-admiral, and the most famous Dutch captains, except De Ruyter, who was on a distant expedition, appeared in the fleet. The crews were well fed with increased rations and promised pensions to the wounded and double pensions to their wives and children in case of

death. A great reward was offered to any one who captured a flag-ship. One hundred and three line-of-battle ships, eleven fire-ships and twelve galliots, besides a reserve squadron of forty ships more, all manned by twenty-two thousand men, completed this unequaled armament. All was hope and ardor, we are told by D'Estrades, among the Dutch soldiers and sailors; they were full of cheerfulness and certain of success. The English fleet numbered one hundred and nine line-of-battle ships, twenty-one fire-ships, seven galliots, and twenty-one thousand men. The Duke of York, the Earl of Sandwich, and Prince Rupert were in chief command. The fire-ships used in these naval contests were often of great service; they closed with the larger vessels and were then set on fire. The two fleets met off Lowestoft on the Surrey coast, on the 2d of June. A frightful combat followed. Cortenær, the Dutch vice-admiral, was shot early in the battle, and his squadron fled; Obdam assailed the Duke of York on his flag-ship, but his own ship blew up, and all on board were lost. The Dutch were beaten. They fled to their harbors with great loss, and the enraged people met their defeated officers with outcries and ill-usage.

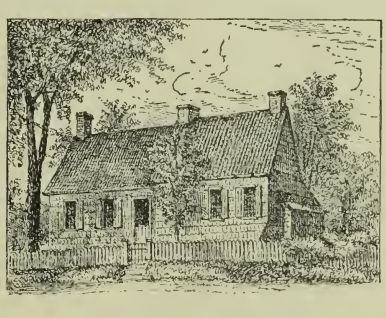
The English were full of triumph. "It is the greatest victory that ever was," wrote Pepys in his secret diary; and the king ordered medals to be struck inscribed "et pontus serviret" —"the sea shall obey him." The English were plainly masters of the sea. But not for a long time. John De Witt was now the ruling statesman of the Netherlands. He formed a happy contrast to the corrupt kings and ministers of his age. Honest, firm, unyielding, pure in morals, an excellent husband and father, learned and the friend of all men of letters, but above all a patriot, De Witt for twenty years, as Grand Pensionary of Holland, led on his countrymen to unusual prosperity. Dutch fleets covered the seas. Dutch commerce supplied the wants of Europe. The cities of Holland were full of activity and wealth, the envy and the models of their contemporaries. But it was as the teachers of republican virtue and simplicity that the Dutch had chiefly alarmed and offended the profligate rulers of France and England. A sense of their own moral inferiority sharpened the rage of Charles, James, and Louis against De Witt and his associates. The republic must be subdued, the monitor blotted from existence, and the conscience of the nations deadened and destroyed. Happily the event was very different, and the corrupt monarchs succeeded only in rousing again an impulse of reform that became at last irresistible.

De Witt, unshaken in defeat, succeeded in awakening the patriotism of his people. He went in person to the fleet, punished the cowardly, rewarded the brave, celebrated the memories of the two brave admirals,

Obdam and Cortenaer. The fleet was fitted out anew, and suddenly the return of De Ruyter with twelve line-of-battle ships, a great number of prizes, and two thousand tried sailors added to the general confidence and joy. The people crowded to see their famous hero, women kissed and embraced him. He received them with all his usual good humor; they hailed him as the savior of the republic. He was made at once admiral of the fleet.

De Ruyter was the chief naval commander of his time. He was born in extreme poverty at Flushing, the son of a brewer's journeyman. He went to sea at eleven as a cabin-boy, was then a common sailor, and soon made his way by his skill and courage to the highest place in the navy. Modest, honest, sincere, amiable, he was often unwilling to take the high positions offered him. He was a faithful friend of De Witt and always eager to obey him. But every one felt his real superiority as a commander and a citizen; his return at once roused his countrymen from their depression. He was of middle stature, we are told, but good figure, his forehead broad, his complexion ruddy, dark eyes and beard, and a grave yet gentle countenance that reflected the brave spirit within. He reminds one of the faithful Batavians who formed the most trusted portion of the Roman legions in Britain.

The war in Europe and its disasters prevented any effectual aid from being sent to Nicolls. He was left to his own resources. From his residence in the fort, June 22d, he issued his orders to all the officers, civil and military, of the East Riding of Yorkshire to prepare for the defense of New York. De Ruyter, he said, was about "to attempt the recovery of this place." He directed every town to be ready at the first alarm to send their soldiers in arms to the Ferry opposite New York. A physician and surgeon, Peter Harris, who had arrived in the city about this time, he



THE DE SILLE HOUSE.

authorized to "exercise his art," by probably the first medical certificate ever given in New York. Nicolls received the news of the great victory off Lowestoft with a satisfaction that was scarcely shared by the majority of his subjects; the Bayards, Beekmans, Neviuses, and others must have heard with secret grief the danger of

the Fatherland. But soon Nicolls found a new cause for anxiety. Louis XIV., who was bound by treaty to assist the Dutch, roused by the boastful claims of the English king, had resolved to interfere. He thought, he said, the Dutch were entitled to New Netherland; he proposed terms of peace which Charles haughtily rejected. Louis then declared war against the English; but his aim was only to weaken both Holland and England and to profit by their disasters. Denmark, too, had formed an alliance with the Dutch, and Holland was no longer alone. An invasion made by the Bishop of Munster into the Dutch territory, with fearful ravages, was checked by the interposition of the German powers.

Nicolls, neglected by his superiors, was next to provide for the safety of his northern domain. The Mohawks were the fiercest, boldest, most overbearing of all the Indian tribes. Cruel beyond belief, cannibals who fed on the flesh of their prisoners, cunning, daring, merciless, they ruled over the lands from Saratoga to Canada, and terrified the other people of the woods into abject submission. It is said that a single Mohawk would by his presence alone subdue a whole tribe of the river savages. They sent their messengers into Long Island and exacted tribute even of the Canarsies. With the Dutch they had been friendly; with the French they waged almost perpetual war. Their massacres and their treachery roused the French ruler of Canada to revenge. He planned an expedition that was to enter the Mohawk country, destroy their castles and villages, and break forever their haughty

spirit. Courcelles, in the depth of a Canadian winter, gathered his troops for his mad expedition. It was January, the ground was covered deep with snow, the soldiers were often frozen and rendered helpless when they went to pay their devotions at the shrine of St. Michael the Archangel. Even already they dropped frozen and benumbed in the snow and were carried away to places of shelter. But Courcelles persisted in his plan of marching several hundred miles into the wilderness, to burn the Mohawk villages. The soldiers, provided with snow-shoes on which they were to travel, were laden with thirty pounds of baggage; their provisions were carried on sledges drawn by dogs. They passed over the frozen lake of Canada, through Lake Champlain, along the borders of the Adirondacks, and reached the hostile territory. Nearly all the Mohawks had gone on a foray against the Southern savages. But enough remained to annoy the half-frozen but still courageous French.

The guides proved treacherous or incompetent, and led the invaders far away from the Mohawk castles. A

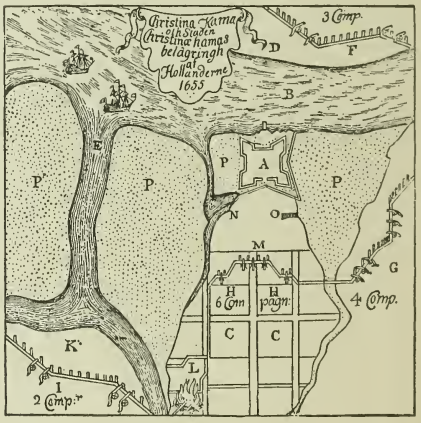
party of Mohawks were seen retreating; the French pursued with sixty of their best fusileers, fell into an ambush, and were shot down by two hundred savages who hid behind trees. The Indians carried the heads of four of the slain to Schenectady, and an express was at once sent to Albany to announce the approach of the French. Courcelles had been led by his guides to within a few miles of the Dutch settlements. He must have wandered for two months at least in the frightful wilderness, his soldiers often dropping by the way. The Dutch received him with kindness, furnished him with wine and provisions, "especially peas and bread." They offered him shelter for his troops, but he was afraid to trust to the luxury of a fire and a home "his weary and half-starved people," who were already too willing to leave their ranks, and with whom he had marched and camped "under the blue canopy of heaven full six weeks." At length, when refreshed and fed, Courcelles turned back to march through the frozen wilderness, still courageous and sanguine. The Mohawks now fell upon their retreating foes, but killed or captured only a few. Five Frenchmen they found lying dead on the way with cold and hunger. They brought back their scalps.

To Nicolls the expedition of Courcelles was a plain invasion of the English territory He wrote a remonstrance to Tracy, the Governor. He pointed out that a foreign army had come upon his lands without his permission; but the letter is full of his usual humanity and tenderness. He recalls the days when he and Tracy had served in the French army together with the Duke of York, his master; thanks him for the civilities his countrymen had shown them in their low estate, and signs his letter, "Your affectionate servant." It was this strain of tenderness that marks all his career. Tracy replied with politeness, excusing the error of Courcelles; he had not even heard, he said, that the English were in possession of New York. He thanked Nicolls for his obliging expressions, but said it was his son who had been his acquaintance in the French wars; he signs himself, "Your thrice affectionate and humble servant." Unhappily the French did not remember the kind deeds of the people of Schenectady. The town was the scene of a fearful massacre by the French and Indians in February, 1690.

In March, 1666, Nicolls was obliged to forbid the export of wheat from New York, owing to the poor harvest and the quantity furnished to Courcelles. He wrote letters to the duke explaining the unfortunate condition of his province. He thought the Dutch would prove good subjects if they were only allowed some privileges of "time and trade." But the effect of the war and the English navigation laws had been fatal to the

commerce of New York. They would destroy and drive away the present inhabitants unless some relaxation of the restrictions on trade were made. Nicolls went to the races at Hempstead in June, and here made a treaty with the chiefs of several Long Island tribes. In these early days an Indian sachem was a high dignitary in the eyes of the white colonists. He was their near and often dangerous neighbor. He lived in his palisaded castle, surrounded by his wives and children, his warriors, and his tribe, like some feudal lord with whom they had been familiar in Europe. From the chiefs they took the title to their lands; with them made peace or war. The great sachems of Connecticut were still unsubdued. The wars of extermination had not yet begun. Nicolls was very successful in his treatment of the savages, and preserved constant peace with them by mildness and generosity.

In respect to the people of the eastern end of Long Island, or the English settlers, he was not fortunate. Southampton, Southold and Easthampton positively refused to receive their local town officers under the "Duke's Laws" and to pay taxes to them. They still regretted the loss of their free meetings, and remembered their disappointment at the assembly of deputies at Hempstead. Some active leaders stirred the popular discontent. Underhill, appointed High Sheriff of the North Riding, complained that the people were enslaved under an arbitrary government. A very active controversey arose. Censures were uttered, sharp criticisms on the Hempstead meeting, libels, and almost treason. Nicolls, who was a soldier, knew how to enforce obedience: the Court of Assize met and laid down rigid penalties against those who "vilified" any of the officials of his Hoyal Highness, or any of the deputies at Hempstead.



VICINITY OF FORT CHRISTINA.

Sedition was punished by fines and imprisonment. Smith of Brookhaven was put in the stocks for saying the "king was none of his king nor the governor his governor." Richard Woodhull and William Lawrence of Flushing were fined. It is not likely that these severe measurers added to Nicoll's popularity.

Another decree of the Court of Assize, over which the Governor pre-

sided, had nearly produced a rebellion. It directed all persons who held lands under titles from the Dutch Government to have them confirmed under the seal of the Duke of York, and pay the fees by the 1st of April, under penalty of forfeiture. No grants after that date were to be valid. The ordinance was vigorously enforced; nearly all the delinquent towns on Long Island complied except Southold and Southampton, which still resisted, and only submitted some years later. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, who claimed Albany, was warned by Nicolls not to ask too much. The fees and quit-rents gave the Governor some relief.

About this time Charles dissolved the commission which had so long disquieted the colonies. The four commissioners were dismissed with gifts and thanks. Connecticut and the other colonies were praised for their loyalty and submission, but Massachusetts was given only sharp words and bitter rebukes. She was ordered to send over Bellingham and Hathorne to answer for her misconduct. But Massachusetts refused to send abroad her best men; and Maverick, Cartwright, who had now escaped to England, and Nicolls joined in loud accusations against her. The reader may desire to know the fate of these once-powerful commissioners who came to rule and divide the New World among them. Sir Robert Carr, weak and dissolute, went over to England, and soon after died in obscurity at Bristol. Cartwright was always ready to give his testimony against the colonies. As late as June 21, 1671, Evelyn notices "One Colonel Cartwright, a Nottinghampshire man (formerly in commission with Colonel Nicoll's), who was brought before the council in London, and gave a 'considerable relation' of the 'colonie' of New England." We may well suppose that Cartwright advocated decided measures with the republicans. Maverick we find was granted a house and land on Broadway in New York, at the request of Nicolls. Thus of the four commissioners Nicolls alone remained in office, still more eager than ever to be released. The year 1666 had been a disturbed and dangerous one for the unstable rule of the English in New York. The French were now hostile and ready to invade the English territory. Courcelles and Tracy, at the head of a large force, had penetrated into the Mohawk country, and with terrible ravages had wasted their lands and reduced them to submission. A design was entertained of conquering New York. But Nicolls, undismayed, told the Mohawks to resist the French and tell them they were subjects of the English king. His bold words must have concealed much secret apprehension. All over his territory there was secret or open dissatisfaction. At Esopus the undue severity of Brodhead had nearly roused the Dutch settlers to rebellion. He arrested on some slight provoca-

tion a well-known burgher, the village brewer, a sergeant of its militia. The people gathered in fierce excitement; one of them was killed by a soldier, and Nicolls was only able to suppress the rising by severe measures. He declared that he would proceed against every man "who shall lift his arm against his majesty's garrison as rebellious subjects and common enemies." He censured Brodhead, but did not remove him.

Once more the flag of Holland ruled the seas. In June, 1666, a frightful contest again followed on the narrow seas that were so often stained with useless slaughter. Monk and Prince Rupert commanded the English. The English retreated to their own coasts, but the next day Prince Rupert joined Monk, and again the fierce contest was renewed. De Ruyter gave the signal for a general attack. But the English fleet was too shattered to await it. Monk and the prince retired to their harbors. Some of the finest of the English ships were taken or sunk. Some were lost on the Galloper sands. For a time the Dutch ruled the seas and blockaded the mouth of the Thames. De Witt had already planned a descent upon the port of London. But again the fortunes of war changed; the English vessels, repaired and strengthened, sailed down the river and met the Dutch. Monk and De Ruyter again assailed each other. Tromp, on the Dutch side, broke the line by an imprudent attack, a part of the Dutch ships fled. De Ruyter, with the remainder kept up the unequal contest, and Monk, surrounding him, had nearly captured his rival. But the Zealand sands were near; he escaped into the shallow waters, and left the victory to his foes.

The English pursued their victory with unpardonable cruelty. They broke into the harbor of Texel, and burned, ravaged and destroyed. They set fire to villages; they massacred the inhabitants of Flosdorp. Led by a traitor, Heemskerk, they were enabled to enter the Dutch ports; but at the mouth of the Elbe a Dutch squadron turned upon them, burned four of their ships, and drove them from their shores. Soon again the Dutch fleet was at sea, the English retired before it, and in this varying warfare the Dutch were once more rulers of the waves.

England was now weary of the war into which Charles had led it with laughter and hopes of wide conquest, and which had begun with the treacherous capture of New York. King and people were eager for peace. The nation was impoverished and almost ruined. Pepys evidently thought the country was undone, when just at this moment the burning of London seemed to complete its ruin. On September 2d Pepys saw the first faint glow of fire in the east. The summer had been hot and dry, and a strong east wind fanned the rising flames. They leaped from

house to house, consumed churches, warehouses, the Exchange and St. Paul's and for three days the city was wasted and destroyed. Two hundred thousand of its people lived in tents or in the open air in the fields. Stupefied and hopeless, the ruined citizens surveyed the wreck of their city. "London," wrote Evelyn, "was, but is no more."

and were the theme of conversation, no doubt, in every bouwery and every hamlet of the Dutch. It is not to be supposed that the Stuyvesants, Bayards, De Peysters and Jacob Leisler, had not watched eagerly the course of events in Europe or shared in the general pride with which their countrymen looked up to John De Witt. The dangers that now gathered

ADMIRAL VON TROMP.

These events were necessarily felt in America; they stimulated Massachusetts to new courage, while she sent aid to the suffering people in London; they were told in New York,

around Nicolls aroused him to new exertions. A Dutch fleet under Krynssen in March, 1667, recovered Surinam, sailed along the Southern coast, entered the James River, and

captured twenty-six English vessels, one of them a man-of-war. He did not visit New York, or it must have fallen easily into his hands. But he stripped Virginia of its chief wealth and carried home eleven ships laden with tobacco. Nicolls, alarmed, at once began new preparations for defense. He could not venture to put arms in the hands of his Dutch subjects, but he sent orders to the English settlers on the east end of Long Island to form one third of their militia into cavalry, ready to aid him at his first summons. Connecticut, fearful of a French invasion, also armed itself. Massachusetts stood proudly aloof. But Nicolls sent out some vessels under Exton, who seized and burnt French forts in Acadia and brought some prizes into New York.

Courcelles was now governor of Canada, and much might be feared from his activity, if not discretion. The Mohawks again formed a barrier for the English colonies on the north, and the rest of the Iroquois protected the western boundary. Nicolls was at Albany in October for the purpose of preventing a war between the Mahicans and the Mohawks. Massachusetts interfered and forbade the Mohawks from making war upon the civilized Indians. The government of Boston could not have forgotten the part Nicolls had taken in the royal commission. From them he could only look for perpetual ill will. Utterly helpless amidst his many foes, Nicolls still maintained a bold attitude, showed no trace of alarm, and promised his patron in England to die in defence of his crumbling fort and wretched palisades. But he knew that the fate of New York must be decided in Europe, and towards the autumn came news of the expedition planned by De Witt for the invasion of England and the capture of London itself. He had careful surveys of the entrance to the Thames, which he had long studied himself, and knew that a bold attack would be successful. A fine fleet of sixty-six war ships and ten fire ships set sail in June to surprise the English capital. De Witt had intended to go with it himself: had he done so London would probably have fallen. But he was detained by the negotiations at Breda, and sent in his place his brother Cornelius, with rigid instructions to lose no opportunity of conquest—to dare everything for the sake of victory.

At last, after much duplicity on the part of Charles and many humiliations, the treaty of Breda was signed and peace proclaimed at London on the 24th of August, St. Bartholomew's day. By its provisions New York was to remain English, the Dutch taking in exchange for it the island of Poleron and Surinam. The bells rang in London, but there was no rejoicing among the people. They felt their guilt and shame. In Holland all was joy and hope.

De Witt, the saviour of his country, and De Ruyter, its hero, were covered

with the applause and the gifts of their fellow-citizens. Numerous medals were struck in commemoration of the peace. On one was inscribed in Latin: "When God is angry there is war, when appeased peace." It is thus that men attribute to an unseen power the evil results of their own savage passions; the lesson of every war is that it ought to be the last.

Holland, the last refuge of European freedom was thus permitted a few years of repose from the malice of its royal foes. Four years later began the great war that the kings of France and England planned, hoping once more to overwhelm the republic in endless ruin. Amsterdam, amidst the inundations and the friendly waves, kept alive the spirit of freedom. The kings were driven back discomfited. William of Orange appeared the representative in many traits of character of the genius of his native land. And fifteen years later he carried to England the Dutch principles of honesty and toleration, and laid the foundation of the future greatness of the English race in Europe and America.

By the treaty of Breda, Nicolls too was relieved of his many cares. He was recalled with kind and flattering words from the King and his ministers. Francis Lovelace was appointed governor in his place. He remained for some time in New York, with his usual good nature, to aid Lovelace in his new duties. He rewarded some of his subordinates with gifts of islands and tracts of land. With Lovelace he visited Albany in July. He arranged the affairs of the Delaware province. He granted thirty lots of land to each soldier of the garrison of Esopus. He did some favors for Stuyvesant; at last when he was to leave forever the city he had named and declared a body politic, of which he had been the gentle conqueror, the lenient master, he was evidently followed by the good will of the citizens. They parted from him with respect and regret. In August, 1668, Nicolls sailed for England, to resume his place by the side of his master the duke, and probably to regret at times the simplicity and the sterner virtues of the people he had left behind.

We should be glad if we were able to enter the city of New York and discover the amusements, the labors and the manners of its people. It could not have made any advance in the four years of Nicolls's rule. It wanted the free impulse, the sentiment of personal independence that had made Connecticut and Massachusetts already populous provinces, while New York had only a thin and scattered population. In the New England colonies there were already forty thousand inhabitants; in New York only five or six. Under the rule of the West India Company it had been allowed none of those privileges of self government that in Holland, the Fatherland, were the choicest treasures of the people. Its lands

had been distributed into great estates, under patroons who aspired to be feudal lords and who drove off immigration, and nearly all lost their possessions. The Dutch governors had been autocrats: the people had neither rights nor power. Under the rigid instructions of the Duke of York that system had been necessarily continued by Nicolls, and the people felt and complained that they were enslaved. Immigration turned away to Connecticut and New Jersey. In seven years, Andros tells us later, not twenty families had come to New York from England or Ireland.

The trade of the city was chiefly in wheat, furs, and provisions; it sent its ships to the West Indies and brought back rum and molasses. Wines were imported from Madeira. But ships came seldom from England. Formerly it had exported large quantities of tobacco from the Southern colonies to Holland; but this trade died out. Its imports of "Indian goods" must have been considerable. They consisted of blankets, woolens, guns, powder, lead; in return they were paid for in beavers and other furs. It was chiefly by the fur trade and the activity of the Indians that New York and Albany were said to live. Six or seven sloops sailed between the towns up and down the Hudson and carried the peltry and Indian goods. It was a far longer and more dangerous voyage in those early days than is now the voyage to Europe.

Of our ancestors and predecessors, the diligent men who cultivated the farms of New York or carried on its trade, we know little. They were a hardy, bold, determined race, fierce in rage, resolute of purpose. The Dutch burghers bore with impatience the English rule, and in 1673, at the reconquest, four hundred of them rose in arms, to aid their countrymen, and drove the garrison from the fort. But this feeling soon died away

THE KIP HOUSE.

under the later rule of William of Orange, and the Dutch became quiet citizens. At the close of Nicolls's administration we meet with many well-known names, English or Dutch, still preserved among us. Of the Dutch were the Van Cortlandts, the Bayards, Van Rensselaers, Stuyvesants, Kips, and many others. The Kips had a fine house and estate at Kip's Bay; the Beekman's, at Cor-

laer's Hook; two of the sons of Peter Stuyvesant held two fine lots of land below Trinity Church which he had given them. Van Der Grist's house was on Broadway, just below. The ground where Trinity Church now stands was known as the "Governor's Garden." Wall street was only a line of palisades, Lovelace afterwards purchased the farm of Domine Bogardus; it came into the possession of the crown, and was then given to Trinity Church. Of the scanty English population many names survive. Matthias Nicolls, the Secretary, left some descendants. Willett, the first mayor of New York, was very much liked by his contemporaries, and the name is still well known. John Lawrence, a merchant from Long Island, held various important offices, and left several descendants. Allard Anthony, the Dutch Schout and English Sheriff, is commemorated in Anthony street. Van Brugh aud Van Ruyven, the first Schepens under Nicolls, are lost in collateral lines. Robert Livingston was Indian agent in Albany; and many other well known names have come to the city from the banks of the Hudson.

Nicolls returned to England to mingle in the pleasures and pains that followed the royal court. It is hardly likely that he could have found any satisfaction in them. He may have gone in retirement to Ampthill, his ancestral seat. He never married. He had two brothers who died before him. One of his uncles was Dean of Chester, and several of his relatives were noted scholars. When the second Dutch war broke out, he went on board the fleet, served on the Royal Prince, and was killed at the battle of Solebay, May 28, 1672. He was then forty-seven years old. In his will, which is dated on board the Royal Prince, May 11, 1672, he gives various legacies to his cousins and seems to have not been in want of money. He was buried at Ampthill. He will be remembered as the first English governor of New York, the first to point out the rare advantages of its situation and foretell the future greatness of the metropolis of the New World.

A DIRECTORY FOR THE CITY OF NEW YORK IN 1665.

'T Marcktvelt (east side of Bowling Green, now the beginning of Broadway).

The Hon. Peter Stuyvesant
Annie Kocks,
Capt. Martin Crigier,
Francois Boon,
Cornelius Van Ruyven,
Antony De Milt,
Allard Anthony,
Frederick Arentsen,
Lizzie Ackermans,
Jonas Barteltsen,
Matty Grevenraat,

Heeren Straat (now Broadway).

Luke Andriessen,
Dirck Wiggerzen,
Paul Leendertsen Vandiegrist,
Henry Van Dyck,
Jacob Swart,
Thomas Major,
Abraham Pietersen,
Garret Fullwever,
Pieter Simkam,
John Fries,
John Jelizen Kock,
John Henry Van Gunst,
Peter Ebel,
Paul Turck,
Albert Jansen,
Martin Hofman,
Alida Unstaples,
Barbara Unstaples,
John Joosten,
Adam Onclebagh,
Peter Jansen,
Adrien Andriessen.

The Strand (along the North River).

Jacob Leendertsen Vandiegrist.

The Cingel, or Outside City Wall (north side of Wall street).

John Johnson Van Langendyck,
John Teunizen Molenaar,
John Videt,
Abraham Kermer,
Gertie Schoorsteenvegers,
Jacob Jansen,
Dirck De Wolspinder,
Barent Eghbertzen,
Peter Jansen,
Dirck Van Clyf.

De Waal (south side of Wall street).

Guliam d'Honneur,
Henry Obe,
Balthazar De Haart,
Charles Van Bruggh,
Garret Jansen Stavast,
Hans Stein,
Sybrant Jansen Galina,
Cornelius Jansen Van Hoorn,
Adolph Pietersen,
Jacob Hendricksen Varravanger,
Renier Rycken.

HOOGH STRAAT (Pearl, between Broad and Wall streets).

Annie Litsco,
John Laurens,
Andrew Joghimsen,
Abraham Lubbertsen,
Remout Remoutsen
Govert Loockermans,
John Van Brugh,
Wernaer Wessels,
Dirck Jansen Vandeventer,
Jeremiah Jansen,
Abraham Clock,
Isaac Bedlo,
Evert Duyckingh,
Stoffel Hooghlant,
Abigail Verplanck,
David Joghimsen,
Asher Levy,
Barent Cours,
Arian Huybertsen,
Wessel Evertsen,
Arent Isaacsen.

Cornelius Jansen,
Cornelius Jansen Plagvier
Cors Jansen,
Henry Asuerus,
John Nevius,
Peter Jansen Schol
Nicholas De Meyer,
Hugh Barentsen Clem,
Walraven Claerhout,
Frederick Hendricksen,
Alexander Stultke,
Sybout Clazen,
Arian Van Laar,
Aldert Coninck,
Jacob Van Couwenhoven,
John Van Couwenhoven,
Lambert Barentsen,
Henry Vandewater,
Lawrence Vanderspygel,
Walter Salter,

'T WATER (now west side of Whitehall from State to Pearl street, and north side of Pearl from Whitehall to Broad, then facing the river).

Hans Dresser,
Francis Jansen Van Hooghten,
Nicholas Jansen Backer,
Samuel Edsal,
John De Witt,
Jurian Jansen Van Auweryck,
Herman Wessels,
Timothy Gabry,

Matty Wessels,
Paul Richards,
Lawrence de Sille,
Hans Kierstede,
Jacob Laislar (Leisler),
Arian Appel,
Daniel de Honde Coutrie.

PEREL STRAAT (Pearl street from State to Whitehall streets).

Peter Wolfertsen Van Couwenhoven,
Henry Jansen Vandervin,
Jacques Cousseau,
Peter Aldricks,
Thomas Coninck,
Henry Bas,
Garret Van Tright,
Peter Cornelissen,
Claas Bordingh,
John Gerritsen Van Buytenhuysen,

William Kock,
Esterne Guineau,
Waldwin Vanderveen,
Thomas Fransen Karreman,
Jurian Blanck,
N. Tybout,
Peter Jacobsen Marius,
Thomas Lambertsen,
Thomas Laurens.

Behind the Pearl Street (now the part of State street curving to the south).

Simon Barentsen,
John Schouten,
Isaac Grevenraat,
John Evertsen Bout,
Peter DeRymer,
John Dircksen Mayer,
Louis Post,

Brouwer Straat (now Stone street).

Frederick Flipsen,
Ranier Willemsen Backer,
Matthew De Vos,
Jerome Ebbinck,
Isaac De Foreest,
Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlant,
John Jansen Van St. Obin,
Isaac Kip,
Frederick Gysbertsen Vandenbergh,
Hubert Hendricksen,
Evert Pietersen

Winckel Straat (running parallel to Whitehall street, not now in existence).

Henry Jansen Backer,
Arent Juriansen Landtsman,
John De Peister (De Peyster),
Michael Esnel,
Ægidius Luyck.

Brugh Straat (Bridge street).

Cornelius Steenwyck,
Barent Jacobsen Cool,
Jacob Vermont,
Jacob Teunissen Kay,
Henry Kip, Sr.,
John Adriaansen Duyvelant
Henry Willemsen,
Peter Jansen,
Peter Nys,

Heeren Graft, or Gracht (Broad street, with canal in center).

Cornelius Melyn,
Ambrose De Weerhem,
Teunis Kray,
Simon Jansen Romeyn,
Luke Dircksen,
Bartholdus Maan,
Stoffel (Christopher) Van Laar,
Claas Paulussen,
Nicholas Verbraack.
Peter Winster,
Conrad Ten Eyck,
David Wessels,
Aggie Jans, widow of P. Van Naarden,
Nicholas Du Puys,
Joachim Beekman,
Jacob Backer,
Albert Reuninck,
Simon Felle,
Adrian Vincent,
Teunis Davidts,

Prince Graft, or Gracht (now the part of Beaver street one block east of Broad, with canal or creek in center).

Boile Roelofsen,
Nicholas de la Plaine,
Cornelius Barentsen Vanderhuit,
Jacob Mens,
Paulus Andriessen,
Abel Hardenbroek,
Thomas Lodowycksen,
John Hardenbroek,
Jacob Kip,
John Arentsen,
Rutger Karreman,
Frederick Hendricksen Boogh,
Claas Tyzen,
Dennis Isaacsen,
William Abrahamsen Vanderberde,
Bay Roosvelt,
William Deturnier (Turneur ?).

PRINCE STRAAT (next block east in Beaver street, beyond the canal).

Albert Pietersen Swart,
Daniel Verveelen,
Garret Manate,

BEVER GRAFT, OR GRACHT (Beaver street, west of Broad to Bowling Green, with canal or creek in center).

Roelof Jansen Van Meppelen,
Henry Van Bommel,
Dirck Storm,
John Jansen Van Brestee,
Egbert Woutersen,
Egbert Meindertsen,
Thomas Sandersen,
Teunis Tomassen Quick,
Jacob Teunisen.

'T MARCKTVELT STEEGIE (Marketfield street).

Claas Van Elsant, Sr.,
Isaac Abrahamsen,
Andrew Claassen,
John Van Gelder,
Alice Barens,
Lambert Henry Van Campen,
John Adamsen,
John Meindertsen,

SMEE STRAAT (William street between Broad and Wall streets).

Meindert Barentsen,
Gertie Jans,
John Roelofsen,
George Dopsen,
Andrew Rees,
Immitje, widow of Francis Clazen,
William Van der Schuyr,
Andrew Andriessen,
Cornelius Hendricksen,
Garret Jansen Van Aarnhem,
John Woutersen,

SMITS VALEY (along the East River from Wall to Fulton street).

Thomas Hall,
Abraham Verplanck,
Lambert Huybertsen, Mol,
Abraham Lambertsen Mol,
John Vigne,
Stoffel (Christopher) Elswart,
Joost Carelsen,
Harry Bressar,
Widow of Lawrence Laurensen,
Peter Laurensen,
John Ariaansen,
Cornelius Jansen Clopper,
Peter Harmsen,
Peter Jansen,
Martin Claassen,
John Jansen Bos,
James Wel,
Augustin Herrman,

OUTSIDE THE LAND GATE.

Dirck Siecken,
Cornelius Aarsen,
Peter Stoutenburgh,
Garret Jansen Roos,
Jacob Fransman.

INDIAN TRADING HOUSE OR FACTORY SYSTEM.

The Indians who occupied the region westward from the Alleghany mountains were, when visited by the earliest white adventurers, in a state of almost perfect commercial independence. Their knowledge of the useful arts though limited was commensurate with their wants and desires.

That there were inter-tribal relations has been attested by many travelers of the time. These relationships often proved of inestimable value to the early "French voyageurs, who, as early as the year 1634 began to make their circuitous and dangerous ways along the various water routes in the old northwest territory."

There seems to have been no plan pre-determined by the government of France for traffic with the Indians. Inasmuch as the departure of the traders from the early settlements tended to reduce the settlement to want, limitations were placed upon the numbers who were to be allowed to go. Nevertheless a distinct trading class arose called "wood rangers" who gained a great influence over the simple-minded savage.

The Jesuits accompanied these vagrant hunters and trappers, or followed them closely, establishing their missions or making careful exploration. French authorities finding they could not keep the traders from the woods, issued annual licenses for trade. Soon many forts were established along the several streams flowing into the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico.

The victory of the Iroquois over the tribes of the northwest led to the ascendancy of the English power. The methods of the English private traders were not materially different from those pursued by the French.

The British agents gained an ever increasing influence over the western tribes, and through presents and bribes induced them, in the year 1775, to form a league against the United Colonies.

The first phase of that ever recurring question, which has taxed the minds of our greatest statesmen, was then suggested: how shall the Indian be treated, that justice may be done him and his friendship be secured? Congress strove to avert the calamity by convincing the Indians that their wisest plan was to estab-

lish perfect neutrality, as the struggle did not in any way affect them. Nothing illustrates the anxiety of Congress at this time, to effect its views, in a stronger way than does the plan embodied in the Treaty of Pittsburg, concluded in the year 1778. According to stipulation here made, the Delaware tribes were to be allowed, in conjunction with other tribes, to form a State which was to become a member of the Union. This enviable position seemed to weigh lightly on the minds of the Indians, in comparison with the "presents, arms, equipments and trinkets, so profusely scattered by the British agents of the time."

There was provision made, by an act of the year 1786, that none but citizens of the United States were to reside among the Indian tribes or to be allowed to trade with them. Citizens were not allowed these privileges without a license obtained for that purpose. Accompanying the license was a bond for three thousand dollars, which, besides all merchandise held, was to be forfeited if all regulations were not faithfully kept. Not materially different from these were the provisions of the acts of the years 1793 and 1796. Said Calhoun with reference to these acts: "But guarded as was this system, and well adapted as it certainly promised to be to the objects contemplated by it, the cunning of the traders was an overmatch for its provisions, and the Indians thus given into the hands of the unprincipled, were subjected to all the sufferings which avarice could inflict, and their peace and welfare involved in the scheme, involved in their turn the shedding of much blood and the waste of many lives." That the system of individual traders, in so far as it dealt justly with the Indians was a failure, is thus attested through the witness of the trials and failures of French, English and Americans.

How to establish a satisfactory system led to the formation of a plan whereby the United States government entered the field as a private trader and carried on commercial intercourse with the Indians. This scheme, in vogue from 1796 to 1822, known as the Factory or Trading House System early met with approval, but also showed its weaknesses.

Public "truck-houses" had been established in some of the colonies. The first mention of public trading-houses under general governmental control seems to have been made by Benjamin Franklin. In a letter, referring to his plan of union he says: "The friendship of the Indians is by every means to be established. In the furtherance of this end, public trading-houses should be established. They would certainly have a good effect towards regulating the private trade and preventing the impositions of the private traders, and therefore such houses should be established in suitable places all along the frontiers."

In the year 1776, Congress accepted

the report of the committee, of which Franklin was a member, and voted 140,000 pounds to be expended in goods for this trade. The trade was to be under control of congressional commissioners.

Washington favored this plan. In each of his annual addresses he urges upon Congress the necessity for the safe establishment of such a system. The fifth annual address of December 3, 1793, says: "Next to a rigorous execution of justice on the violators of peace, the establishment of commerce with the Indian nations, on behalf of the United States is most likely to conciliate their attachment. But it ought to be conducted without fraud, without extortion, with constant and plentiful supplies; with a ready market for the commodities of the Indians, and a stated price for what they give in payment and receive in exchange. Individuals will not pursue such a traffic unless they be allured by the hope of profit, but it will be enough for the United States to be reimbursed only."

In the year 1795 an act embodying Washington's suggestions was passed. It was to remain in force two years. The President was to have the privilege of establishing trading-houses at such posts and places on the western and southern frontiers as he should deem necessary for carrying on a liberal trade with the Indians. To meet this end $150,000 were appropriated. The friends of this act do not seem to have regarded it as chiefly a civilizing agent. They wished to accomplish two objects: "To secure the friendship of the Indians by supplying their wants; to supplant the British trader in his influence over the Indians."

We learn from the report of the secretary of war for the year 1795 that two trading-houses were established as an experiment among the southern tribes. The tribes at the North had not yet come into friendly intercourse. One of these houses was located among the Creeks at Colerain on the river St. Mary's. The other supplied the Cherokees and Chickasaws, and was located at Tellico Block House, in Cherokee Territory. The positions were chosen from the Indian possessions, but were not to become the property of the United States. They were to revert to the original owners when no longer used for trading or for military posts.

The Indians were given to understand that the trade now to be carried on among them was entirely different from that conducted by individuals, solely for their own profit. Trade was to be regulated by the President. Every article should have its stipulated value. Weights and measures were to be introduced, in order that the hunters might bring their peltries and receive satisfactory exchange. Agents were to be appointed by the President, to obtain goods from the manufacturers at the cheapest rates and to carry them to the

trading-houses and there dispose of them, with but the additional charge of carriage. Where licensed traders procured the goods from the factors, a stipulated amount for wages was allowed the traders. The prices at which they must sell were to be posted in every village.

By the year 1801 there had been but $90,150 of the original appropriation drawn from the treasury. There was no adequate report of the trade up to this time. While there may have been some advantages in the system, in that it attached the natives more closely to the government and tended to remove the animosities excited by private traders, these good results were not sufficient to warrant a continuation of the act. Congress nevertheless thought it expedient to extend the time, using the same capital.

Jefferson on the renewal of the act, recommended, as one of the chief agents for reducing the savages to civilization, that the trading-houses be multiplied, in order that those things might be placed within their reach which would contribute more to their domestic welfare than the possession of "large, but uncultivated wilds." In his third annual message he spoke of the system as having a very conciliatory and useful effect upon the Indians. The message for the year 1804 contains the same unquestioned approval. He says: "Instead, therefore, of an augmentation of military force proportional to our extension of frontier, I propose a moderate enlargement of the capital employed in that commerce, as a more effectual, economical, and humane instrument for preserving peace and good neighborhood with them." The message for 1805 refers in a most hopeful way to the satisfaction manifested by the Indians of the Missouri and Mississippi valleys, with their governmental relations, and of their desire to cultivate peaceful terms with the United States.

The original time had now expired, but there was no thought of a discontinuance of the system. At the close of the year 1811, there had been appropriated $300,000, exclusive of officers salaries which amounted to some $35,000 annually. Ten factories had been established with the following sites: Ft. Hawkins, Georgia; Chickasaw Bluffs, Mississippi Territory; Ft. St. Stephens on the Mobile River; Ft. Osage on the Missouri River; Ft. Madison on the Upper Mississippi River; Natchitoches on the Red River; Ft. Wayne on the Miami River; Chicago then in Indiana Territory, and Ft. Michillimackinac on Lake Huron.

It is estimated that the amount of money gained in these factories from 1807 to 1811, was $14,171. The southern factories reported losses because of greater difficulty of communication with the sea coast, and thus with the European markets.

That there were many advantages in this system seems sufficiently at-

tested, not alone from the unqualified statements of Presidents and other United States officials, but from its actual continuation for twenty-six years during these times of governmental weakness and financial strain. Among the more noteworthy merits were: The superior trade advantages which it held out to the impoverished race for whose benefit it was established, and the ease of access by such methods to the confidence of the Indians.

At the beginning of the year 1812, when the plan seemed most satisfactory, signs of failure were apparent. The causes for this peculiar failure are numerous. They show the general weakness of the government at that period. One of the chief causes of the failure was the greater influence over the Indian always held by the English. Their governmental treatment of the Indian was thought to be almost perfect. No person was eligible for the position of agent under the English regime unless he was able to speak at least one of the Indian languages. An agent thus equipped, might easily learn the peculiar manners and customs of the tribe. He soon became influential with the different "headmen" with whom he dealt. Many of the Americans who were appointed to important positions were men who had not "seen an Indian, much less did they know how to conciliate him in trade." The English gave all officers of the Indian Department military brevet rank, and caused them to wear military insignia. This relative rank obviated many difficulties by making uniform the various measures. Flashy clothes and gilded trappings had no little influence on the minds of the natives. "The highest British officials thought it not derogatory to their interests, to smoke the pipe or converse with the chiefs." They thus rid themselves of the evil influences of designing interpreters.

Trading houses were established in conjunction with military posts. The relative importance of the officials in each of these had not been clearly defined, and much embarrassment arose from conflicting orders. The superintendents were too often uninterested in their duties, and turned the official work over to less competent persons. The English made many presents to the Indians. When the Indians came to the understanding that the goods distributed throughout the factories were not to be given them; "they lost confidence in a father whom they thought so poor that he was compelled to descend to the position of a private trader." The government attempted to use the methods of the English. Either the amounts voted were insufficient or there was so great delay in transferring even these scanty means to the agents, that they inevitably lost control of the chiefs. A manuscript letter from the agent at Fort Michillimackinac refers to these presents: "From the issue last July to twenty-five chiefs, I am

persuaded that no good can possibly result from this method, and it is productive of much heart burning and discontent. Those who receive their small allowance are scarcely satisfied either with the agent or the goverment, and those who can receive nothing, openly profess themselves dissatisfied with both."

The English government is reported to have spent 200,000 dollars annually in presents, at the two posts, Malden and Pennaton.

The goods used in the trading-houses were inferior to those of the traders and less fitted for the trade. A committee of investigation reported a large portion of the stock to consist of "men's and women's coarse and fine shoes, worsted and cotton hose, tea, glauber's salts, alum, anti-bilious pills, green silk, fancy ribands, and morocco slippers, without which collection, the good health or good appearance of the Indian seems not to have been assured."

It was explicitly provided that no white man should be allowed to purchase stores from the factors. Nevertheless private traders were continuously equipped from them. The factors often sold to the English. Credit was prohibited at the trading houses. As the Indians could not pay their debts until the close of the hunting season, they were unable to obtain goods. The private traders accompanied them to the hunting grounds where barter might be most thoroughly resorted to. Express provision was made that there was to be no profit in the trade carried on by the government. Goods were sold at rates sometimes forty per cent in advance of the original cost. Among the instructions sent out was one which forbade absolutely, the carrying on of any "trade commerce, or barter" on behalf of the factors themselves. They gave bonds to the government, with satisfactory security, in the sum of $10,000, that they would perform all their duties faithfully and would return accurate accounts. Many were supposed to have grown rich in the service.

After a consideration of the many abuses and manifest weaknesses of the system, Congress in the year 1822, abandoned the trading houses. Heavy losses were reported. The last few years of their existence show an annual loss to the goverment of $40,000.

J. A. James.

THE VOYAGE OF THORGILS, AND HIS ADVENTURES ON THE EAST COAST OF GREENLAND ABOUT THE YEAR 1000.

INTRODUCTION, BY DR. B. F. DE COSTA.

Geologists inform us that the "New World," so-called, is actually the "Old World," and that a mountain peak in the Carolinas was the first object that arose out of the primeval sea. Here on the Western Continent animals first made their appearance, and at an early period went out across a bridge of land that once existed at Behring Strait, spreading over the Eastern Continent. The present theory holds that man had his origin in the East, but, as "science" has a new story to tell every year, it may yet become necessary to abandon the old formula, "Who discovered America," and inquire "Who discovered the Eastern Continent?"

Ages before Columbus, adventurers found their way to this continent, but we inquire in vain for the record of their achievements. The Phœnicians, the Chinese, the Irish, the Northmen, the Welsh, the Italians, and the Basques were all active in Pre-Columbian times, and there is nothing to prove that *any* of them failed to reach America. The Irish, however, have the first claim, as their early achievements form a part of written history. The Northmen were indeed on the Atlantic coast in the year 986, but their own records affirm that the Irish had long before preceded them. Fifteen years before the establishment of Christianity in Iceland, Eric the Red settled in Greenland; which puts the latter event in about the year 985. The record says that he gave the country the name of "Greenland," because the name would make a good impression and encourage colonization. The indications, however, point to the conclusion, that the continent of North America bore the name of "Greenland" long before, and that he simply gave the name to the particular northern region in which he settled. Before the advent of the Northmen, this continent was known as "Ireland the Great," and also as "White Man's Land," on account of the dress of inhabitants found here by the Irish. The adventurers from Ireland, which was known as "the Green Island," on reaching our continent and discovering its vastness, probably gave it the

name of "the Green Land." "Greenland" may therefore be regarded as the first historic name of this country. The Northmen, following the Irish, gave it the name of "Vineland." It was afterwards known as "Estotiland," an unexplained name, possibly a corruption of "the Scot's Land." "Drogeo" was also applied to one region, and, when the Cabots came, North America received the name of "Bacallaos," the land of the codfish; being followed by "Yucatania," found on the Verrazano map of 1529, the name of the isthmus of Yucatan being made to do duty for the continent. "Norombega" followed, while "Mexicana" and "Peruviana" also had a share of attention. "Greenland," however, became restricted to the region now bearing the name; "Norombega" dwindled until it came to signify a town on the Penobscot, and all other names were discarded to make way for "America."

At the time of the shipwreck of Thorgils, whose adventures are related in the article which follows this sketch, the Northmen had definitely located the present Greenland, which, however, they regarded as a part of Europe, and connected therewith by an arm of land stretching northward around Iceland to Norway. They did not dream that they had discovered a "New World." They never boasted of any discoveries, and freely conceded priority to the Irish.

Eric the Red, on being banished from Iceland, went west in search of land that had been discovered by other Icelanders, and eventually reached Greenland. He settled in a place called "Ericsfiord." This was on the west coast of Greenland, where, eventually, a second colony was formed farther south, and, by the trend of the coast, lay, consequently *east* of Eric's settlement. On the *eastern coast* of Greenland there never was any settlement, and this is proven by a fact not mentioned by M. Beauvois, namely, that the Zeno map, which was of Pre-Columbian origin, shows no settlement on the east coast. This map was first published after the voyage of Columbus, and at a time when it was popularly supposed that the eastern settlement of the Northmen was situated absolutely on the eastern coast. The map, however, boldly proclaimed that no settlement ever existed on the east coast, and all inquiries and discoveries since have gone to support the antiquity and authenticity of the map, demonstrating at the same time the truth of the Zeno narrative, showing a Pre-Columbian voyage to this country.

At the time of the shipwreck of Thorgils, the eastern coast of Greenland was in its present condition, being, for the most part, blocked with ice, and practically uninhabitable, only a few Eskimo venturing thither by making their way eastward around Cape Farewell; though, singularly, far up in the north, on the east coast, in one place a differ-

ent state of things was found by Scoresby, who was surprised by the warmth of the air, the freedom from ice, the luxuriance of the grass, and the hum of insects. Poor Thorgils, nevertheless, failed to discover any such happy hunting-grounds, falling upon the region where the glaciers slide down from the mountains and an almost unbroken ice belt clings to the shore, an icy shirt of Næssus, instead of fire, consuming all things with an insatiable consumption.

M. Beauvois has pointed out about all that is of interest to the general reader in connection with Thorgils' shipwreck, and has faithfully analyzed the narrative. If it had been necessary, he could, nevertheless, have said much more in regard to the supernatural in connection with the Saga, and he rightly concludes that the supernatural element forms one proof of its antiquity and authenticity; for if we were to reject the story on account of the flights of diseased imagination that it carries, it would be necessary to impugn a large portion of early New England history. Mather's "Magnalia," for instance, abounds with sick men's fancies similar to those portrayed in the Saga of Thorgils, while the brawls and bloodshed which mark this Saga more than find their parallel in the Saga of Einer Sokkeson, a startling picture of life and manners in mediæval Greenland, about to appear from the press.

It may be of interest to point out the resemblance between the defection of Thorgils' "bondmen" and the failure that has often distinguished the action of followers in Arctic expeditions, and, notably, in that of the Greely expedition, where, in the time of pressure, provisions were stolen by those who had it not in their power to desert. The "bondmen" were those known otherwise as "thralls" and "house carls," being prisoners taken in expeditions against neighboring chiefs or powers, and reduced to a mild condition of slavery, which did not prevent them from rising in the social scale. The Kettles of Iceland were Irishmen taken prisoners by the Iceland merchants on the coast of Ireland, one of them being known as "Thorer-Kettle-Paunch," from the resemblance of his stomach to a cauldron. The Kettles of Iceland were Irish slaves thus named, though this patronymic, after the analogy of "Smith" blossoming out as "de Smythe," now appears in a Frenchy form as "Kettelle." The first slaves known to have trodden the soil of New England were Irish; a man and a woman in the expedition of Leif Ericson, A. D. 1000. "Haki" and "Hekia," described as "two Scots," the Irish being at that time always known as "Scots." Ingolf, the first settler of Iceland, was murdered by his slaves; and Thorgils himself, as will be seen by the narrative, had a narrow escape.

M. Beauvois makes Thorgils a

contemporary of Karlsefeni, who came to New England in 1006–9. This was at the beginning of colonization in Greenland; where the islanders maintained settlements for at least three hundred years, building some fourteen churches and maintaining a line of duly consecrated Bishops. The ruins of the Cathedral Church at Garda are pointed out to-day. All this enterprise, however, was conducted in the two settlements of the west coast, known as the east and west "Bygds," a somewhat full account of which may be found in the narrative of Ivar Bardsen, steward to one of the Bishops. There is nothing whatever to indicate that the Northmen attempted to settle on the eastern coast.

It remains only to say that the article of M. Beauvois was prepared several years ago at the instance of the present writer, and has only now been translated for the press. His prolific and untiring pen has adorned a multitude of historical and antiquarian themes of profound interest, and has given this author a distinguished and assured place among scholars of his class in Europe.

If one would make a list of voyages mentioned in mediæval documents it would be a very long one; nevertheless it would be difficult to find an account more eventful than that of the shipwreck of the Icelander Thorgils Œrrabeinsfostre. It is one of the most ancient that has been preserved for us, not in Norse literature only, but in any of the modern European languages. It is all the more interesting in that it has for its scene the Arctic Seas, then so little explored, and because shelter was found in a country of the new world the existence of which was hardly suspected outside of Scandinavia. The inhospitable shores which afforded a refuge to the unhappy cast-aways are so difficult of access that even the moderns, so proud of their maritime superiority, and with all the resources furnished by the progress of navigation and the use of steam, have only very infrequently been able to reach them. Though Lieut Graah, of the Danish navy, visited many points of it during a celebrated voyage (1829–1831),[1]

[1] W, A. Graah, "*Undersaegelses Reise til Œst Kysten af Grønland*," Copenhagen, 1832, 4to, transl. into English by G. G. Macdougall; extract published in the "Bulletin de la Societe de Geographie," Paris, October, 1830 (cf. the notice by C. Pingal of the principle voyages of exploration to Greenland, in "Groenlands historiske Mindesmarker," published by the Society Royal of Northern Antiquities, vol. III., Copenhagen, 1845), 800 pp. 776–790.

Captain P. D. Loewenoern in 1786, and his lieutenants Egede Rothe in 1786–1787, endeavored in vain to reach it[1]. The Ingolf, commanded by Capt. A. Mourier was enabled to view the western bank of the Strait of Denmark only at a distance of several miles (myriametres), being separated from his schooner by enormous icebergs.[2] This does not refer, it is to be understood, to Scoresby, Ross, nor to several others, who have visited portions of the east coast of Greenland much more northerly, where the ice is not so violently driven by the winds and currents as in the Strait of Denmark. The reference is now solely to the coast of Frederick VI, explored by Graah, and to its prolongation as far as 69° N., namely, to the point where it ceases to run from S. W. to N. E. turning straight to the north, and where the sea expands itself indefinitely.

Aside from Graah, it is doubtful whether one ought to call fortunate those who have visited the western shores of the Strait of Denmark. Some have done so involuntarily, as the Dutch Hamburg fishermen shipwrecked in 1777,[3] the Germans of the Hanse-towns in 1870;[4] and others who have explored the country scientifically, as Lieutenant Jules de Blosseville and the crew of the French brig la Lilloise, who perished in the attempt. It may be judged from this brief review how perilous is the navigation of the coasts in question, and it will not be surprising that the account of the shipwreck of Thorgils is to this day one of the best sources of our information regarding eastern Greenland. It is to be found in the *Floamanna saga*, or History of the Inhabitants of the Floi, i. e. of the low and marshy lands, or if one prefers, of the delta located in the *Arnas Sysla* (southern quarter of Iceland) between the bay of the Œlfusa on the west,

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[1] P, de Loewenoern, "Extrait de la relation d'un voyage fait pendant l'annee 1786 pour la de couverte de la cote orientale du Groenland" in "Annales Maritimes et coloniales" of Bajot, Paris, 1823, also published separately. This extract translated into French by the author himself, is taken from his report in mss. in two volumes, preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, No. 1975–76 4to, cf. the notice of Pingal, cited above, pp. 751-753. Christian, Thestrup Egede, "Reisebeskrivelse til Œster-groenland opdagelse," Copenhagen, 1789, 2d ed. 1796; cf. Pingel's notice, pp. 754–759.

[2] A. Mourier, "Orlogskonnerten Ingolfs Expedition i Danmarkstradet, 1879," in "Geografisk Tidsskrift," published by the direction of the Royal Danish Geographical Society, and edited by Ed Ersler, vol. IV, 1880, 4to., Copenhagen, pp. 47–60; pl.3–4.

[3] C. Norman, "En Rejse langs groenlands Œst Kyst i Aaret, in 1877," in "Geografisk Tidskrift," Vol. II, Copenhagen, 1878, 4to., p. 49–63.

[4] "Die zweite Deutsche Nordpolfahrt," Berlin, 1871; cf. "Einer Skizze der zweiten Deutschen Nordpol Expedition, 1869–1870," following "Die œsterreichisch-ungaorish Nordpol-expedition in der jahren 1872–1874," by J. Payer, Vienna, 1876.

the Hoita on the north, and the Thjorsa to the east.[1]

This saga is not among the most ancient in its actual form. Finn Magnusen ascribes its authorship to the Bishop Thorlak of Skaldholt, who died in 1193,[2] a descendant from Thorgils in the female line, in the fourth generation. G. Vigfusson and Moebius object[3] that if he had been the author, Thorlak would not have affixed to his name the epithet *saint.*[4] It may be answered that this is one of those numerous interpolations by copyists, without however adopting the theory of Finn Magnusen, any more than that of his critics. The latter think that the author was an Icelandic clergyman, in the south of the island; but it is impossible to determine anything with certainty in this respect; neither is it of any special use, as the saga has evidently passed through many hands. Finn Magnusen admits that its second author was Styrmi Frode, who died in 1245, and that it was retouched by one or two anonymous writers in the middle of the fourteenth or even the fifteenth century.[5] One can hardly be mistaken in adding a fourth author to that list, and that the real one, namely, the first narrator who related this saga, shortly after the events, in the earlier half of the eleventh century.

In any case the manuscripts testify that it has not sprung from a single source. Finn Magnusen, who had fourteen at his disposal, classed them under four heads:[6] 1st, a short fragment on parchment, forming part of the Arnas Magnaeus collection in the university library at Copenhagen, no. 456, b., in 4to,[7] which he regards as the most ancient edition known; the shape of the letters and the spelling cause him to believe that the manuscript to which this fragment belonged must have been copied about 1400; 2d, another edition comprising but twenty-two chapters, contained in manuscript K, according to his classification; 3d, a much more extensive edition, especially in regard to that which descibes the shipwreck and the adventures in Greenland; it is divided into thirty-three chapters, and contained in manuscript 515 of the Arnas Magnaeus Collection, which was copied in the first half of

[1] P. E. Kristian Kalund, "Bidrag til en historisk-topografisk Beskrivelse af Island," Vol. I., Copenhagen, 1877, 8vo, pp. 173–5. See for the scene of this saga in Iceland, "circonscription No. 1," of the map accompanying the edition of the *Sturlunga saga*, by Dr. G. Vigfusson, Oxford, 1879 2 vols. 8vo.

[2] Preface to the *Floamanna saga*, in "Groenlands hist. Mindesmaerker," Vol. II. pp. 24-27.

[3] Preface to their edition of the "Fornsaegur: Vatnsd a lasaga, Hallfredarsaga, Floamanna saga," Leipsig, 1860, 12mo. pp. 26-27.

[4] p. 146 de Fornsaegur.

[5] Groenlands hist. Mindesmaerker, Vol. II, pp. 23–31.

[6] Ibid p. 16–21.

[7] Edited with translation into Danish, at the end of the extracts from the Floamanna saga, Vol. II., pp. 166-175, of the Groenlands hist. Mindesmaerker, and without translation in Fornsaegur, pp. 183–185.

the seventeenth century; it was not known to Thorlacius who has translated this saga, nor to Arngrimus Tonaeus, nor to Th. Torfaeus, who analyzed it; 4th, the other manuscripts arranged into four divisions.

The editors of the *Fornsaegur* (ancient sagas) suggest another classification;[1] according to them all these manuscripts and fragments constitute only two classes; 1st, the shortest edition, which they look upon as the best written and the oldest; it is found in a manuscript of the end of the fourteenth century, the *Vatnshornsbok* or *Vatzhyrna* (book of the Vatnshorn in the Hankadal, in the western part of Iceland), which was in the possession of P. H. Resen, and which was consumed at the burning of Copenhagen in 1728. Fortunately two copies had been made of it; one by Ketil Taerundarson of Hvamm, maternal ancestor of Arnas Magnaeus (No. 516, 4to, of Arnas Magnaeus Collection); another by Asgeir Tonsson (No. 517 in 4to, of the same collection). There is but little difference between them, but in case of divergence, the former is the better authority, as it was placed among the collection of the *Vatnshornbok* by Arnas Magnaeus himself. The editors of the Fornsaegur have reproduced it (pp, 118–161) with the variations of the other, because that text appeared to them preferable to that of all the other manuscripts comparatively recent, derived from the *Vatnshornsbok*; 2nd, the other edition, much more detailed, is found in a manuscript on parchment, of which only fragments remain; one of these was edited by Finn Magnusen,[2] and by Messrs. Vigfussen and Maebius;[3] the other by the latter only.[4] for it was not known to the former except as a copy inserted in No. 515, folio of the Arnas Magnaeus Collection, transcribed between 1634 and 1670, by Thord of Hitardal. They also reproduced chapters 18–23 of this manuscript (pp. 168–177, of their edition) which Baerge Thorlacius utilized for his translation of the Floamanna saga.[5]

This translation is the only complete one that has been published; that of Finn Magnusen, beginning at the eighth chapter. The saga therefore is accessible only to Scandinavians and Norse scholars; foreigners have no acquaintance with it except

[1] Preface to the Fornsaegur, pp. 16, 22, 23, 27. They assert (p. 28) that ms. A of Finn Magnusen's classification, which the latter is said to have taken for the basis of his text, is mainly a copy of No. 516, in 4to of the Arnas Magnaeus Collection.

[2] In Groenlands hist. Mindesmaerker, Vol. II. pp. 166–175.

[3] In Fornsaegur, pp. 183–185.

[4] In Fornsaegur, pp. 177–183.

[5] *En nordisk Helt fra det* 10 *de Aarhundrede, Thorgils Kaldst Orrabeins Stifsaens, Historie, oversat fra det gamle Skandinaviske, med en Indledning af Baerge Thorlacius*, with notes by Skule Thorlacius, Copenhagen, 1809, 8vo, first published in *Skandanviske Literatur-Selskabs-Skriften*, Copenhagen, 1808, pp. 184–336.

through a brief analysis prepared by Arngrimus Tonæus ;[1] and by another longer one, although incomplete and occasionally incorrect, inserted in two works of Torfæus ;[2] finally by means of a short notice contained in the German translation of the Literature of the sagas, by P. E. Muller.[3] The selections which we are about to present, are as complete as possible in respect to eastern Greenland, but extremely brief for the remainder. It is thus not a literal translation, since it does not follow any one text exclusively, but selects from the various texts, and endeavors mainly to reproduce the ideas relative to our special subject.

Before presenting the material itself, it may be well to say a few words regarding the somewhat obscure chronology of this saga. It can only be ascertained by synchronisms and certain dates furnished by the MSS., yet there are some discrepancies in these, aside from the fact that scholars are always seeking to manipulate them in order to make them square with their theories.[4] Suhm was so uncertain as to the year of Thorgils' death, that he hesitated between 1041 and another date anterior to 1030.[5] B. Thorlacius placed the same event in 1038, and SK. Thorlacius, between 1038 and 1040.[6] Here follow the principal dates of interest to us, according to Finn Magnusen's[7] chronology;

	I.D.
Birth of Thorgils . . .	960
His first voyage to Norway .	976
Expedition to Hebrides, fr.	979 to 980
Return to Iceland . . .	985
Stay of thirteen years in that country to	998
Shipwreck about the middle of October	998
Forced sojourn on the east coast of Greenland, to .	1002
Stay in the Vestribygd till .	1003
Departure from Greenland and arrival in Iceland . . .	1003
Arrival in Norway 1004, in Iceland	1005
Death of Thorgils . . .	1041

[1] *Crymogea sen rerum Istandicarum libri tres*, Hamburg, 1609, 4to., pp. 149–150. No reference is intended to his Groenlandia, which is in MS.

[2] *Groenlandia antiqua*, Copenhagen, 1706, 18mo., pp. 130–151 ; *Historia rerum Norvegicarum*, Copenhagen, 1711, folio, Vol. II.

[3] Sagabibliothek, transl. by C. Lachmann, Berlin, 1816, 8vo,

[4] For instance: some MSS. assert that Thorgils went to Norway when 16 years old, others when 21 years (ch. XII of the Floamanna saga, cf. *Groenlands hist. Mindesmærker*, II. pp. 44, 182–3). Mr, Vigfusson thinks that this is an error of the copyist, and that it should read 25 years (*um timatal i Islendinga saegum i formæld*, in Safu til saegu Islands og islenzkra bokmenta ad forun og myju gefid ut af islenzka Bokmentafelagi, Vol. I. Copenhagen 1811, p, 291, 421.) P. A. Munch read 20 instead of 15 (Det norske Folks Historie, part I. Vol. II. p. 136.)

[5] *Tabeller til critiste Historie af Danmark*, Copenhagen, 1779, folio, pp. 375–6, tabban LXXX.

[6] *loco cit.* p. 334.

[7] Groenland's hist. Mindesm, II. pp. 32–33.

P. A. Munch, who has made such a profound study of Norwegian chronology, supposes that Thorgils was born in 948; that he went to Norway in 964; that he undertook his expedition to the Hebrides in 980; that he embarked for Greenland in 997; that he dwelt in that country seven years and quitted it in 1003.[1] The dates having reference to Greenland sufficiently agree with those adopted by Finn Magnusen; they differ greatly from those of Gudbrand Vigfusson, who puts the birth of Thorgils in 937; estimates his stay in Norway to have been ten years (963–973), his stay in Iceland, thirteen years (973–986), his stay in Greenland, six years (from 986–988, to 991–993),[2] and places his decease in 1022.[3] But since he arrives at these results only by means of conjectures and rectifications of the texts, and as he is not very certain about the date of the departure for Greenland and the length of Thorgils' stay in that country (see above) we prefer to hold ourselves to the chronology of Finn Magnusen and Munch, the more so as the question of dates is of no very great importance in the present instance.

Certain episodes in the previous career of Thorgils, will show us the energy that he gave proof of during his infancy and youth, and how he was prepared to surmount the difficulties which he was destined to encounter. His Great-grandfather Hallstein, son and grandson of Norwegian *jarls* (chiefs), had emigrated to Iceland in order to evade the snares of Harold Harfager, whose father Halfdan Svarte had married for his first wife, Thora, Hallstein's cousin. Thorgils was but two years old when his father, Thord Dofne, abandoned his wife Thorunne, and departed for Norway. As the latter was not heard from, the deserted wife remarried at the end of three years with the corsair Thorgrim Œrrabein. For this reason Thorgils' surname was *Œrrabeinsfostre*, or Œrrabeinsstjup (ward or stepson of Œrrabein). Having at the age of five years cut a horse's throat so that he might be permitted to play with the other children who excluded from their society those who had never killed anything, he was driven from the house of his stepfather and withdrew to that of a friend. At the age of sixteen, having twice demanded his share in the inheritance from Thorgrim, he departed for Norway, for the purpose of making a claim to the domains of his ancestors. He declined to attach himself to the court of the King Harold Grafell, but he took service at that of Hakon jarl, where he bound himself by a close friendship to a very courteous young Icelander, who was called Eric

[1] *Det Norske Folks Historie*, part I, Vol. II. p. 136, note 2, cf. p. 137, note 1 and pp. 868–9.

[2] He is more precise in the Fornsægur (pref. p. xxvi) where he reduces this stay to five years (986–990).

[3] Un timatal, pp. 291, 368, 421–2, 495–7.

the Red, and who later discovered Greenland. The jarl imposed upon him a dangerous task, that of undertaking to recover the tribute of the Hebrides, which had not been paid for three years. He suffered shipwreck on the coast of Caithness in the north of Scotland, was well received by the jarl of that country, and married his sister Gudrun, after having killed in single combat a pirate who had tried to carry her away by force. With the ships which were the reward of his victory, he continued on his expedition, compelled the Hebrides islanders to clear themselves of their debt, and brought the tribute to Hakon jarl, who restored to him the patrimonial estates. He, *Thorleif*, gave them to his son. Thorstein confided their administration to his friend Thorstein the Fair, and having observed the secret affection of the latter for Gudrun, he bestowed her upon him, an act of generosity which was highly praised by contemporaries.[1]

Thorgils then made a commercial journey to the high plateaus of Norway and into Sweden, in the course of which he killed three malefactors, after which he returned to Iceland. His mother was dead; his stepfather had been massacred and avenged by his son, who welcomed Thorgils. The latter married a young maiden called Thorey, and when Christianity was preached in Iceland (between 996 and 998), he became one of the earliest converts. As he presided over the rites in his Canton, the superstitious authors of the Floamanna saga ascribed to the vengeance of the god Thor, the misfortunes he was called upon to endure: first, the loss of his fatted swine; next, that of an old ox. He was obliged to spend one night watching his cattle, and in the morning his body was all blue; it is supposed therefore that he had had a struggle with the god, but also that he must have proved an obstinate antagonist, inasmuch as the malady ceased.[2]

He had been settled thirteen years in his native island when his friend, Eric the Red, invited him to go over to Greenland, promising him the most advantageous terms. Thorgils accepted forthwith, and he made preparations to set out for the new colony, leaving his wife, Thorey, perfect liberty to act as she pleased. Although the latter was possessed of gloomy presentiments, she declared that her duty was to accompany her husband. The illness of their daughter, Thorey, eight years of age, did not alter his resolution. He left the child with a friend, judging that it was its destiny to remain in Iceland. He entrusted the management of his estates to Hæring, his half-brother, to whom he transferred his functions as *gode* or pontiff of his district, and

[1] *Floamanna saga*, in Groenlands hist. Mindesm., II. pp. 36–49, 54–65, 68–71; and in *Fornsægur*, pp. 119, 122,127, 137.

[2] *Floamanna saga*, ib. II. pp. 70–73, 76–79; 84–87; and in Fornsægur, pp. 137–141.

he bestowed on him, beside his immovables, goods to the amount of six thousand yards of brown vadmal,[1] worth six hundred ounces of silver, which were to be for the use of his daughter in case she had need of it. He reserved also the estate of Traderholt for his heirs, if he should not return, and he engaged a certain Thorolf to estimate its value. Having purchased a ship which he found in the Leirnvag,[2] he embarked with his wife, Thorleif and with Thorstein, his son by the former marriage, and who had come to him with handsome presents. They had with them also a well-to-do land-owner, Jostein of Skalfholt and his wife, Thorgerde, a cousin of Thorey, who had brought her up, their son, and three other persons who had grown up with Thorey; Kol, Starkad and their sister Gudrune. Thorgils who intended to build a house on his arrival in Greenland, took with him Thorain his steward with a dozen serfs, two of whom bore the names Snækall and Œssur. The ship therefore carried twenty-two persons, all in the vigor of life, and all kinds of cattle, the intention being to form a permanent settlement.[3]

While Thorgils was waiting for a favorable moment for setting sail, there appeared to him in a dream a large man with red beard and of stern expression, who said to him: "Your undertaking will turn out badly, unless you renew your allegiance to me, in which case I will be your protector." Thorgils[4] replied that he cared nothing for his protection; that he had better withdraw the soonest possible, and that everything would occur as the Almighty God should will. It then seemed to him as if Thor carried him to a steep rock against which waves were beating. "Behold the picture of the place where thou shalt be detained, without being able to depart, unless thou returnest to thine ancient faith," said Thor. "No, go away from me evil spirit" replied Thorgils: "I shall be aided by Him who shed His blood for men's salvation." Upon this he awoke, and related his

[1] The yard of vadmal, or homespun woollen stuff was the unit of value in ancient Iceland. Six yards of vadmal of Thorgils, says the saga, were worth one ounce of silver.

[2] There are two bays of that name in the Taxafjærd, in western Iceland, both not far from the Floi, where was Thorgils abode. The one here referred to is probably the more southern one, which is the more accessible to Rykjavik and the Floi.

[3] *Floamanna saga*, in *Grœnlands hist. Mindesm*, II. pp. 86–91: Fornsægur, pp. 141–142.

[4] Thor, besides being one of the chief gods of the Scandinavian mythology, it is to be noted that his name entered into the composition of that of Thorgils, who had been in some manner consecrated to him in his pagan baptism. *Gils*, which Mr. Ivar Aasen erroneously compares with the French *Giles* (*Norsk Navnebog*; Christiana, 1878, 18mo. p 15), seems rather to correspond with *gael*, *gille*, or *gjolla* (servant) which passed into Norway in the Christian centuries under the form of *gilli*, in the same way that *gisl* (hostage) is related to *gael*, *gjoll*, which has exactly the same meaning.

dream to his wife, who said: "If I had had this bad dream I would have remained here; it is best not to speak of it to your companions."

But a good wind carried them out of the bay, scarce had they lost sight of the shores of Iceland, when there occurred a calm and they drifted over the sea until their supply of food and drink was on the point of giving out. Thor again appeared to Thorgils, with as little success as at other times. But when autumn came they asked that sacrifices be offered to this god: No one dared do so, however, by reason of the prohibition and the threats of the master of the ship. Thor having again appeared to the latter, promised to conduct him to his haven within the space of seven nights, and on his renewed refusal demanded his own. Thorgils, on reflection, thought that there must be an ox which really had been consecrated to Thor. On awaking he made up his mind to throw overboard the animal to which he attributed his ill-luck, and did it too in spite of the supplications and discontent of Thorgerde, who offered to purchase it.[1]

They continued to drift during three months, and often with very severe weather. Thorarin, now twenty years old, was to his master the most valuable man of the crew. It was reported that the ship had stranded upon the sandy beach of a bay of Greenland, whose shores on both sides were overhung with high glaciers. The upper part of the ship broke lose but all the travelers were saved, together with the cargo and the shallop. The prow was thrown upon the southern shore. It was a week before the beginning of winter. The shipwrecked party constructed a cabin which a board partition divided into two apartments, the one occupied by Thorgils and his people, the other by the family of Jostein. The greater part of the cattle had been drowned, but they had a little flour to sustain them, they also caught some seals, whales and fish. Thorgils and his party proved to be the best purveyors; and they also enjoyed the better portion. To a remark of Jostein's to this effect, he replied: "We do not each observe the same methods; you stay up late, while we go to work early in the morning." Nevertheless, he consented that an equal division be made, and neither of the parties suffered hunger, but they were not in perfect accord. Thorgils recommended his men to keep themselves quiet and peaceable at nights, and carefully to observe their religious duties. Those of Jostein, on the other hand, made a brawl and amused themselves at night with violent and noisy exercises. Thorey was with child and in a poor state of health. She was delivered about the opening of winter of a boy who was christened and called Thorfinn. The food within reach was hardly the

[1] *Floamanna saga*, in Grœnl. hist. mindes. II pp. 90-97; in Fornsægur pp. 142, 143.

kind for one in her condition. Thorgils, therefore, sent his men out to fish with the serfs of Jostein. On Christmas eve he urged his men to be peaceable and not to be up late. On Christmas day it was fine weather, and they could go out doors. There was heard a great noise in the north-east.[1]

The next day Thorgils and his men retire in good season; they sleep for some time, when Jostein and his people enter to get their supper; the latter make a great uproar, in which Thorgerde takes an ample part; she was as strong as a man. While they were on their beds, there was a loud knock at the door. One of them, thinking some one had come to bring good news, went out, but he instantly became raving mad, and the next day he died. On the following night another similarly fell into a frenzy, saying that he saw running the one who had died. Forthwith an epidemic developed itself among the band of Jostein, and six men fell victims to it. Attacked by it himself, he also succumbed; all the bodies were buried in the sand.[2]

Thorgils exhorted his people to profit by this example; he told them to remain peaceable and steady, to devote themselves to pious meditations, and to conduct themselves rationally, in observing the practices of Christianity and in prayer. Thorgerde also fell sick and died, as in fact all the companions of Jostein, one after the other. Thorarin, his son, was the last. All these deaths occurred before the middle of the month Goi.[3] Much trouble was experienced, moreover from the appearance of spectres, which attacked Thorgils in particular, and prevented the survivors from going abroad. They manifested themselves especially in the portion of the cabin which had been occupied by Jostein's band, and they did not cease to appear until Thorgils had caused the corpses to be burned. As the two parties had busied themselves with ship-building, there was one boat upon the stocks and another near completion. The end of the winter was approaching, but the ice still prevented departure. The summer was spent in providing victuals. The next winter, died Gudrune, sister of Kol,

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[1] The account does not indicate its cause: it was doubtless the breaking up of the floating glaciers, which, according to an old Danish Chronicler of the 12th Century, cause to be heard in these regions as it were an echo of loud voices and various unusual sounds (*Saxo*) *grammaticus, Historia Danica, edit. P. E. Muller et Velschow, Vol. I, Copenhagen*, 1839, 4to., preface p. 15. cf, *Groenl hist. Mindes* II. p. 198.

[2] *Floamanna saga* in *Groenl, hist. Mindes*, II pp. 96–101; in Fornsaegur p. 143.

[3] Commencing about February 21.

who buried her beneath her own bed.[1] At the opening of spring, it was still too early to undertake the journey. Thorey related one day to her husband a dream which she had had, in which she had seen a large and beautiful country, with shining people; she conjectured from this that they would soon be delivered out of their trouble. Thorgils answered her that the dream augured happily, but that it perhaps had reference to another world, where she would be welcomed by the saints, in reward for her pure life and her sore trials. She urged him to try and get out of this desert if it were possible. He replied that he could not as yet see his way to this, but some day when it should be fine weather, he said that he would climb the glaciers to see if the icebergs were detached. Thorey, who kept her bed almost constantly, expressing her grief that he should leave her, he promised not to go away very far. The slaves should go fishing, the steward Thorarin should aid them in launching the boat, after which he should return to the invalid. Thorleif, Kol and Starkad offered to accompany Thorgils, and although the latter had made the remark that the house would be left without protectors and that he ought not to rely upon serfs, they all went on the discovery. Thorgils was armed with a battle axe which he had found in an underground hiding place in Iceland. They came back at three o'clock in the afternoon in the midst of a storm. Thorgils marching in front, found the way with ease; on approaching the hut they saw nothing of the boat and the room was empty and the chests removed, which made them suspect some mishap. They heard some groans in Thorey's bed, who was dead; the babe was sucking the corpse, under one of whose arms they observed a wound made by a small knife and much blood about. Thorey was buried near Gudrune. Thorleif endeavored to console his father, whom this blow affected more severely than all that had gone before. All the food had been carried off, as also the curtains of the bed and the doors of the chambers.[2]

Thorgils watched by the babe through the night, although he saw no possibility of saving its life; this prospect distressed him so greatly that he determined upon an experiment; he pierced his breast, out of which flowed blood at first, then a blue liquid, which became white like milk. He made the babe draw this

[1] The Eskimo of the Jameson country (70 degrees, 25 minutes, 71 degrees, 30 minutes), part of the east coast of Greenland, bury their dead in the same manner, (W. Scoresby, Jr., "Journal of a voyage to the Northern Whale-fishery . . . and discoveries on the eastern coast of West Greenland" Edinburgh, 1823. 8vo, cf. *groenl. hist. Mindes.* II. p. 200.

[2] *Floamanna saga, in Groenlandshist. Mindes.* Vol. II, pp. 100–107; in Fornsægur pp. 143–125.

and fed it thus.[1] The shipwrecked devote themselves diligently to fishing, and they tried to construct a boat to replace the one that had been stolen, but they had no tools, the serfs having carried away the chest which contained the gimlets, as well as the great caldron; there remained only the small one with a piece of meat. They made a boat of skins, stretched over a framework of willow-wood, and used it for fishing. One morning when Thorgils went out he saw in a gap in the ice a large animal, whence two queer looking women were taking fat quarters.[2] Thorgils running upon them with his Irish sword, struck one of them while she was making up her load, and cut her hand; she fled and dropped her burden. He seized the carcass (of the beast) and there was no lack of victuals during the winter, but in the spring they were nearly gone. The sea having become passable, they proceeded elsewhere by following the foot of the glaciers, or by travelling upon the ice. In the summer they crossed with their boat of skins to the *Seleys* (the Seal Islands) where they caught several seals, but they had been able to carry thither only a part of their effects. They passed the winter here. At the commencement of the summer they pushed further on, and at the expiration of a fortnight, they came to an islet where they found eggs of the blackbacks (*svartbak*, larus marinus) which they fed to the baby, because victuals were so scare. He only ate the half of them, and when he was asked why, he answered: "I want to economize as well as you." They passed the night in their boat, but landed during the day; the chase and fishing met with only moderate success. One day they found a piece of an oar upon which was written in Runic characters: "I have many a time wet this oar, when I wielded it upon the oar-banks; it hurt my hands when I returned to the house, as if I had been beating iron."[3]

As they went along the glaciers they came to some steep rocks; they drew their boat on shore and put up

[1] There exist a number of analogous accounts (Jean de Marconville, "Recueil Memorable d'anciens cas merveilleux advenuz de nos aus," Paris, 1564, 18mo., ch. 40, fo. 116; Simon Goulart, "Histoires admirables et memorables de nostre temps," in six books, vol. II. book 4, edition of 1627, 18 mo., pp. 812, 813; cf. Vol. I, 2d book.) It is especially in America that instances of lactation have been found, even in our days (De Pauw, "Recherches philosoph, sur les Americains," Vol. I,. Paris, an III, 8vo, pp. 52–55—"Les Indiens de la baie d'Hudson," [after Kane] by Ed. Delessert, Paris, 1861, 18 mo., p. 260.)

[2] *Trollkonur*, composed of *Kona* (Woman) and *troll*, which corresponds to the Low-German *droll*, the Dutch *drol*, whence has come the French drole. The Icelandic *troll*, signifies giant, monster, demon, and its adjective *trollslig* has the sense of enormous, frightful, strange or queer. These women were evidently Eskimo, whom the narrator compares with monsters, by reason of their strange accoutrements made of seal skins.

[3] *Floamanna saga* in *Groenlands hist. mindes*. Vol. II. pp. 106–111; in *Fornsaegur*, p, 145.

their tent. Kol on stepping out in the morning, fails to see the boat; but he does not wish to be the one to tell Thorgils, who has already had his share of grief, and he lay down again. Thorleif did the same; at last when Thorgils went out, he announced the loss they had suffered and said to his companions: "We are now compelled to put the child to death; we cannot long carry it through this desert across the glaciers and rocks which we must encounter." He begged them therefore to kill it. Thorleif replied that this would be a wicked thing to do. But Thorgils insisting, they carried the child away, and Thorlief transferred the evil work over to Kol, who in his turn declined to perform the deed. "Thorgils," said he, "will regret this hasty action, when he has regained his composure. I do not therefore wish to inflict this sorrow upon him; I have been his companion too long, and I owe him too great a debt of gratitude." Leaving the child outside they re-entered the tent. The father asked them if the thing had been done; on their answering in the negative he thanked them warmly. They went to get the child, which passed the night next to Thorgils. Once more did dreams inspire the shipwrecked party with some hope; a voice in reality cried to them from without that they might retake their boat, and they saw two queer looking women who had stolen it running away. A bear, one of whose forepaws was broken, was struggling in shallow water. Thorgils ran towards the beast, killed it with a blow of his sword, after which he seized it by the ear to prevent its sinking to the bottom. They dragged it ashore and skinned it; each of the voyagers received only one piece of it, which seemed quite small; they complained of it among themselves, but Thorgils reminded them how necessary it was to be frugal, because of the difficulty in procuring victuals. Next they launched again upon the sea and passed by in front of many bays. Sometimes they carried the boat over the ice separating navigable waters. Arriving at the entrance of a large gulf, they were very tired, and were very thirsty, but there was no water near. One of the five companions then said that sailors on the point of dying of thirst would mix their urine with the sea water; they asked Thorgils' permission to drink such mixture. He declared that there was nothing to oppose it, and that he wished neither to forbid nor to command it; but when they were about to drink he took a vessel and uttered some words of exorcism; "Wicked beast who retardest our voyage, it shall not be said that thou shalt make us drink our own water!" In the same instant a diver flew out of the boat towards the north, uttering a cry. Continuing to row further on they saw a running stream, out of which they slacked their thirst. Three days later they discovered a linen tent which they recognized as Thor-

ey's. Within they found Thorarin the steward, of whom they asked how he came to be there. He told them that the run-away serfs had threatened to kill him if he would not accompany them, and that Snækoll was the murderer of Thorey. "I know not what thou deservest," answered Thorgils, "but thy tale seemest unlikely; thou shalt live no longer." They put him to death and buried him on the spot, after which they went on.[1]

It was the beginning of autumn. They reached a gulf on the edge whereof stood a shed; they landed and drew the boat ashore. At the door of a house stood a man who greeted them and asked their name; they questioned him in their turn; he said that his name was Hrolf; that in consequence of a murder he had fled from the settlement; that it was not far off, but that the road was difficult. He reported besides that a ship had been fishing in his vicinity during the summer, but that it had not come to land. He made the voyagers a great welcome, and offered them hospitalities which they accepted. The little Thorfinn was given over to the care of the women; when milk was given to him he remarked that it had not the same color as that of his father. The emigrants passed the winter in that place. In the spring, their host offered to let them stay longer, or to let them use his boats if they wished to continue their journey. Thorgils thanked him and told him they would accept the use of his boats, and that he would make it his duty to show him his gratitude: "I hope," answered Hrolf "that you will attain a high position, and that then you will be able to be of great service to me, in reconciling me to my fellow-townsmen." Thorgil promised him this and they parted on the best of terms. The voyagers directed their course towards the southern part of the country;[2] having landed in the gulf and

[1] *Floamanna Saga* in *Groen. Hist. Min.* II. 110-123; in Fornsægur, pp. 145-7.

[2] *Their fara sudr fyrir land* (*Groenl. Hist. Mindes.* II. 124; *Fornsægur*, p. 148). This passage is very important in assisting us to determine the location of the coast upon which the emigrants were wrecked. They were in the eastern part of Greenland; since the interior of the country was absolutely impracticable, they must descend toward the south to Cape Farewell in order to reach the Eastern Settlement, or Œstribygd. This name has long given rise to the belief that it was situated on the straits of Denmark, but the eastern coast of Greenland being almost unapproachable and uninhabitable, we must of necessity look for this settlement on Davis Strait on the west coast of Greenland. But why then is it called "Eastern Settlement?" because between 49 to 50 degrees long. west of Paris, the Greenland coast changes its direction, and instead of continuing to run from S. E. to N. W. it runs from E. to W.,—there it is almost a desert; as the glaciers come down almost to the sea, and have but a narrow stretch of land at their base; that desert separates the two Scandinavian colonies of the Middle Ages, that in the south being east of the other, although not so in relation to Greenland as a whole; it was called eastern, and that in the north, western.

erected their tent, they saw a merchant vessel driven by the same wind as they had been, and which came to land in the same place. Delighted with this happy event, Thorgils sent Thorleif and Kol to learn the name of the new-comers and to ask them for news. On their arrival at the ship a man in a red coat, who was seated upon the poop, arose and welcomed Thorleif in a very friendly manner. It was the latter's stepfather, Thorstein the Fair; he asked after Thorgils, and learning that he was in the vicinity, he went to him. It was a happy meeting. The newcomer told that he had come from Iceland, and that the affairs of Thorgils were in good shape, but that for four years no one had heard him speak of him; that his daughter Thorny had married Bjarne of Græf. Perceiving that Thorleif did not return to Norway, Thorstein had manned his ship and set sail for Iceland; he had passed two winters there without obtaining news of the emigrants, and he had set out on a search for them. Rejoiced to have found them, he placed all he had at their disposal. Thorgils said, he expected to take nothing from his friend. Soon the people of the country approached them. A land-owner called Thoir, who lived near-by, offered hospitality to Thorstein which he accepted. As regards Thorgils, at the invitation of Eric the Red, he went to Brattahlid with twelve men. He was placed over against the master of the house; after him came Thorleif, then Kol, and lastly Starkad. A nurse was obtained for Thorfinn, but he would not drink milk until it was made dark.[1]

The emigrants have reached a happy haven. We need not follow them further, since the account of their shipwreck is the single object of this memoir, and it ends here. It occupies but the fourth or the fifth part of the saga according to the texts, and it forms the longest and by far the most important episode thereof. It is not merely the sojourn of the emigrants upon the east coast of Greenland, their painful journey across the icebergs or along the foot of the glaciers, which has made of it a document valuable by reason of its antiquity; it is also a source of careful instruction which would be hard to find elsewhere, regarding the preparations of the emigrants, their precautions in embarking with a large number of travellers, with cattle, with building materials, with provisions, with utensils, in short with everything which might be of use to them in their prospective establishment. These details throw a clear light upon the beginnings of the Greenland colony, and enable us to comprehend how it could succeed amid arduous surroundings, and in a country so little favored by nature. It is likely that the other emigrants

[1] *Floamanna saga, in Groenlands Hist. Mindes.* II. pp. 122–127; in *Fornsægur*, pp. 147–8.

had no less practical good sense, foresight and energy than Thorgils. With these qualities, which have not always distinguished their imitators in modern times, they were able to transplant the Scandinavian civilization to one of the most sterile countries of the New World, to create there for themselves a new fatherland, to procure for themselves there abundant means of subsistence; to perpetuate themselves there during five centuries, and that without the aid of the Eskimo, then very scarce on the west shore of Davis Strait, and doing this without possessing the resources and advantages of traffic with the natives, but living entirely by fishing, by hunting, and the raising of cattle, and by finding in the export of natural products the means for buying and importing into Greenland all sorts of European commodities and merchandise. In no other part of America so far north was there founded a European colony which was able to subsist by itself, independently of the natives and the mother country. Even the Danish settlements in Greenland were placed on different foundations; they maintained themselves by means of monopoly, and simply exchanged European products for the raw material which the Eskimo drew from the bosom of the sea.

The Icelandic colony of Greenland therefore presents a phenomenon unique in history; this is what constitutes the value of the documents which bear on it, and notably of the *Floamanna saga*. This saga has been very variously estimated; Finnus Johannæus places it among the number of the ancient sagas relating to Iceland which it is useful to consult, and which furnishes many good ideas.[1] Bœrge Thorlacius looks upon it as worthy of belief; according to him it deserves attention, not only on account of the adventures of its hero, but also by reason of its vividness of narration, its extrinsic worth, its displays of character; above all for the light which it sheds upon many points of northern antiquity.[2] P. E. Muller confesses that some of the adventures of Thorgils appear to him suspicious, but "that which relates to Eric the Red agrees well with the saga on that personage. Several phases of the sojourn of Thorgils in Greenland are so naive and characteristic, that they bear the impress of truth. One should not be surprised that the shipwrecked party—castaway upon a desert coast of Greenland in the eleventh century, and dwelling there amid miseries during several winters—should have believed that they saw ghosts of the departed, or heard mysterious warnings. On the other hand, however, if the supernatural is presented in this saga with a seriousness which shows that the narrator himself believed in it, and

[1] *Historia ecclesiastica Islandae*, IV preface, Copenhagen, 1778, 4to.

[2] *En nordisk Heit*; in *Skandin. Lit. Selskab Skrifter*, pp. 194, 202, 206.

distinguishing it from similar adventures in fairy tales,—it is frequent, and moreover affects more deservedly the occurrences than is ordinarily the case in purely historic sagas. The numerous temptations presented by Thor seem to belong to a later period; at least no ancient saga mentions anything like these."[1] "The voyage of Thorgils to Greenland," says Finn Magnusen, "must ever remain a memorable one. The account which has been given of it carries indubitably the impress of truth, although, after an exhaustive examination, criticism may be able to discover in it here and there an error proceeding from the misunderstandings of the narrators or copyists. The events are presented conformably with the prejudices and the superstitions of the Middle Ages. Although a portion of these recitals may possess little attraction for cultivated readers, because they are corrupted by the irregular imagination and the false conception of unenlightened persons, they nevertheless reflect the real character, the point of view, and the opinions of our ancestors. The most important among them possess an incontestable credibility, which affords us an exact picture of the situation, the extent, and the wild and uncultivated condition of the eastern coast of Greenland."[2]

The Norwegian historian, P. A. Munch, states that the principal events recorded in this saga have entirely the impress of truth, although some of the accessory circumstances have an air of having been later exaggerated and embellished,[3] and he has not hesitated to give a place to Thorgils in his conscientious history of the Norwegian people.[4] The Danish historian, N. M. Petersen, has simply re-produced the opinions of his predecessors; he admits that the saga has been embellished, and that the important account of the sojourn of Thorgils on the east coast of Greenland has been impaired by the fabulous features.[5] The Norwegian, R. Keyser, is more severe than these critics, he grants very little historic value to the Floamanna saga, "in view," he says, "of the fact that the true events which form the foundation of the recital are evidently mixed up to a considerable extent with fabulous additions, which, most of the time, do not even possess the merit of rendering the narrative more interesting.[6]

[1] *Sagabibliothek*, I., pp. 313, 314, Copenhagen, 1817, 18mo.

[2] *Groenlands hist. Mindes.* II. pp. 6–7.

[3] *Det norske Folks Historie*, part 1st, Vol. II, p. 137, note, (Christiania, 1853, 8vo.)

[4] Ibid. pp. 41–43; 136, 137; 184; 360; 363; 465; 862–863.

[5] *Bidrag til den old nordiske Literaturs Historie*, p. 208, in *Annaler for nordisk OldKyndighed og Historie*, 1861, Copenhagen, 1866, 8vo.

[6] *Normændenes Videnskabelighed og Literatur i Middelalderen*, p. 493, forming the 1st vol. of his *Efterladte Skrifter*, Christiania, 1866, 8vo.

It seems to us that the learned historian has allowed himself to be too powerfully influenced by the credulity of the narrator, proving doubtless his lack of the critical quality, but affording at the same time a proof of his good faith; for it is but the outcome of the belief of his day; and were this absent from a work of this kind and of that age, we might suspect that it had been touched up or expurgated in more modern centuries. If the marvellous which occupies so prominent a role in this saga did not have a place in nature, it did have a chief one in the diseased brains of the shipwrecked, which their sufferings and privations filled with hallucinations; they ascribed to the vengeance of Thor the misfortunes which overwhelmed them, or if they did not do so themselves, the superstitious narrator may well have sought in the contempt exhibited toward that false god the explanation of unmerited disasters. The pious sentiments which possessed him were not inconsistent with an ascription of a certain amount of power to a mythological being, who to him as to mediæval christians generally, was the devil in the northern conceptions of him. The fantastic portions of the saga, therefore, do not in the least impair the authority of the narrator; they furnish on the contrary, an element of local color, and, as it is always easy to eliminate them, their presence in the recital has not the disadvantage that errors of a more likely nature would produce. Leaving the supernatural out of the account, there remains an animated picture of interesting adventures, but not at all extraordinary; an exact delineation of a country but little known even in our day. And the conformity of this description with that which has been given by modern travellers is a sure warrant for the authenticity of the account, which, if it has not been composed by one of the shipwrecked party, could not have been composed at all except from their own recitals.

E. Beauvois.

THE HISTORIAN MOTLEY AT WORK.*

In a treatment of Motley in a magazine devoted to National history, we must be careful not to pass beyond our scope. We must confine ourselves strictly to the man, apart from his subject—to the *American* writing a noble history, without regarding the country which he has so splendidly illustrated. Yet remembering the interests of historical students, to which these pages generally, and especially these essays on books are devoted, it will be quite legitimate to look in upon him at his work, both in the manner of it and in the place of it; so that if our curiosity in its laudable pursuit of him with reference to the circumstance of locality, leads us after all to the country whose history he has written, we may still feel we are properly there, and are not violating our *National* conditions.

A most interesting question may be raised at the very outset—none the less so because it must remain without positive answer, and may be left within the field of conjecture or mystery. It is this: why did Motley ever come to write on just that subject the treatment of which has lent an undying lustre to his name and to the literary fame of his native land? The settlement of that question were a not unimportant gain to literary history—particularly in the domain of American literature. Dr. Holmes in his "Memoir" left the question unanswered; but he disclaimed for his book the exhaustiveness of a biography, and hoped this would be written by some other hand. Ten years after appeared the "Correspondence," and we hopefully turned for the solution of this question to these volumes. But almost the first word of the editor is a reference for biographical details to Dr. Holmes' "Memoir." Finally in despair the writer addressed the inquiry to Dr. Holmes himself, to which he was kind enough to make a reply, but assuring us that he was unable to make a positive statement in regard to the matter.

We are left then to conjecture, and there are steps in such a process which almost lead us into the light of certainty—yet certainty we are to re-

* John Lothrop Motley—A Memoir, by Oliver Wendell Holmes (Houghton, Osgood & Co., Boston, 1879.)

Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley. Edited by George W. Curtis, in two volumes. (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1889).

member there is not. Two novels had proved to Motley that he had better not pursue that kind of composition. But to himself and friends they proved just as conclusively that he wielded a mighty power of style, which would eminently suit the delineation of real events and the actions of actual persons—in short that he should write history. He tried his hand at this in a tentative way, publishing one article on "Peter the Great," another on the "Polity of the Puritans," in the *North American Review*. They deserved and won high praise from discriminating critics. History then was to be his destiny. But the history of what or of whom? Prescott had not yet written his "Philip the II."—so this could not have determined Motley to write on the Dutch Republic. Besides we have positive testimony that it did not. Before "Philip II." was published he learned that Prescott was engaged upon it. It filled him at once with a sickening despair, for he had even then chosen his subject, and it was sufficiently like that of the more practiced and known writer to appal him. "It seemed to me," he wrote to a friend afterwards, "that I had nothing to do but to abandon at once a cherished dream, and probably to renounce authorship. For I had not first made up my mind to write a history, and then cast about to take up a subject. My subject had taken me up, drawn me on, and absorbed me into itself." This certainly evinces the noblest ideal of authorship; but it shows also that in some definite, powerful way, the subject of the Dutch Republic must have been "borne in upon" him; and therefore it would be interesting to trace the origin of the thought in his mind. We may remember that Bancroft had then published his History, and that Bancroft does ample justice to the earlier republic across the seas. Again "Peter the Great" would direct his studies to the sturdy little commonwealth to which even this great despot turned for instruction in practical arts; while the "Polity of the Puritans" would none the less leave it almost impossible for him to omit some mention of their brethren in theological and political thought in Holland; and certainly would compel a study of these ideas, or of the fact of their existence and practical operation, even without mention. But perhaps we get the nearest possible to the real origin of the purpose which bore such noble fruit, in the words of Mr. Groen Van Prinsterer, the celebrated Dutch statesman and historian, describing his first meeting with Motley: "It was the 8th of August, 1853. A note is handed me from our eminent Archivist Bakhuizen Van den Brink. It informs me that I am to receive a visit from an American, who having been struck by the analogies between the United Provinces and the United States, between Washington and the founder of our independence, has interrupted

his diplomatic career to write the life of William the First." Now we must not attach too much weight to this rendering by Van Prinsterer of the statements of Mr. Van den Brink, regarding Motley's purposes and their origin. But the archivist doubtless gained some such idea as expressed above from personal intercourse with Motley's absorption by his subject, and to the stately volumes which he has left as so rich a heritage to American letters.

Whatever may have been the precise time or the exact occasion which led Motley to be "struck" with the analogies in question, about the year 1845 we find him at work upon the

VIEW OF THE "VYVER" FROM VAN PRINSTERER'S HOUSE.

Motley, and we are content to look to these analogies so striking and significant between the European Republic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the American of the eighteenth and nineteenth, as the determining motive which led to project which had taken possession of him. We know not just what material he had then within his reach for his preparatory studies. Now some of our libraries are well provided with the Dutch authorities. The Astor Library in New York is

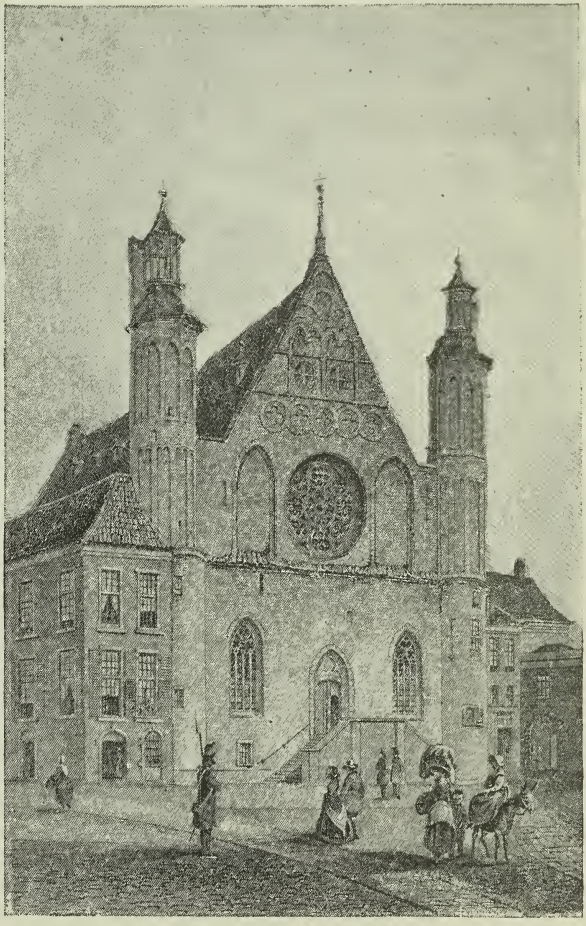
peculiarly rich, with Wagenaar, Bor, Van Meteren, De Wicquefort and Aitzema upon its shelves, to mention no other and minor yet important sources. There is no doubt that Motley could consult such works, as he was a fine linguist. German he spoke like a native, and it would not require much effort for him to add the Dutch to his command of the other languages. But even if he had access to all the works mentioned, his pursuit of history in the modern and scientific spirit, which is not content with printed sources merely, would have soon led him to crave something beyond these. It is the province of the historian of the present age to create his own sources; that is, to pass beyond the convenient printed storehouses, and to rummage among original documents, the state or private papers which reflect the movements of history as they were going on. He must thence draw his own conclusions, and form his own judgments, weigh evidence for himself as interested parties tell the same story differently, interpreting events through the distorting lens of prejudice. Conceiving this to be his duty if he were to write history worthily, Motley was forced to look across the ocean for the true field of his preparations. Whatever authorities in books already printed, America might or might not have then possessed, for the original documents the search must be made on the very spot which formed the theatre of events. Accordingly he broke up his home in Boston, and with wife and family transferred his residence to Europe. This was in 1851. He found it necessary to establish himself in various places, and his peregrinations can easily be traced by means of his letters.

On the fourth of July of that year he arrives in England, establishes his family in a cosy little village on the Rhine, and then takes a trip through Holland. We possess no details of the trip, but doubtless he went over the ground that he was to describe in his account of battles and sieges. Guided by Motley's volumes the writer undertook a similar excursion a few years ago, leaving no point unvisited, however much out of the way of the ordinary tourist; looking upon the field of Heiligerlee, the Lexington of the Dutch Revolution, and also upon that of Mookerheide, fateful and fatal as Flodden or Long Island. Two months would give him ample time to make these personal visits, without which history cannot be written as modern criticism requires it; and in November, he is established at Dresden, thoroughly engaged in the work he had laid out for himself. Here was "a magnificent library of 450, 000 volumes;" and there was also "a vast collection of unpublished documents" in the Royal Archives. His hero, William the Silent, married for his second wife, Anne of Saxony, the Elector's daughter, and naturally, original documents bearing on the

private life of the patriot were here at hand. The "Memoir" presents us with an interesting view of his manner of work from day to day. "He generally rose early, the hour varying somewhat at different parts of his life, according to his work and health. Sometimes when much absorbed by literary labor he would rise before seven, often lighting his own fire, and with a cup of tea or coffee writing until the family breakfast hour, after which his work was immediately resumed, and he usually sat over his writing-table until late in the afternoon, when he would take a short walk. His dinner hour was late, and he rarely worked at night." What we wish to emphasize particularly here, as an example and an incitement to historical students, is the matter of thoroughness, the grand Herculean labors which this American student bravely underwent. As a feature of American literary work it was unique in his case—much more so then, we are happy to say, than it has become since. It is the German who is generally taken as the type of the exhaustive and exhausting searcher, the unwearied "digger." But Motley worked as hard, and searched as widely and as deeply, as any German of them all. There is no use for any American to attempt to write in the same line without doing as he did, if the writing be for eternity and not for the fleeting days and ephemeral praise, as superficial often as the productions it belauds. What could have been more gratifying than to receive such testimony as that of Prescott: "Everywhere you seem to have gone into the subject with a scholar-like thoroughness of research." We get glimpses from his letters how this research was conducted, especially after the publication and success of his first work, "The Rise of the Dutch Republic," had given him the means and the name to command access to the depositories of valuable papers: "I have now two persons employed in [London] in copying for me, according to my mapping out when personally in the State Paper office and the British Museum. I was also hard at work in the Archives in Paris during the few weeks that we were there. I have however much to do in the subterranean way in Brussels, the Hague, London and Paris. I do not write at all as yet, but am diving deep and staying under very long, but hoping not to come up too dry. My task is a very large and hard one."

His next place of somewhat extended abode, after Dresden, was Brussels. This was the capital of the Netherland Provinces while they were still under the yoke of the King of Spain. Here was the Court of the Viceroy, or Governor; here met the States-General. This remained the capital of the Spanish Netherlands or the obedient provinces, after the seven northern ones had established the republic. The field for research here must therefore, have been par-

ticularly rich. Here too was the scene of these earlier political movements which foreshadowed the revolution and in which the talents, the Egmond and Hoorn were executed; the palaces where the nobles met and assumed the proud title of Beggars (Gueux), where the four hundred



HALL OF THE KNIGHTS, ON BINNENHOFF.

prudence, the patriotism of William the Silent, shone forth quite as conspicuously as in later days of armed hostility. Upon the market-place, gentlemen presented their "petition of rights," where Egmond and Hoorn were arrested and imprisoned—were all here, and intact. Motley has left

us a vivid description of how he passed his time here and what was the effect upon his mind of his absorbing historical studies. "I am in a town which for aught I know may be very gay. I do not know a living soul in it. We have not a single acquaintance in the place and we glory in the fact. When I say that I know no soul in Brussels I am perhaps wrong. With the present generation I am not familiar. *En revanche*, the dead men of the place, are my intimate friends. I am at home in any cemetery. With the fellows of the sixteenth century, I am on the most familiar terms. Any ghost that ever flits by night across the moonlight square is at once hailed by me as a man and a brother. I call him by his Christian name at once . . . I go day after day to the Archives here (as I went all summer at the Hague) studying the old letters and documents of the sixteenth century. Here I remain among my fellow worms, feeding on those musty mulberry leaves of which we are afterwards to spin our silk."

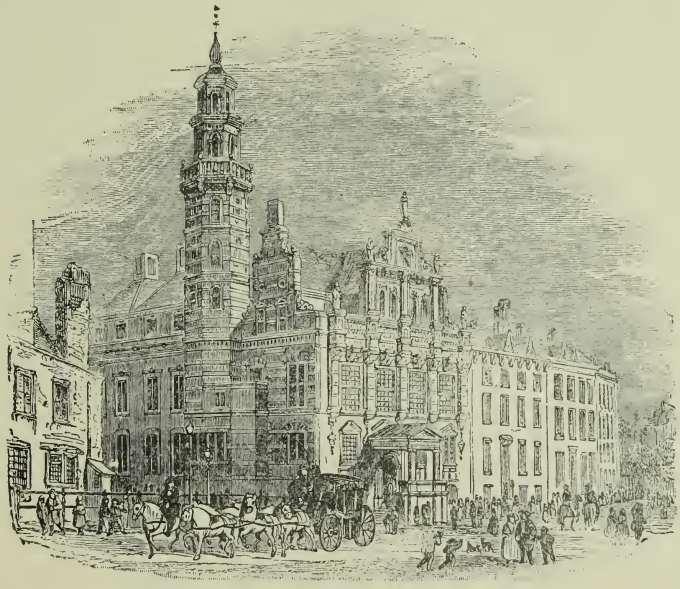
It was at Dresden and Brussels that Motley wrote his first work, "the Rise of the Dutch Republic." It was written in the midst of that natural trepidation which comes with the uncertainty of success. The author then feels constantly coming down upon him like a pall—or perhaps it is better to say like a "wet blanket"—the sense that after all what he may be doing is in vain. The volumes may not find a publisher. They may fall dead from the press even if published. Here were three ponderous octavo volumes forming under his pen. Would any one feel the interest in the subject that animated him, and which the thorough acquaintance with the minutiæ of the story, or the intense love for that sort of study perhaps alone created, and was not therefore to be expected to exist in the general reading public. It was an untried subject, somewhat away from the immediate sympathies of the two English speaking nations whose commendation was of course first of all to be gained. These doubts assailed Motley with peculiar force, because he was given to melancholy, despondent moods, "blue devils" as he calls them. In writing to his uncle, Mr. Edward Motley, he remarks: "The truth is I am so oppressed by a constitutional melancholy, which grows upon me very rapidly as to be almost incapacitated from making myself agreeable. You know how to sympathize with this frame of mind, and I should apologize to you for talking about my blue devils." But this very condition of uncertainty as to success brought out the finer qualities of authorship: the devotion to a scholarly ideal *per se*—the love of labor for its own reward. Assured success and an established fame may have—do have—their own advantages; but that sublime forgetfulness of self in the pursuit of literature as a divinity worthy of our best—

can only or sincerely possess us in the days when we are namelessly striving to accomplish some work which the world may, or may not, willingly let die. While writing on the Dutch Republic at Brussels, he observes in a letter to Dr. Holmes: "I came here, having as I thought, finished my work, but I find so much original matter here and so many emendations to make, that I am ready to despair. Whatever may be the result of my labors, nobody can say that I have not worked hard like a brute beast: but I do not care for the result. The labor is in itself its own reward and all I want."

And when at last the book was finished—that is the "Rise of the Dutch Republic,"—early in 1854, discouragement took material shape in the distinct refusal of the great London publisher, Murray, to undertake the issue of it! "Murray received me most civilly," he writes on May 10, 1854, "and impressed me very agreeably. He seemed interested in my subject, and entertained the question of publishing as favorably as I could expect. When I went away his porter accompanied me to my hotel, which is only one street from Albemarle street where Murray resides, took away the whole of the manuscript in his bag, and it is at present in the publisher's possession. Murray is to give me an answer in a fortnight at farthest." We do not learn from the letters whether it took Murray quite the fortnight to come to the conclusion he would not publish it. At any rate some one else had to be found, and it was finally published by Mr. John Chapman at the author's expense, his father and uncle generously assisting to a considerable amount. About Christmas, 1854, the volumes came from the press, and now the question of success was immediately settled. Everywhere the history met with the most enthusiastic praise. The fame of the author spread over civilized Europe, and he was appreciated no less by his countrymen.

It was with all these blushing honors thick upon him that Motley addressed himself to the task of preparing for his second work, "the History of the United Netherlands," continuing the story of the Dutch Republic after the death of William the Silent. In view of the final result, it is amusing to note what the extent of the work appeared to him to be before he began to write: "If I receive enough encouragement, which I don't expect, to finish this work, I shall write three more volumes, in order to bring my history down to the Peace of Westphalia, 1648." The four volumes of the United Netherlands only brought him to the beginning of the "Twelve Years' Truce," or 1609. The two volumes on Barneveld just barely enabled him to touch the end of that Truce; and the whole of the Thirty Years' War, from 1618 to 1648, which ended contemporaneously with the Eighty Years' War (1568–

1648) had to be left in abeyance, for with his eye upon that period, and with materials collected in preparation for it—illness at first and death at last forbade him to go on. It is pleasing to notice that success and fame did not lower his ideal in writing, or lessen the stimulus or taste for genuine hard work. Now was right to make thorough work. When my two works are both finished, I can not help thinking that they will have a considerable value even in the money-market. But at the same time it is impossible for me to do anything at all unless I discard all such ideas from my mind when I am writing. The moment a man begins to write



CITY HALL, THE HAGUE.

undertaken that simultaneous collecting of notes by means of copyists and secretaries in various places at once. But laboriously did Motley himself go over all the material to note what was of use to him, and to direct his assistants what or how much to transcribe. He observes to his father: "I am not making much money by such operations, but I believe I am doing for money, it is apt to be all over with his true reputation." And to his mother: "In short I can not write at all, except by entirely forgetting there is such a thing as printing and publishing." It is rare that such an elevation of tone is retained by the author of established fame and an assured sale for his works.

We have seen Motley at work on

his history in Dresden and in Brussels. For his final work, that on "John of Barneveld" and treating of the period of the Twelve Years' Truce, he established his residence or his headquarters in Holland, at the Hague. As we had an opportunity of personally tracing the spots identified with his brief stays and longer residence there, and as it is no more than natural that we should want to observe somewhat closely his connection with the country whose history he so nobly illustrated—we shall devote the remainder of our space to these traces of Motley at the Hague.

From his letters we gain the information, as already mentioned, that he made a visit to Holland in the summer of 1851, immediately upon his arrival in Europe. His mind was then saturated with the reading of Dutch printed authorities; the whole outline—not very meager either—of the story was vividly present to his mind. And so with all the points of historic interest clearly before him, he doubtless made a visit to every historic spot, in order to be able to give local coloring to his subsequent writing. In the summer of 1853, he spent six weeks at the Hague. "The six weeks we spent at the Hague," he writes to his mother, November 20, 1853, "were pleasant for Mary and the children, and useful for me. The children were ducked in the North Sea. and I was buried in the deep bosom of the Dutch Archives, much to the invigoration of all." He does not mention the hotel he stopped at then, but to judge from his description of the hour of table d'hote, and (still more convincingly) that of the character of the guests—"many members of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate, ex-Ambassadors and Cabinet Ministers"—it must have been the same one he stopped at when alone in the summer of 1858, of which more anon. He was now of course quite unknown: but a few of the officials in the office of the Royal Archives and in the Royal Library knew what he was about. But from these he experienced the most cordial assistance and interest. One of them mentioned with gratitude in his preface to the "Rise of the Dutch Republic," Mr. (since Dr.) Campbell, who was assistant librarian at the time of his labors on the history but who became chief librarian later—it was our fortune to meet frequently during a stay of six months at the Hague in 1889. The name indicates descent from a Scotch family, but for generations the Campbells have been Dutch. English was well spoken by the venerable Doctor, but as a foreign tongue after all. In 1890 he died. A flying visit was made by Motley to the Hague in January, 1858. He was now but too well known, that is, for purposes of quiet historic research. No sooner was it ascertained that he was present in the country than the newspapers spread the news broadcast. Both to the American historical student and to Motley himself it

was of great importance to discover what impression his work had made there. As he properly observed: "I think it is something better than vanity which causes me to take an honest pleasure in finding my labors appreciated and commended by the persons most fit to sit in judgment upon them. I own that I should have been deeply mortified on arriving in Holland to find that nobody had heard of my book." He discovered that this was far from being the case. Groen Van Prinsterer and Bakhuizen Van den Brink, the Archivist-general, both spoke highly of his work. "They assured me that almost everybody in Holland had read it, and that there was but one opinion about it, that it had made a very deep and general sensation." A Dutch translation under the scholarly supervision of Van den Brink was already under way. In this same year 1858, Motley again spent six weeks at the Hague. While the writer was at work one day in the Archives in the summer of 1889, after he had signed his name in the book kept for that purpose, the attendant turned back the page to the date July 28, 1858, and there was Motley's autograph. On July 25, he had arrived, and he staid till September 12. This time we have indubitable evidence that he stopped at the Hotel Vieux Doelen, or Oude Doelen. Having become quite confidential in our relations with the keeper of this hostelry in 1889, he informed us that the number of the room Motley occupied was, we believe, "35." Two elements of doubt, however, exist. We are not sure we remember the number as it was given; neither are we sure that the number as given was the correct one. Our Dutch friends in giving reassuring information to foreign inquirers are apt to be too perfectly sure, quite independent of the exact facts. They dislike to disappoint any person kind enough to be curious about bits of interest in Holland. In January he explained to his wife: "I should have stayed a little longer, but for a reason which seems ridiculous enough to state, but you know me well enough to acquit me of affectation—I could hardly have remained longer without going to see the Queen. Finding that I should be obliged to abandon my beloved solitude, you will think it is very natural that I should decamp." That is, presentation to the Queen would have meant a round of social engagements, and his work was too pressing to allow that. But now with a longer stay before him, he could not avoid being presented to her Majesty. She was reputed the most accomplished and cultured lady—certainly of her exalted station, and even as compared with ladies of lower rank—in Europe. She had, therefore, with avidity and delight read Motley's volumes, and had expressed a strong desire to meet him. He had in the meantime met intimate personal friends of hers in England.

Motley called upon her at the House in the Woods (Huis ten Bosch), the palace in the very heart of the beautiful park or "forest," which every tourist to the Hague visits. Every American who has any knowledge of letters will notice there with pride a fine oil portrait of Motley hanging in one of the elegant saloons. It is a token of the appreciation and affection which the gifted lady bore toward our historian. For this interview was the beginning of a friendship which was quite intimate, and was enhanced after Mrs. Motley came to join her husband, and their residence was at the Hague, when the Queen became a frequent visitor in a familiar way at their house. During this same summer (1858), Motley was presented to the King, a man of no special literary tastes, but a hearty lover of his country and its history, an admirer of the virtues of his great ancestor William the Silent. He, therefore, in his soldierly way appreciated Motley's work quite as truly as his more cultured wife, and Motley was very favorably impressed with him.

Now comes an interval of about twelve years—not a counter-part of the ancient Twelve Years' Truce by any means—but one filled up with most portentous events in Motley's native land, as in his own personal history. We find him again at the Hague early in 1871. It was shortly after the unhappy termination of his mission to England. He writes to Dr. Holmes: "We are not going to live in a royal palace at the Hague, as I read in the American newspapers. The Queen, with whom I have the honor of being acquainted for so many years, has placed a small house which belongs to her, and happens just now to be vacant, at my disposition. I am truly glad to accept the kind offer, as furnished houses are very difficult to obtain at the Hague." The next letter, also to Dr. Holmes, is dated at" Kleine Loo," (Little Loo), to distinguish it probably from the grand summer palace of the King called the "Loo," in Gelderland. And one can see to-day that pretty little villa, just outside the "forest," almost in the rear of the Huis ten Bosch, looking out toward the open meadows, yet with its white walls shimmering among a cluster of trees. It was certainly a fine place for solitude and work; but rather too far away from the Archives. Motley and his family staid there only a few weeks. About May 1st, (1871), moving day in Holland as with us, they went to a house located at No. 6, Kneuterdyk, and were domiciled here for about two years. It is situated in the heart of the city, just around the corner from the Plaats; obliquely a very good view could be obtained of the famous and beautiful "Vyver." An oblique view in the other direction would cause the eye to rest upon the house of Barneveld, now the Treasury Department, but without essential external change. And while so conveniently near to

shops, bank, Royal Library (in the magnificent "Voorhout"), Archives, Royal Palace, it was in itself a house of sufficient historic associations to satisfy the most enthusiastic student of Dutch annals. Away back in the beginning of the fifteenth century it stood there: "Modern as it looks," he writes to Dr. Holmes, "it was once the residence of Frank van Borselen, the last husband and consoler of the unhappy Jacqueline of Bavaria. Subsequently it belonged for a time to Count Hohenlo, who figured much in the war of the Republic for independence, and who married one of the daughters of William the Silent. Last,

JOHN DE WITT.

not least, it was the residence of John De Witt, who walked out through the garden just two centuries ago [1672] towards the prison, a stone's throw from here [the Gevangenpoort, about two hundred steps to the right from Motley's house] to speak with his brother Cornelius, who was locked in it, and whence they were both dragged and torn to pieces by the rabble on the square [the Plaats] which is before my eyes." Daily Motley would leave his door, pass under the archway of the prison gate; so enter the "Buitenhof;" then pass through another archway into the Binnenhof; behold the Hall of the Knights in front of which Barneveld was beheaded; pass along the north side of it, looking up at the very windows of the adjoining building where Barneveld and Grotius were kept prisoners for three quarters of a year; pass through two more archways; pass by the Mauritshuis or National Gallery where Rembrandt's "Anatomy Lesson," and Potter's "Bull" hang; cross the fine square of the Plein, where is a splendid statue of William the Silent; and so enter the noble old granite mansion which was the domicile or hotel of the Amsterdam delegates to the provincial estates or legislature of Holland in the days of the Republic, and which today is the depository of the Royal Archives.

In 1876 Motley, having now published all his works, made a final visit to Holland. His wife had died in 1874; the fatal disease that carried him off was upon him and had made him a physical wreck, incapacitated from pursuing his cherished work, not yet completed. He was the guest

of the Queen at the palace in the Woods. It was August, 1876; in May, 1877, came the death-stroke that laid our brilliant historian low before old age had come to bless and crown his days. A few weeks later, in June, 1877, the Queen breathed her last. Thus were these two accomplished friends near each other in death. The beautiful portrait hangs to-day a silent witness of their friendship; a tribute of Holland's best and highest to the American who told so well the heroic story of her past.

LEONARD IRVING.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

The Documentary History of our Country.

Some interesting facts have been recently brought out in connection with a proposed plan for the compilation and publication by Congress of the Documentary History of our Country. Having in view so comparatively recent a period as that of the Revolutionary era no one unfamiliar with the matter can form any adequate idea of the richness and variety of the historical material in existence, and not yet published. It is scattered through the various State archives, historical societies, in public libraries and in private collections, as well as in the several departments of the government.

It is interesting to note that as far back as 1778, the subject was brought to the attention of Congress, as will be seen by the following memorial letter.

PHILADELPHIA, July 11, 1778.

The Honorable Henry Laurens, Esq.,
President of Congress.

SIR: Viewing Congress as the friends of science as well as the guardians of our liberties, I flatter myself there can be no impropriety in soliciting their patronage and assistance for a collection of American State papers, which, from its evident utility, they will not deem unworthy of either. The design of it is to furnish materials for a good history of the United States, which may now be very well done, for so rapid has been our political progress that we can easily recur to the first step taken on the continent, and clearly point out our different advances from persecution to comparative liberty and from thence to independent empire. In this particular we have the advantage of every nation upon earth, and gratitude to heaven and to our virtuous fathers, justice to ourselves and a becoming regard to posterity strongly urge us to an improvement of it before time and accident deprive us of the means.

The undertaking will appear, at first view, to be too great for an unassisted individual, and experience has convinced me that although several years incessant application has produced an important collection, yet so numerous are the materials and so much dispersed that a whole

life would be insufficient to complete it in the way in which I have hitherto been obliged to proceed. I now propose to visit each State for that purpose, and must request of Congress a certificate of their approbation of my design, should they approve of it, and a recommendation to the several governors and presidents, grant me free access to the records of their respective States, and permission to extract from them such parts as may fall within the limits of my plan. To enable them to judge of the nature of the collection I beg leave to inclose the titles of some of the materials of which it is to consist, which please to lay before them, and believe me to be, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

EBEN'R HAZZARD.

This letter was referred to a committee, of which Samuel Adams and Richard Henry Lee were members. A favorable report was made, and in accordance with certain resolutions, patronage and facilities were extended to Mr. Hazzard. Two volumes only were published by him, but it is curious that not a single document relating to the rise and progress of the Revolution was included. Mr. Hazzard was soon after appointed postmaster-general and owing to the pressure of ministerial duties and private engagements abandoned the work, and no one ever undertook to complete it.

More than fifty years passed before the matter was again taken up. On March 2, 1833, Congress authorized the Secretary of State to contract with Matthew St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force for the publication of a work, entitled, "The Documentary History of the American Revolution." The work was begun while Edward Livingston was Secretary of State, in 1833, and was continued until Mr. Marcy's time (1853,) at which date only nine volumes were published. The work was limited to twenty volumes, but was practically abandoned, it is believed, by the failure of Mr. Marcy to examine the material which Mr. Force submitted for a tenth volume. Scholars have never ceased to deplore the discontinuance of this work, and efforts have been made from time to time to cause its resumption.

If then, in 1778, under all the adverse circumstances surrounding that period, the Continental Congress ordered that to be done, which it is now proposed to do, would it be presumptuous for historical scholars, and the people for their posterity, to ask Congress to undertake it now? Many of the records of the eventful story are moldering or perishing. Beyond a comparatively few reprints of the correspondence of the men of the revolutionary period by private enterprise, the compilation by several States of records of their soldiers, the publications of the various historical societies and the noteworthy efforts by individual scholars, no at-

tempt to complete the documentary history of the United States as a whole has been made.

The history of those times, as contemplated by Peter Force, fell naturally into several distinct periods.

I. The origin of the several colonies; their charters, bills of rights, and the public papers previous to and their condition in 1763.

II. From 1763 to the Congress of 1765 at New York.

III. From 1765 to the Congress of 1774 at Philadelphia.

IV. From 1774 to the Declaration of Independence.

V. From 1776 to the definitive treaty of peace.

VI. From 1783 to 1789, the organization of our government.

The documents illustrating events prior to 1774 are mainly in the archives of Great Britain, and in the archives of the original States and papers in possession of individuals. From 1774 to 1789 the principal parts can be supplied from papers already in the possession of the government, those in State archives and from the various sources, to which reference has been made.

It is of interest to note in this connection, the bill for the Hall of Records now before Congress, and the bill recently introduced by Senator Proctor, to provide for the "collection, custody and arrangement of the records of the American Revolution." This latter bill proposes to transfer the records from the other departments to the War Department to be properly arranged for use. It is supposed that this branch of the records is embraced in the army returns of the Revolution, of which no complete publication has ever yet been made. All this is from every consideration desirable, but it would be a pity that only one branch or chapter of the greater work should be considered.

For this a committee of scholars selected and authorized by Congress, would make an admirable starting point, and the recommendations of minds trained in historical research would be of the greatest value in determining the scope and extent of such a work. But at least the work should be undertaken without delay. Our country is no longer in its youth—it is well on in a vigorous manhood, and we should be prepared to put our historical title-deeds in such permanent and illustrative shape as to be a constant inspiration to those who are coming after us. Monuments of stone and bronze are properly reared and are enduring testimonies, but these fragments of paper, on which we can read the warrants of our glory and prosperity, become the real source and stimulant of the most vitalizing patriotism.

Study of American History in the Colleges.

The Richmond *Times*, which has always a timely word to say on matters of historical interest makes reference to the fact, that the University of North Carolina is actively engaged in collecting biographical details of the distinguished men who have in the past, more especially in the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary eras, contributed to the reputation of the State in various walks in life.

The work is one which should have the approval not only of the citizens of North Carolina but of the people of the South in general. The line of investigation adopted at Chapel Hill will doubtless be extended to very great advantage in accord with the suggestions made by Professor Hart, of Harvard, who has been delivering a series of interesting lectures on the general subject in that university. The investigation should be enlarged so as to include every side of the past history of the State, although all are more or less involved in the biographies of its most celebrated men.

The example originally set by the Johns Hopkins, and now followed by Chapel Hill, should be imitated, says the *Times*, by all the other leading institutions in the Southern States. Only in this way can a vast mass of most important facts be rescued from the oblivion into which they have either fallen or are rapidly falling With our great universities the centres of an active, aggressive, historical spirit, results would be accomplished in a comparatively short time which would take generations for isolated historical scholars to bring about.

It is only a question of a few years for all our educational institutions of the highest class to come to look upon this work as one of the principal duties which they are called upon to perform. Nothing would add more to their usefulness, invest them with greater distinction, or furnish their students with subjects for study of more fascinating and enduring interest.

An Old Slave Trader.

It appears on newspaper authority that an innocent looking old oil-brig now plying between New York and Southampton, England, is no other than an old-time slave trader known as the "Telenande." With the present sentiment on this subject we find it hard to realize that we are scarcely a generation removed from this sorrowful iniquity of the past. We are apt to forget that the very constitution of our republic protected the barbarity and forbade its abolition previous to the year 1808. True, the interdict was ready and took effect the moment the limitation expired, but this was, perhaps, as much from policy as principle, to stop the importation of

negroes, which was altogether to the interest of the so-called border States, one of whose industries, so to call it, was the raising of slaves for their more southern neighbors. Since each prime African landed in the rice, cotton or sugar plantations would bring a thousand dollars, we are not to suppose so lucrative, if so infamous a trade, would immediately cease although forbidden by law, nor even when made piracy and punishable with death. Accordingly this old oil-brig, the "Telenande," was built in an English port as late as the year 1844, expressly for the trade, in "ivory" or "black-ivory" so-called, between the west coast of Africa and New Orleans. Time and again, it is said, the space under her hatches, now converted into an immense oil-tank, has been crowded almost to suffocation with human beings torn from their country and friends, and herded in the filthy pen. In such service the brig continued, until she was captured early in the civil war by the United States sloop, "Essex," and made into an honest merchantman,—this, as it will be observed, only about thirty years ago.

By common consent of maritime and civilized nations, slaving is now made piracy on the high seas. To the Arabs is given to-day the distinction of being the slave traders of the world, though some others, and especially the Portuguese, have had slow consciences in this matter. By the way, the sentiment at present and formerly on the subject, furnishes a notable example of the vagaries of that peculiar instrument—the human conscience. Edward Everett Hale lately called attention to the fact that Daniel Defoe, a genuinely religious and conscientious man, had no suspicion there could be anything wrong in the slave trade. He supposed his public to be in sympathy with himself in this regard, since his Robinson Crusoe shows no slightest regret for having engaged on a slaver. On the contrary, he makes his man Friday a slave, and so takes him about in Europe and America, where indeed at the time not the slightest idea of wrong would attach to such a circumstance.

In King Philip's and other wars with the Indians, our New England forefathers sold the prisoners as slaves to the West Indies. Philip's wife and child thus died in slavery. The rum and iron-ware now sent to be used in barter with the Africans formerly went to buy the Africans themselves. It was an important trade, in which Massachusetts took a goodly share. A fact brought out by Mr. Weeden, in his Economic and Social New England, strikingly illustrates the obtuseness of the mercantile conscience, and, indeed, of the public conscience generally in the colonial days. Peter Faneuil, Boston's benefactor, for whom the Cradle of Liberty is named, was engaged in the slave trade for many years; and at the time of his

death a slaver named for him, "The Jolly Bachelor," was on one of her outward voyages. Curiously enough the period of the slave trade from Africa to America embraces precisely three centuries. In 1564, one Hawkins made the first successful slave trading voyage to this continent. In 1864 the last vessel sailed westward from Africa, and the British officers grimly reported to their admiralty that she was a brig on this diabolical mission, but *name unknown, and lost at sea!* Perhaps this was a fitting end.

The Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Salem Witchcraft.

We have a novelty in the way of keeping anniversaries in the recent commemorative gatherings on the site of that world-famous horror and delusion, known as "Salem Witchcraft." Not often are we found celebrating defeats, nor are we fond of reminding ourselves of errors—our own or our ancestors. Yet the convocation at Danvers, Mass., February 17, under the auspices of the Danvers Historical Society, and the second meeting, February 29, in Academy Hall, Salem, in charge of the Essex Institute, were of this character, marking as they did, the completion of two full centuries since the initiation of those brief but pitiful persecutions. At Danvers no less than seven societies were represented: the Massachusetts Historical, New England Historical-Geneological, Manchester Historical, Dedham Historical, Essex Institute, Lexington Historical and Danvers Historical Societies. Mr. A. C. Goodell read an exhaustive paper on the subject of Witchcraft. Rev. George E. Ellis of Boston, Rev. C. B. Rice of Danvers, and Rev. Dr. J. M. Buckley of New York, gave addresses.

The subsequent meeting at Salem was held on the fifth Monday of February, precisely two hundred years from the issue of the first warrants, in the year 1692. W. S. Nevins read the original warrant for the arrest of Sarah Good. Two others, Fituba, the Indian servant, and Sarah Osburn, were also arrested upon that same eventful day. Mr. Nevins explained that neither the committee nor the Essex Institute in making the arrangements had any intention of bringing discredit upon the Salem of to-day. The movement was in the interest of historical truth. Much which has passed current as history concerning these troubles of two hundred years ago is false; more is misleading because misunderstood. The object, then, is not to revive or perpetuate an unhappy memory, but to correct mistakes and misapprehension in a matter already so bruited abroad that it can never be forgotten.

Mr. Goodell referred the origin of the delusion to two principal causes, first, physical, and secondly, sociological. They were the same

which had long prevailed, and still continued to prevail throughout Europe, with wider and yet more disastrous results. The statements and testimonies of "the bewitched" are not to be entirely attributed to malice against their victims. Of course the popular belief and excitement opened the way for malicious accusations, since a trial meant simply condemnation and the gallows. To be denounced was to be destroyed; hence it would often seem safer to be "afflicted" and wreak a spite than to be the innocent party.

Witch-hunters went about making a gain by securing the destruction of innocent men and women It was still the age of superstition. There was a popular, and very vivid belief in the frequent presence and diabolical machinations of Satan. The wildest stories of his performances were current and scarcely questioned. The power of magic and the evil eye could not be doubted. All this made it easy for people of hysterical temperaments and excitable imaginations to fall into hallucinations. The example and influence of Sir Matthew Hale, in England, who presided at two witch-trials, and the published beliefs of Cotton Mather contributed not a little to aggravate the disorder.

There is little justice or reason in the distinctive term "Salem Witchcraft." Salem never had any such monopoly of the superstition as this term would imply. Salem is but a mote in a dark expanse of delusion and sorrow. In the Salem horror nineteen innocent persons were executed; but the number hung, or burned, or destroyed for this imaginary crime of witchcraft makes the heart sick to contemplate. In the two German cities of Bamberg and Zeil, in the fourteen years from 1625 onward, more than six hundred accused persons were tortured and burned, and among them little girls from seven to ten years of age. "Bamberg Witchcraft" would seem a more significant term.

The Salem delusion might be celebrated as the end of such terrible folly in America, and the beginning of the end in all civilized lands. Indeed, the claim is fairly sustained that Massachusetts Bay Colony proved herself to be ahead of her time in this very instance. The delusion raged briefly; the executions were all embraced within seven months. All prosecutions were stayed, and in April of the following spring the governor's proclamation made a clean sweep and jail-delivery of every soul under charge of sorcery. From that time this delusion was doomed, and passed rapidly away.

THE SOUTHERN SOCIETY OF NEW YORK.

II.

In a former article the story of the inception and organization of the Southern society was given, with some general account of the aims and tendencies, progress and prosperity of the organization. A more detailed relation of the objects of the society, as they were defined in the minds of its founders, will be in place at this point, and in regard to a certain feature, carefully provided for from the first, will have a special historic interest and value.

It will be remembered that at a meeting of the members at Morello's restaurant, Nov. 9, 1886, the society was formally organized. A constitution and by-laws were adopted, and the regular officers and an executive committee elected. It was decided to publish the constitution, but before this was done, the executive committee appointed a sub-committee "to formulate the objects of the society." The report of the sub-committee, as accepted by the executive committee, and thus made part of the proceedings of the society, was as follows:

"The present seems a fitting time for the establishment of a Southern society in New York. "We have already, societies for the preservation of many of the distinctive elements of our national character. The New England society perpetuates the Puritan virtues that have given to the American some of his best and most enduring characteristics. The St. Patrick's Alliance cherishes and fosters those admirable traits and qualities imparted to us by the Celtic race. The Holland society preserves and exalts the excellencies of our Dutch ancestors. The Huguenot, the St. George's, St. Andrew's, and various other eminent and flourishing societies, claim the full heritage of moral and intellectual worth bequeathed to us by the illustrious ancestries they represent.

"Since the abolition of slavery, the distinct and peculiar social organiza- of the old South has become so essentially modified by the exigencies of the change in its political economy, that it has practically ceased to exist; and the South of to-day forms but one component and concordant part of a now homogenous whole. But the best of the old influences still survive, and will be long recognized as formative agents in the development of the national character.

"Now that the prejudices engendered by the war are dead, we, who are of Southern birth or ancestry, and who believe that the South has contributed her quota of all that is good in American life, should organize to perpetuate what is best in the customs, manners and character of our ancestors. With such objects this society has been formed, and to be effective should act with promptness, since the knowledge to be preserved rests, in large measure, in the memories of those whose lease of life cannot now have long to run.

"To effect these purposes the society will gather all existing books and writings illustrative of Southern life; will endeavor to induce and encourage those peculiarly cognizant of Southern traditions and customs to commit their knowledge to writing, that it be not lost; will honor and promote authors who have written or shall write upon these subjects, and will undertake to fix and set forth the influence of the Southern element in the development of the national character. The society will not trench upon the domain of controversial history, or permit the discussion or introduction of political or sectional differences, but will devote itself to the commemoration of Southern social life, manners and character. On suitable occasions the society will be ready to unite in whatever public expression is required to promote the honor and dignity of the country, or of this noble city, whereto the members have transferred their home.

"A further, and not the least important purpose of the society will be the promotion of the acquaintance and social intercourse of Southern residents of New York; the extension of proper courtesies to non-resident Southerners, who may from time to time visit the city, and desire to avail themselves of the privileges and advantages which the society may provide; and the proffer of sympathy and a helping hand to deserving cases of misfortune or distress among us. As the membership shall warrant the outlay, the society will provide full and proper conveniences for the due fulfillment of its social objects.

"This is a general outline of the aims and ends of those who have founded this society. It is hoped that they will meet the approval of all good men. In their completion, and in execution of the details through which they will be made effective, the suggestion and co-operation of all Southerners is earnestly besought."

One might well pause to view the society in the light of the generosity, catholicity and broad patriotism of this statement of its objects. But we have set out especially to consider the peculiar work and task undertaken by the society and here dwelt upon—to conserve and perpetuate all resources of every possible description illuminating the character, cus-

toms, manners and history of the South. The accomplishment of this purpose must necessarily take the shape of a library, and in the new constitution of the society, adopted Oct. 29, 1889, we find this need met by a special provision in the organic instrument of the society, constituting Article XIV. of the constitution, which is as follows:

"Section 1. The society shall, as soon as may be practicable, establish a library, which shall be confined, as far as possible, to those works which relate to the history and literature of the South, in order that it may portray the character and genius, and perpetuate the memories and traditions of the Southern people.

"Section 2. The committee on Literature and Art, subject to the direction and control of the executive committee, shall have charge of the library and reading-room, and of all the books, periodicals, papers and works of art belonging to the society, and shall have power to solicit and receive donations and to select and purchase books, periodicals and works of art for the society."

In the eyes of the student of history and the antiquarian, this undertaking of the New York Southern Society "to cherish and perpetuate the memories and traditions of the Southern people," is its most interesting feature; and if successfully performed will be considered, in the minds of many, its best excuse and reason for existence. No one can estimate the value of a gift from the present to the future, of such a library and collection of special materials as has been indicated. And especially invaluable and remarkable must be the result if members of the society, true to their avowed purpose and principles, will truly earnestly "endeavor to induce and encourage those peculiarly cognizant of Southern traditions and customs to commit their knowledge to writing, that it be not lost." It is gratifying to know that a promising beginning in the directions outlined has already been made by the gift to the society, from one of its members, Mr. Hugh R. Garden, of an extensive nucleus for a library. The account of this acquisition in the "Fourth Annual Report" of the society is as follows:

"At the last annual meeting it was announced that one of the members of the society was engaged in collecting a Southern Historical Library, which he proposed to give to the society. A thousand volumes, carefully selected, have already been placed in the 'Home' as the first installment of this gift. By resolution of the society, the library will be called the 'Garden Library.' The catalogue embraces many rare and valuable, and in some instances almost unknown works, histories, biographies, essays, memoirs, speeches and novels portraying every phase of Southern life and character. Here will be found books, social, political, religious and military, by authors

Hugh R. Garden

whose names are inseparably associated with the history of our country, providing material for the future historian which he could not otherwise obtain.

"It has been deemed of the greatest importance, not only to Southerners residing here, but to Southerners everywhere, that there should be a library in this great city, in which may be found at all times documentary authority upon every subject relating to the history, literature and institutions of the South. Every effort will be made to carry out this object, and make this library a distinctive and attractive feature of the society."

These words show a very adequate appreciation of the situation. If the task is well performed, it will be by the personal care and attention of individual members. A general and impersonal belief in the benefit of a library collection is not enough; but it will be such generous activity and expenditure of time and means as shown in the example of the first donor, that will actually build up the library.

HUGH R. GARDEN.

Mr. Hugh Richardson Garden has been most intimately associated with the growth and development of the Southern society. For the past two years he has been its president, and to his guiding hand and fertile mind the society is largely indebted for its recent period of remarkable progress.

Nearly three years ago, in May, 1889, Mr. Garden presented the society with a peculiarly valuable library, consisting of his private collection of books and documents on Southern history, biography and literature. One of the objects embraced in the original plan of the organization was to "gather all existing books and writings illustrative of Southern life;" but the energies of the society had been so completely occupied in maintaining its own footing that practically nothing had been done during the first three years of its existence, towards the formation of a library. But, fortunately, Mr. Garden for a long time had been accumulating valuable materials in the precise line contemplated by the society, and his generous donation of these works furnished the foundation for what it is designed shall become one of the most unique, interesting and useful libraries in the country. This gift was made just after the society had moved into its new club-house on Twenty-fifth street, at the time of the centennial celebration of the anniversary of Washington's inauguration. The motives which prompted the graceful act are best set forth in

Mr. Garden's own words, in a letter to the president of the Southern society written at the time.

"The acquisition of a home by our society," he wrote, "enables me to execute a long-cherished plan, and its happy coincidence with the centennial of Washington's inauguration makes it doubly a labor of love. I am engaged in the collection of literary works which portray the character, genius, history and traditions of the Southern people. When completed within the limits I have now defined there will be, as a foundation for future acquisition, about one thousand volumes. I desire, through you, to present these volumes to the New York Southern society to form the basis of a Southern Historical Library in this city with the firm conviction that I can render no greater service to the South, or to the members of our society, than by laboring to preserve in this home of our manhood the traditions which cluster about the homes of our youth."

The strong feeling and sentiment which Mr. Garden cherishes for the South and Southerners, and which is a marked characteristic and has especially qualified him for his position of president of the society, is an inheritance from a long line of Southern ancestors, a number of whom were illustrious in the histories of South Carolina and Virginia. His two great-grandfathers on his father's side were Chancellor Henry William de Saussure and Governor Thomas Gibbes of South Carolina. The first of these was descended from Huguenots who fled from France upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV. He was taken prisoner by the British in Charleston in 1781, when a young man of seventeen, confined aboard a prison ship, and finally exchanged at Philadelphia. Upon his release he immediately began the study of law in the latter city under Jerry Ingersoll, a famous lawyer of that period. He married Miss Ford of Morristown, New Jersey; became director of the mint under Washington in 1794, and subsequently, for nearly thirty years, was chancellor and president of the highest court of equity in South Carolina. Thomas Gibbes, one of the colonial governors and chief justice of South Carolina, belonged to one of the oldest families of the State, having come from Kent, England, in the early part of the seventeenth century. Wilmot S. Gibbes, descendant of the governor and grandfather of Mr. Garden, was one of seven brothers, two of whom removed to New York and New Jersey. Their descendants have been identified with the history and social life of New York for many years.

The two great-grandfathers on his mother's side were also men of note. One of them was General Abram Buford, a commander of Virginia troops in the Revolutionary war under General Greene. The other, Captain William Richardson, a de-

scendant of William Richardson of Jamestown, Va., was a member of the South Carolina Provincial Congress and Council of Safety, and captain of South Carolina troops. His plantation, "Bloomhill," on the "high hills of Santee," became on several occasions the headquarters of Sumpter and Marion.

To understand the derivation of Mr. Garden's name it becomes necessary to mention his great-uncle, Major Alexander Garden, who had married the sister of his grandfather Gibbes. Major Garden was of Scotch descent; the son of the distinguished physician and botanist of the same name of Charleston. During the Revolutionary war the son was sent by his father to Scotland to be educated at the university of Edinburgh. Not content with such banishment from the stirring scenes at home, the young man, without his father's consent, returned to America and entered the Continental army. He was first, ensign in the legion, and afterwards on the staff of "Light Horse Harry" Lee, and later, aide-de-camp to Major-General Greene. After the war he lived on his plantation, "True Blue," in South Carolina. He was a prominent member of the society of Cincinnati and author of several volumes entitled, "Garden's Anecdotes of the Revolution." The two children of Major Garden having died without issue, after a not uncommon custom in South Carolina, in order to perpetuate the name, Mr. Hugh R. Garden's father, Alester Garden Gibbes, assumed the name of Alester Garden by a special act of the legislature.

Alester Garden, as he now became, married Elizabeth Richardson, after whose family their son, Hugh Richardson Garden, was named. The father was a lawyer, educated at South Carolina College and practiced law at Columbia with his uncle, William F. de Saussure, who served in the United States Senate for a short time to complete the term of John C. Calhoun. But when Hugh was about three years of age his father died—cut down just as he was entering the prime of life. The son, in his turn, entered South Carolina College, graduating with distinction in 1860.

The ardor and energy of youth and fresh inspiration of his college life did not leave the young man any choice, but to enter the service of his State. Moreover, he was descended from a group of soldiers. He saw active service from the beginning of the war to its close, and was, indeed, in the thick of a large number of the fiercest and bloodiest engagements of the four years' struggle. He assisted as a private at the capture of Fort Sumpter and during the first battle of Manassas, a little later, acted as color-bearer of Kershaw's Second South Carolina Regiment. He then organized a battery of artillery which was dubbed the "Palmetto Battery." The guns for this

battery were cast at Columbia under his personal direction and supervision from the church-bells of the surrounding towns, which were freely contributed. These guns did good service, but were exchanged later for heavier ones which had been captured at Harper's Ferry. Among the important battles in which he was engaged as an artillery commander in the army of Northern Virginia were Antietam, Manassas, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, Fort Stedman and the Crater. At the time of the Appomatox surrender he was in command of the artillery of General Lee's rear guard.

At the battle of Gettysburg Captain Garden carried from the field the only Union guns known to have been taken during the engagement. This feat was performed on the evening of the second days' fight, at the close of the fierce struggle in the wheat field, which has been designated as the "whirlpool of the battle." During the third days' fight he executed an order which exposed him to the fire of the entire Federal line. Throughout the great artillery duel which preceded Pickett's famous charge, Garden's battery had been engaged in front of the peach orchard. At the moment of the hottest cannonading he received an order from General Longstreet, through Colonel Latrobe, to advance his guns. He proceeded to do so by sections, and soon had his first section planted about three hundred yards in advance of the main line of Confederate artillery. The object of the manœuvre was to draw the fire of the enemy and thus open the way for Pickett's advance. It was successful. In less than five minutes after the advance of the two first guns, they received the concentrated fire from the Federal batteries on the opposite ridge. Every man and horse of the section was either killed or wounded. It required the manœuvering of fresh details of horses and men under that murderous fire to withdraw the guns, but the feat was successfully performed.

Immediately after Lee's surrender, the young soldier entered the law school of the University of Virginia. After his course here he began to practice at Columbia, South Carolina, with W. F. de Saussure, his great-uncle, and former partner of his father. This gentleman whose death occurred some time later, had willed his office at Columbia to Mr. Garden, whom he desired to carry on his practice, and also the valuable law library of Chancellor de Saussure, which had been handed down in the family for four generations. But before possession could be taken this invaluable collection was destroyed by the Columbia fire, and so completely that even the building could not be accurately located.

Unable to endure the military rule of his native State during the re-construction period, Mr. Garden removed to Virginia, where for many years he

practiced law in all the courts of that State, with headquarters at Warrenton. He was married to Lucy Gordon Robertson, daughter of William J. Robertson, of Charlottesville, for many years judge of the Supreme Court of Appeals. He soon had a considerable corporation business on his hands. He was employed as counsel in the re-organization of the Virginia-Midland Railroad, and his rapidly growing business, especially in the directing of the legal affairs of corporations and large enterprises necessitated his removal to the metropolis in 1883. Since that time he has made a specialty of the law of corporations, and has been charged with the legal concerns as well as with the re-organization of several electric and other companies, involving large and important interests.

During the past year and a half he has been laboriously engaged as a member of the Virginia bondholders' committee in endeavoring to perfect a plan and carry out the details of the settlement of the debt of that State. This is the most difficult and delicate financial problem which has confronted any Southern State or corporation since the war. It has convulsed Virginia politically, two or three times, and the settlement now about to be consummated required the best energies of such men as F. P. Olcott, president of the Central Trust Company, ex-President Cleveland, Edward J. Phelps, Thomas F. Bayard, William Lidderdale, governor of the Bank of England, and other foremost bankers and statesmen in this country and England.

This famous case has caused incessant litigation in Virginia for seventeen years, with no approach to settlement. Some three thousand law-suits are now pending, but happily all of these will be settled by the contemplated adjustment. The great work of the committee has been that of a peace commission to restore confidence and produce harmony among the contending litigants. A basis of settlement has been at length agreed upon, and the Act embodying it passed by the Virginia Legislature. The rest is merely a question of details. The final settlement of this intricate affair will be a blessing to the entire financial world, and an inestimable boon to Virginia and the South, which has long lain under a financial cloud of discredit by the phenomenon of their principal, and once, financially, strongest State, suffering the reproach of repudiation. To the patience and endurance of Mr. Garden and his co-laborers the present outlook of speedy adjustment is due.

As has been suggested, the same interest and sentiment towards people and things Southern which have inspired him in this work, have made him especially useful as president of the Southern society. He has imparted his enthusiasm to others, and has pointed an elevation of sentiment, and cherished the traditional

hospitality and sociability of Southern life among the members, and especially the younger members of the society. The result has been a widespread movement outside the strict limits of the organization, in bringing into fellowship and association thousands of Southern men, scattered throughout New York City and vicinity. But it should not be inferred from this special interest in his own kinsfolk and associates, and traditional home, that Mr. Garden is narrow or sectional in his thought and sympathies. The extreme opposite is the truth. His warmest friends are of Northern birth; and his character well illustrates the principle that only a mind capable of the broadest patriotism and most far-reaching good-will, can entertain, as well, unselfish sentiments of birth and early association, and realize, in its highest sense, the responsibilities which rest upon an influential citizen of New York.

ECKSTEIN NORTON.

It would be difficult to find another large family, all the members of which possess such executive energy and financial ability as has characterized the six sons of William and Mary Hise Norton of Kentucky. It must have been a rare combination of qualities in the father and mother to have found such splendid illustration and justification in the careers of the children. William Norton, born in Harrisburg, Pa., Sept. 2, 1781, settled in Russellville, Ky., in 1810. Mary Hise, born in Westmoreland County, Pa., settled in Russellville about the same year. The two were married April 11, 1813, and had born to them six sons and three daughters.

The father owned a hardware store and farm at Russellville and conducted a small manufactory of nails and iron implements from which he derived a comfortable competency. The two older brothers, George W. and John L. began business together in their native town at the age of eighteen and sixteen respectively, in the conduct of a general store. John L. died at the age of twenty-six, but not until he had accumulated a large fortune. The elder brother was president of the Southern Bank of Kentucky, an institution with a phenomenally successful history, and acquired one of the largest private fortunes in the history of Kentucky. He died at Louisville in 1889. The fourth son, William F., who also attained singular success, was a partner of the elder brother in the banking house of G. W. Norton & Company, until both retired from active business in 1885. William died in October, 1886. The third son, Presley E., displayed the

same business abilities as his distinguished brothers. He conducted a business in Russellville, and was connected with the New York firm of Norton, Slaughter & Company with his brother, Eckstein. He died in 1878, having already accumulated a large fortune. Elijah H., the fifth son, studied law, and besides proving his kinship by acquiring a large property, was prominently identified with the political affairs of Missouri. He was elected and re-elected judge of the Twelfth Judicial Circuit, and was elected to Congress in 1860. As member of the Missouri convention of 1861 he voted against secession. He was a leading member of the Missouri convention of 1875 which framed a new State Constitution, and that instrument is frequently styled "Norton's Constitution." In 1876, he was appointed to fill a vacancy on the supreme bench of the State, and in 1878 was elected for a term of ten years to the same position. He declined re-election in 1889, and at the same time refused to become the democratic candidate for governor of the State, since which time he has lived in retirement on his farm near Platte City.

The youngest son, Eckstein, born Dec. 16, 1831, is a familiar figure in financial circles of New York City, having manifested in an eminent degree the aptitude for business enterprises whieh has characterized this remarkable family. At the age of fifteen we find him engaged in the work of temperance reform, assisting in the formation of the first temperance society known to have existed among the negroes. About the same time he engaged with a partner in supplying Russellville with religious books, whereby the joint concern realized twelve dollars from an investment of two dollars apiece. With characteristic instinct, perceiving the local market glutted with this sort of wares, Eckstein refused to re-invest his share of the profits, while his partner bought more books, which he could not sell.

In 1850 Eckstein began business in Russellville with Joshua Knowles, but in September, 1851, removed to Paducah and formed a partnership with his brother, William F., whose interest he bought out in 1853. The following year he formed a partnership with Richard Fowler, the two contracting with the Illinois Central Railroad Company to receive and forward all its freight from Cairo, Ill., to points further south. For this purpose they leased a small wharf-boat which Fowler managed while Mr. Norton remained at Paducah, closing up his business and superintending the building of a large floating dock for the Cairo traffic. With this structure he joined his partner at Cairo in 1855. Selling out his business in 1857, Mr. Norton returned to Paducah and again formed a partnership with his brother William, doing a large banking business under the firm name of "Norton

Brothers." This alliance endured until 1867, although in 1864 Mr. Eckstein Norton had removed to New York City to conduct the banking and commission business of the firm of "Norton, Slaughter & Company," composed of himself, his brother, Presley E., Thomas J. Slaughter of St. Louis, and B. H. Wisdom of Clarksville, Tenn.

In 1870, with others, Mr. Norton obtained control of the New Orleans and Ohio Rail-road, which extended sixty miles south from Paducah as its northern terminus. The road was reorganized, re-named, and Mr. Norton made president of the company. In 1871 it was consolidated with the Mississippi River road, under the name of the Paducah and Memphis, Mr. Norton again being elected president. In 1872 and 1873 the road was extended forty miles, and he continued his connection with it till 1881.

Mr. Norton was elected a director of the Louisville and Nashville Rail-road Company in July, 1884; in October of the same year was made its vice-president, and in October, 1887, was elected president, which position he held till his resignation in February, 1891. Since Mr. Norton's connection with the company it has risen from a condition of impaired credit and depreciated stock, until now its credit and standing are excellent and it is classed among the good dividend-paying properties of the country. The directors of the company made every effort to induce Mr. Norton to withdraw his resignation as president, but his private interests had become so extensive that, with his desire to devote more leisure to his family, he declared he must decline the duties of the office. In accepting the resignation the directors of the road adopted a set of resolutions, thanking him for his admirable work.

Mr. Norton was married in August, 1864, to Lucy Peyton Moore, of Christian County, Ky., by whom he has had six children, three sons and three daughters. Until his removal to New York City, Mr. Norton was an active member of the Baptist Church, since which time he has been connected with the Dutch Reformed Church. His charities are unostentatious but munificent. With his brother, William, he donated the valuable lot and parsonage of the First Baptist Church of Paducah, Ky., and has made extensive gifts to the college of Russellville, which has developed from the town school of his boyhood. He has also built and donated a large and complete ward to the S. R. Smith Infirmary of Staten Island.

Mr. Norton is genial and hospitable, and a royal welcome and entertainment is always extended to his friends at their home on Fifth avenue by himself and his estimable wife.

Western Bank Note Company, Chicago.

Matthew T. Scott

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST. II.

MATTHEW T. SCOTT.

One of the most prominent figures in Central Illinois for many years, was Matthew Thompson Scott, who died at his home in Bloomington, May 21st, 1891. He was identified with many enterprises of importance, and especially noted as one of the largest landed proprietors of the State. Born at Lexington, Kentucky, February 24th, 1828, he came of distinguished ancestry, whose good name he worthily sustained. In a direct line he traced his lineage back on his father's side to Robert Scott, one of the leaders of the Covenanters who joined issues with Monmouth, and met defeat at Bothwell Bridge, in 1679. A defender of the covenant and the crown, Robert Scott was a member of the Scottish Parliament during the reign of Queen Anne, and as such opposed the union of the crown with that of Great Britain, because the name and crown of Scotland did not, in his judgment, receive proper recognition in the new British Parliament. This offence caused him to be incarcerated in the Tower of London, where he remained until released by George I., of the House of Hanover and descendant of the Stuarts. After his release from the famous prison, he emigrated in company with his personal and political friend, the Earl of Belhaven, to the North of Ireland, where he lived during the remainder of his life.

John Scott, eldest son of Robert Scott, emmigrated to America in 1725, and settled in New Jersey. Matthew, a son of this John Scott, was married in 1762 or 1763 to Betsy Thompson, a daughter of William Thompson, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, distinguished as patriot and military commander in the Indian and Revolutionary Wars. In the French and Indian War, Thompson was captain of a troop of mounted militia, and when a battallion of eight companies was recruited in Pennsylvania, after the Battle of Lexington, he was placed in command with the rank of Colonel. The troops of which he thus took command were the first enlisted on the demand of the Continental Congress, and went into camp at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the early part of August, 1775. In the following November, under command of Col-

onel Thompson, they drove back a British landing party at Lechmere Point, and the gallant colonel was commissioned a Brigadier-General March 1st, 1776.

One of the grandsons of William and Betsy Thompson was Matthew T. Scott Sr., who with two brothers emigrated from Pennsylvania to Kentucky, in the early history of that State. One of the brothers was Dr. Joseph Scott, long a prominent citizen of Lexington, Kentucky, and the other Dr. John Scott, was the confidential friend and member of the staff of General William Henry Harrison, in honor of whom the latter named his son Scott Harrison, the father of President Benjamin Harrison. Dr. Scott also named his eldest son after General Harrison, and Dr. Harrison Scott became in later years one of the leading physicians of Illinois.

Matthew T. Scott, upon his removal to Kentucky, became prominently identified with the development of the State, and was recognized during his active life as one of its most distinguished financiers. He became connected with the Northern Bank of Kentucky at its organization and was for thirty years the executive head of that great financial institution, the business of which extended over a wide area of territory. Through the many monetary panics incident to the period of its existence, this bank passed, under the management of Matthew T. Scott, without ever suspending specie payment, or omitting its regular dividend of eight per cent. The wife of Mr. Scott was a daughter of Isaac Webb, who came of one of the old Virginia families, and who settled near Lexington, Kentucky, at an early date. Mrs. Scott was a sister of Dr. James Webb, father of Lucy Webb, who became distinguished as the wife of Rutherford B. Hayes, nineteenth president of the United States, and one of the noblest of American women.

Of this parentage came Matthew T. Scott, whose prominence as a pioneer and citizen of Illinois entitles him to a place among the historical personages of the State. In Lexington, Kentucky, his birthplace, he received his early educational training. The environments of his youth were such as contributed in the greatest degree to the development of high character, intellectual vigor and true manhood. Lexington was then more noted perhaps than any city west of the Allegheny mountains as a center of wealth, culture and refinement, and, as the home of Henry Clay, was not less prominent as a political Mecca. The stimulus of these environments could not fail to affect even a less susceptible youth than Matthew T. Scott, and in his case, new virtues were added to those which came to him as a rightful heritage from worthy ancestors. After receiving his preparatory training at Lexington, he was sent to Centre College, at Danville, Kentucky, where he grad-

uated with college honors in 1846, when but eighteen years of age.

A year after his graduation he was sent to Ohio by his father to assume the management of a large landed estate in which he was given an interest. He remained there several years managing the interests committed to his charge with success, and developing meantime the keen foresight and business sagacity which made him a conspicuous figure in the greatest of western States in later years. While living in Ohio and giving his attention largely to the management of his affairs there, the range of his vision was by no means confined to the territory in which his farming operations were then carried on. He was familiar with the history of the Illinois country, and had made explorations which convinced him that the young State of Illinois would, in the near future, develop into one of the great commonwealths of the United States. Feeling that the time had come to begin development of the latent resources of this vast section of country, he made for himself and members of his family large investments in Illinois and Iowa lands, which were purchased in the main from the government, and hence were devoid of any kind of improvements.

The lands thus acquired were not held for speculative purposes, but with an energy and tenacity of purpose which were among his distinguishing characteristics, he proceeded as rapidly as possible to bring them under cultivation and convert them into productive farms. He thus inaugurated a system of improvements which was carried forward on a gigantic scale, and which had a vastly beneficial effect upon a broad area of territory. On one occasion in the later years of his life, when summing up, in conversation with a friend, the results of his labors in this field of industry, he estimated that he had brought under cultivation in Illinois and Iowa, sixteen thousand acres of prairie land, had made over two hundred and fifty miles of hedge fence, had put in over two hundred and fifty miles of ditches for drainage purposes, and had built on his lands nearly two hundred houses.

His first important enterprise in Illinois was the founding of the town of Chenoa, in 1856. Here he owned and cultivated a large tract of land, which was the first large farm in the State, cultivated without fences other than those used to confine his own stock. His successful experiments in farming, without going first to the expense of fencing the lands to be cultivated, and his testimony relative to this matter before a legislative committee, led to the passage of the "No Fence Law" of Illinois, the effect of which was to increase largely the area of cultivated land, and to greatly facilitate the development of the agricultural resources of the State.

Mr. Scott believed that agriculture

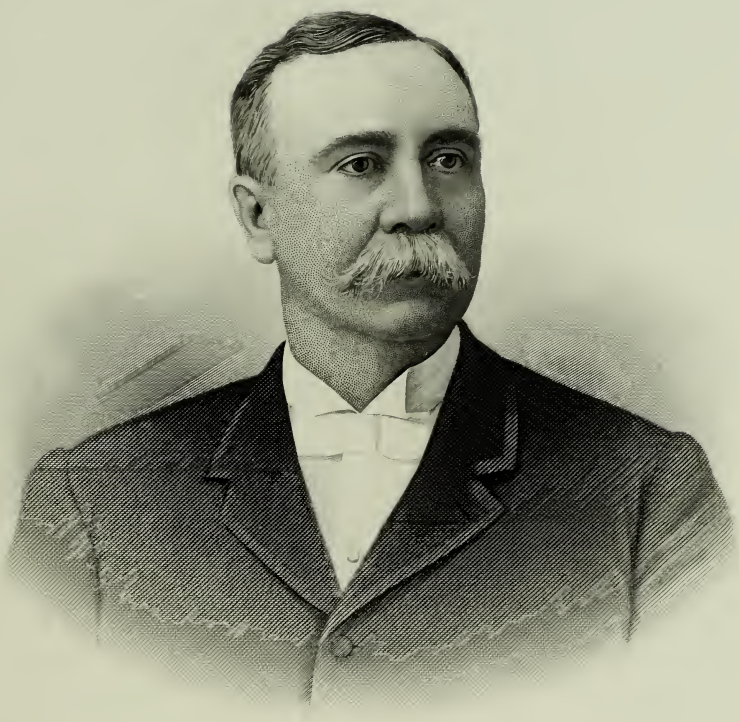
must constitute the basis of all prosperity in the west, and that farming lands must inevitably become valuable possessions. It was natural, therefore, that he should extend his early investments as his fortune increased, but his acquisitions were always made with a view to development and improvement. Like his ancestors of Pennsylvania and Kentucky, he was one of the builders of the commonwealth, a promotor of general prosperity, and a potent factor in the advancement of our civilization.

From his farm at Chenoa he removed to Springfield, Illinois, in 1870, and resided there until 1872, when he removed to Bloomington, where he purchased a beautiful home in which he spent the remaining years of his life. At Bloomington he became actively interested in promoting the growth and prosperity of the city and tributary country, and in various important business enterprises. He organized the McLean County Coal Company, and as president of this corporation during the remainder of his life, developed and built up another of the great industries of Central Illinois. A man of keen perceptions and great activity, of public spirit and sterling integrity, his aid was solicited for many enterprises set on foot by men of energy and business capacity, but lacking the substantial resources necessary to success. To these enterprises, so far as they seemed to him to be meritorious, he always extended substantial encouragement, and thus he indirectly set in motion the wheels of industries with which he was not directly connected.

He was never a public man in the sense of being a public officeholder; nevertheless, he was one of those men who exert without any apparent effort to do so, a most important influence on any community with which they chance to be identified.

His influence was one which quickened into healthful action the social, moral and industrial pulse of the community, and thus contributed to its upbuilding. In politics Mr. Scott was a "Henry Clay" Whig, prior to the war. In the memorable presidential campaign of 1860, he supported the Bell and Everett "Constitutional Union" ticket, and was a strong advocate of the preservation of the Union through a compromise of the differences between the northern and southern States. Later he affiliated with the Democratic party, and in 1878 with others, founded the Bloomington Bulletin, a Democratic newspaper of which he subsequently became the sole proprietor, and which he sold some years since to Hon. Owen Scott, now a representative in Congress from the Bloomington Congressional District.

"By inheritance and by conviction" says one who has written of Mr. Scott, "he was a Presbyterian. By instinct reverential, this instinct was cultivated by his early training and lifelong associations. A man of frank



and sincere nature, he despised insincerity and hypocrisy in all its forms, but of all forms of hypocrisy, religious hypocrisy was the most repulsive to him. He was always a reverential worshipper in the house of God, a liberal but unostentatious supporter of his church and its agencies, equally liberal and unostentatious in the support of charitable and benevolent movements, and generous in his private charity."

The death of Mr. Scott was felt by his fellow citizens of Bloomington, and of that portion of the State with the interests of which he had been so prominently identified, to be a public calamity, and his demise occasioned the keenest regret among those who had been most intimately associated with him socially and in business affairs.

He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Julia Green Scott, and two daughters—Mary Letitia Scott and Julia Green Scott. Mrs. Scott, to whom he was married in 1859, is the daughter of the late Rev. Lewis Warner Green, D. D., then president of Center College, Danville, Kentucky, previously president of Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia, and also of Transylvania University, Kentucky. Through her father Mrs. Scott is descended from one of the early colonial families of Virginia, one of her ancestors being Robert Green, a member of the house of Burgesses in 1731. She is also descended through Lawrence Washington, from Leonard Washington, who, with his wife Ann, emigrated to America in 1659 from Warton County, Lancaster, England.

J. P. Bishop.

BARNABAS ELDREDGE.

The pride of the little city of Belvidere, Illinois, is the National Sewing Machine Manufactory, established there a few years since, and now one of the largest, if not the largest manufactory of the kind in the west. The success of this enterprise has been particularly gratifying to the citizens of Belvidere, because they have long believed that their town possessed advantages which should make it one of the manufacturing centers of the State, and can now present convincing evidence in support of their claims. They also find a large measure of satisfaction in the fact that an enterprise which was conducted with indifferent success in Chicago has been phenominally successful in Belvidere. It is thought this will encourage other manufactories to seek locations in the smaller cities of Northern Illinois.

The history of the building up of this establishment is one of more than ordinary interest, because it is the history of the building up of a new industry, in competition with

those controlled by old, wealthy and powerful corporations. It is the history of determined, persistent and untiring effort on the part of its chief promotors, when they were beset by difficulties which at times seemed to be insurmountable.

Summarizing this history, it may be said, that something like a dozen years since, Frank T. June was the head of a company engaged in a small way, in manufacturing in Chicago, the old Singer sewing machine, patents on which had expired. The company was known as the June Manufacturing Company, and labored under the difficulty of not being able to turn out a machine satisfactory to the public when compared to later inventions. About the same time, Barnabas Eldredge, also of Chicago, a man of large experience in the handling and sale of improved sewing machines, was endeavoring to introduce into the market a machine, which, while it was not entirely his own invention, had been developed under his direction, and to which he had given his name. This was a superior kind of machine in which the old manufacturers having a monopoly of the trade, at once recognized a dangerous competitor. Not having the means to manufacture these machines on his own account, Mr. Eldredge was contracting the manufacture to eastern parties. Being continually disappointed and hampered in his operations by reason of not being able to personally supervise the construction of his machine, he went to Mr. June and entered into an arrangement to have his machines made by the latter, on contract, in Chicago. This arrangement continued in effect for a time, and then Mr. Eldridge proposed a consolidation of interests, which was accomplished and went into effect in the early part of 1886. They were hardly fairly started under the new regime, when the labor troubles of that year—which culminated in the anarchistic riots—involved them in a controversy with employees and closed their factory.

This forced upon them the consideration of a new problem, and for a time they were at sea as to what course they should pursue. It was at this juncture that a suggestion came to them that they should remove their plant to Belvidere, where it was urged they would be freed from the influences leading up to strikes, a perpetual menace to the industrial interests of Chicago. In pursuance of this suggestion negotiations were begun in July with enterprising citizens of Belvidere, who offered to the enterprise substantial aid and encouragement, and in a short time arrangements for the removal were completed. The June Manufacturing Company, with a capital of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was incorporated under the laws of Illinois, with one hundred and thirty-one thousand paid in, and with Mr. June as president and Mr. Eldredge as

vice-president and general manager. The erection of a factory was begun at once, and in the latter part of the following November the first manufacturing enterprise of any magnitude started in Belvidere, went into operation.

With these operations the solution of an important problem began. The problem to be solved was, whether a new sewing machine factory, located in territory where the experiment had not before been tried, and with limited resources, could survive the assaults of the old manufacturing companies, having a practical monopoly of the trade, with unlimited capital at their command, and united in their determination to keep new competitors out of the field. The public is so thoroughly familiar with the methods of this old sewing machine combination, that it is hardly necessary to say that the chances were largely against the new aspirant for popular favor and public patronage. For a time the results seemed to be more than doubtful, and the good citizens of Belvidere, deeply interested as they were in the success of the enterprise, could not help feeling at times that its failure was almost certain.

The one man among those interested in this undertaking, who appears never to have yielded even temporarily to discouragement was Mr. Eldredge. Although not the official head of the corporation, he was the man most familiar with all the details of the sewing machine business, best acquainted with the demands of the public and most fully informed as to the avenues available for conveying their manufactures into the market. Under his direction a machine was manufactured which compelled recognition on its merits and advertised its manufacturers. It went into the market to make friends and to bring new patrons to the factory, with a corresponding increase of business. At first the increase was slow but it was a steady and continuous increase, and nothing once gained was sacrificed through inattention to anything which their patrons seemed to demand.

In 1890 Mr. June died and Mr. Eldredge succeeded to the presidency, redoubling at once his efforts to expand the business and enlarge a trade which had at this time begun to assume important proportions. The result has been the building up of a phenomenally successful manufacturing plant. Its buildings cover now nearly two acres of ground, and other buildings projected and under way, will increase the area of buildings to four acres. The improved plant will have a capacity for the manufacture of between three and four hundred machines daily. Up to the present time the output of the factory amounts, in round numbers, to four hundred thousand machines of various kinds, and the best evidence of the general prosperity of the enterprise is found in the fact that

the stock of the company now commands a premium of more than one hundred per cent.

Without detracting anything from the credit due to others identified with the building up of this great enterprise, it must be said that it has developed into one of the recognized great manufactories of the country, under the management and supervision of Mr. Eldredge, who has thus become a conspicuous figure among western manufacturers. He is a native of Ohio, born in Geauga County, June 19, 1843. His father was Franklin Eldredge, a native of Sharon Springs, New York State, a community with which several generations of the family have been prominently identified. He married Eliza M. Van Dyke, a descendant of Hendrick Van Dyke, who immigrated to this country from Holland in 1636—a distinguished character among the early colonists of New York, and the progenitor of an illustrious Knickerbocker family.

Franklin Eldredge settled on a farm in the Western Reserve of Ohio, and B. Eldredge was born and brought up on this farm. He received his early education in the country schools, and worked on the farm until 1861, when he went to Cleveland to pursue an advanced course of study. Leaving the Cleveland High School shortly before graduation, he became connected with the ship-yards of Stephens and Presley as bookkeeper, pursuing at the same time a course of study in a commercial college from which he graduated.

In 1865 he married Miss Marie A. Presley, daughter of the junior member of the firm by which he had been employed, and shortly afterward engaged in the hardware business in Cleveland as a member of the firm of Van Tassel & Eldredge. It was while engaged in this business that his attention was first attracted to the sewing machine trade. He had a brother in Detroit, Michigan, who was engaged on an extensive scale in the sale of sewing machines, and in 1866 he became interested with the latter in this business. In 1869 he sold out his hardware business in Cleveland and moved to Detroit to become an active partner in the conduct and management of the sewing machine business. Their trade here extended over a large territory and they had remarkable success in establishing the business of the Domestic Sewing Machine Company, then being introduced into the market. Remaining at Detroit until 1874, Mr. Eldredge then came to Chicago as the general manager of the Domestic Company, having under his control all the territory lying between the western line of Ohio and the Rocky Mountains, and all the southern states. This position he retained until he turned his attention to the manufacture and sale of his own machine.

Something has already been said of the fierce opposition which he en-

countered in his attempt to introduce this machine into the market. The most vicious onslaughts were made on him however, at the very outset of his career as a manufacturer. Infringement suits were brought against him whenever a pretext could be obtained for doing so, and to defend against these suits involved great expense, and led to the serious embarrassment of his business.

In the construction of his machine, he had made use of certain appliances of which rival concerns at once claimed the ownership and control. To establish the fact that their claims were invalid, Mr. Eldredge had to hunt the country over for evidences of the fact that their appliances had been in use before they were patented by the claimants. All over the United States he had agents examining old sewing machines and reporting to him the results of their investigations. In one instance he heard of a machine which he desired to produce in court, being in the possession of parties who lived in Hamilton, Canada. The information proved to be incorrect, but from clews obtained in Hamilton he traced the machine to Rochester, New York, where he finally gained possession of it, much to his advantage, and winning the case in the impending litigation. In another instance while defending a suit brought against him by the Singer Manufacturing Company, he heard of an old machine of which he wished to obtain possession, at Redwood, California. A telegram was sent to San Francisco, and a special agent went out from there to purchase the machine. The agent acted promptly and got hold of it just in time to prevent it passing into the hands of the Singer Company, and with this machine defeated the latter in the case on trial.

In this spirited and long continued contest Mr. Eldredge showed wonderful persistency, tenacity of purpose and indomitable courage, as well as a vast amount of tact in the conduct of his affairs. These were the qualities most essential to his success at that time, but when he had weathered these storms, and was left free to give his attention to the development of the industry with which he was so conspicuously identified, it at once became apparent that he had executive ability of a high order and was eminently fitted for carrying forward the work on hand. The subsequent success of the enterprise testifies more strongly than can anything else to the skill and ability with which he has conducted its affairs.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

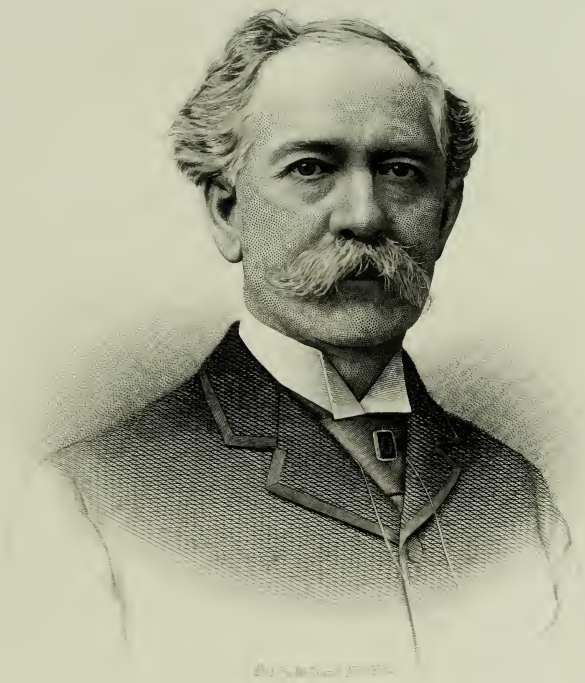
THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

GEN. JOHN G. McCULLOUGH.

General John Griffith McCullough presents to our view in his life, a varied career—a lawyer, a statesman, an important factor for the Union cause in California during the troubles of '60–'65, and a master of finance and skillful manipulator of great enterprises, as especially exemplified in his management of great railroad interests. He is a type of that class, in the possession of which among her citizens America is pre-eminent, whose chief characteristic is a great versatility of talent and energy, enabling them to conduct affairs of the largest proportions, with signal success.

He is of mingled Scotch and Welsh ancestry, and was born in Welsh Tract, near Newark, in the State of Delaware. The circumstances surrounding his youth did not present a rosy prospect for the future. His father died when he was three years of age; his mother when he was seven. Considerate friends and relatives rendered such assistance as they could, but it was his own pluck, persistence and unwearied industry which won for him the many successes of his life. His early educational advantages were meager, but he made the most of them, and succeeded in placing at his command the resources of a good education, graduating from Delaware College with the first honors of his class before he had reached his twentieth year. He went to Philadelphia and began the study of law in the office of St. George Tucker Campbell, at that time one of the most successful jury lawyers at the Philadelphia bar. The next three years young McCullough divided between study and practical experience in this famous pleader's office, and attendance at the law school of the University of Virginia, from which institution he received the degree of L. L. B. In 1859 he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

The brilliant prospect before the young lawyer was suddenly clouded at this point by the collapse of his health. The preservation of his life required a speedy change of climate and surroundings. After winning in Philadelphia, by his own unaided efforts, the first case entrusted to him, he set sail for California. The prospect appeared dubious; his enforced change of situation the most unfortunate thing imaginable. But as we



D. S. McCullough

look back upon it in the light of the sequel, we see the hand of Providence, at that time inscrutable, but which removed him by the agency of ill-health to the new theatre where he was to play a striking part in an approaching crisis of our national history. The severity of the coast winds at San Francisco led him to go on to Sacramento. Here he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of California, but even at Sacramento the climate was too rugged for his delicate condition, and he soon moved again to Mariposa County where he could breathe the dry and exhilerating air at the foot hills of the picturesque Sierra Nevadas.

The time was 1860. California was passing through her trying pioneer period, and her precarious situation was about to be complicated by the bursting of the war-cloud which had long hung, lowering and threatening above the horizon. The young, inexperienced and delicate lawyer had arrived on this rough scene just in time to perform his part in the drama. He opened a law office and rapidly acquired a good practice. But before he could establish any close and extended acquaintance with the people, he was destined to be swept into the thickest of the fight for the preservation of the autonomy of the Union. In Southern California Secessionists from Alabama lived in close proximity to Unionists from Vermont. A terrible internecine war appeared inevitable. In this emergency General Sumner arrived on the scene. By a brilliant *coup d'etat* he superseded Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston in the command of Fort Alcatraz, and frustrated the scheme of the Southern sympathizers to separate California from the Union.

In young McCullough whose loyalty to the Federal Government was intense, his enthusiasm and energy unbounded, General Sumner found a ready and efficient supporter and coadjutor. If the young man's delicate health discouraged all thought of usefulness in the camp and on the field, it did not prevent him from ascending the stump, and by his eloquence and courage do yoeman service for the twin causes of freedom and national unity and integrity. He immediately commanded the admiration and confidence of the Union element and was accorded recognition as a leader of the people. He was nominated for the General Assembly in 1861, and a coalition of Republicans and Douglas Democrats triumphantly elected him. In the Legislature of California he was known as a champion of every wise measure which looked to the advancement and help of the cause of the Union. The confidence of his constituents was increased, and in 1862 they returned him to the State Senate, from a large district composed of many counties, and up to that time overwhelmingly Democratic. The following months in the Senate were characterized by such wisdom and

vigor in shaping legislation, and displayed so much legal acumen, that notwithstanding his youth and very brief experience as a practical lawyer, he was nominated the next year by the State Convention of the Republican party as Attorney General of California. He was elected at the polls by an overwhelming majority. His four years of service in this position (during which time he resided at Sacramento) were crowded with most important litigation, growing out of the emergency of the war and the confusion at its close. General McCullough labored with signal skill and success, in the interests and for the honor of the State. He was renominated by his party in 1867. But a change of sentiment throughout California had put the State overwhelmingly in the Democratic list. Gen. McCullough received the largest vote of any one on the Republican ticket, but failed of an election.

Upon the close of his official career he became the head of a well known law firm in San Francisco, and during his five years of residence in that city, he was universally recognized as one of the most prominent members of a bar which included men of the keenest and most cultured intellect from nearly every State in the Union. His practice was highly remunerative, and he enjoyed the enviable reputation, with court, counsel and client, of a practitioner scrupulously accurate in statement, and in every action or position governed by the nicest sense of professional honor. Visiting the eastern States in 1871, he married Miss Eliza Hall Park, the gifted and accomplished daughter of Trenor W. Park, and granddaughter of ex-Governor Hiland Hall of Vermont. Gen. McCullough visited Europe with his wife and returned to California. Two years later, through the desire of his wife, and having acquired an ample fortune, he removed to Southern Vermont.

His talents and energy now found employment in a new channel. He did not return to the general practice of law, but interested himself in railroad, commercial and banking enterprises. In these directions he has evinced unusual genius and achieved success and distinction. Active operations in these directions have made him in a great measure a citizen of New York. For many years a considerable portion of his time has been passed in the metropolis. From 1873 to 1883 he was Vice-President and General Manager of the Panama Railroad Company, and from 1883 until his resignation in 1888, he continued as President and directing genius of that corporation at the solicitation of M. De Lesseps and the French stockholders. He was elected a director of the Erie Railroad in 1884, and since 1888 has held the responsible position of Chairman of the Executive Committe. He became the first President of the Chicago and Erie Railroad in 1890, a position

John J. Boote

which he still holds, and is President of the Bennington and Rutland Railway Company. He is also President of the first National Bank of North Bennington, Vt., and a Director of the New York Security and Trust Company, and of the Fidelity and Casualty Insurance Company of New York. He is largely interested in many other corporations.

American politics, as an applied science, have never failed to enlist the warmest sympathies of Gen. McCullough, and whether on the Pacific or the Atlantic slope, he has never ceased to exhibit the liveliest interest in the public questions of the day. No political campaign has occurred since 1860 in which his voice has not been heard in earnest and efficient advocacy of the men and principles that challenged his support. His service has been gratuitous—freely offered without expectation of reward, as he entertains no ambition in the direction of public office. As a man, he is of genial nature and social tastes. These qualities have won him a host of warm and devoted friends. His home life is singularly happy. His family is the center of his greatest joys and pleasures.

AN IMPORTANT ERA IN POSTAL ADMINISTRATION.

HON. JOHN J. FOOTE.

All persons at all familiar with the history of postal affairs in the United States, unite in regarding the administration of Hon. Thomas L. James, as Postmaster of New York City, as marking a new era in postal administration. It was under this reform administration that a degree of efficiency was attained in the conduct of postal affairs, to which there had been no approach prior to that time, in the history of this department of the government service. It was under this administration that improvements were inaugurated and postal facilities increased in such a way as to make the New York office, by common consent, the model post-office of the country, and the most potent agency in bringing about the establishment of a vastly improved postal service throughout the United States.

It detracts nothing from the brilliant achievements, or from the well earned fame of Mr. James, to make record of the fact that the successful conduct of public affairs which made him so conspicuous a figure in New York, and which at a later date, made him Postmaster General of the United States, was largely the result of his care in selecting those who were to be his chief assistants in the management of the New York Post-office, and

western men therefore feel a pardonable pride in having had one of their number called to the most important and responsible position under his administration.

In the little city of Belvidere, Illinois, lives a gentleman who, at the urgent solicitation of his old friend and business and political associate, Mr. James, and at the request of other prominent public men of New York State, put aside private affairs of more than ordinary magnitude and importance, to assume official duties and responsibilities which were thrust upon him because of his recognized fitness for the place to be filled. The man thus called to enter the government service in the eastern metropolis, was Hon. John J. Foote, who has been a citizen of Boone County, Illinois, since 1865, except during his official life in New York. Mr. Foote is, however, a native of the Empire State; it was there that he first entered public life, and his early political associates were the old-time whig and republican politicians of that State. His ancestors were noted pioneers of Central New York, to which State they emigrated from New England.

In the records of the colony of Massachusetts Bay for the year 1633, appears the name of Nathaniel Foote, who had immigrated to America some time prior thereto, from Colchester, England, with his wife Elizabeth (Deming) Foote. Nathaniel Foote was of an honorable family, which had long worn a coat-of-arms granted by King James I, to one of his ancestors—an English army officer, who succored the king from great danger at one time, by concealing him in the trunk of an oak tree, in consequence of which the oak became a conspicuous feature of the coat-of-arms. In 1636, Nathaniel Foote removed from Watertown, Massachusetts, to the newer colony of Wethersfield, Connecticut, where he died in 1644. This ancestor of the Foote family in America had two sons, Robert and Nathaniel, of whom the last mentioned lived and died at Wethersfield. His son Nathaniel was the first magistrate of Colchester, Connecticut, and was succeeded in the magistracy by his son Nathaniel IV, and his grandson Daniel Foote, the last named being the father of Judge Isaac Foote, the pioneer representative of the family in New York State. Isaac Foote removed first from Colchester to the "Square Pond Settlement" within the limits of East Windsor, and from there to Stratford, Connecticut, where he served as Justice of the Peace and repeatedly represented his town in the State Legislature. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary war, as was also his younger brother, Ebenezer Foote, who served later as a member of the New York House of Representatives and Senate and as District Attorney and County Judge.

Isaac Foote purchased a large body of land in what is now Chenango County, New York, in what was then

a dense forest in 1795, and sent his son Isaac, Jr., to build a cabin and make other improvements on this land. In 1796 he removed with his family to his new possessions in the town of Sherburne—now Smyrna—and in 1798 was elected a member of the New York Legislature and procured the organization of Chenango County. He afterwards served four years in the State Senate, and was first Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Chenango County. A splendid type of the sturdy New Englander, his was the first name which appeared on the rolls of the "Second Calvinistic Congregational Society" in Sherburne, and in all things he was a leader among the builders of the community, one loved and revered by all who knew him.

An interesting incident of his later life has become historic in Sherburne. In 1840, in the 95th year of his age, he went to the polls to cast his vote at the presidential election of that year. Being blind, he was led up to the table at which the judges of Election were seated, where he laid aside his hat, after the old courtly fashion and said: "Gentlemen, I cast my vote for the first president of the United States, George Washington. I have now come to cast my last ballot for William Henry Harrison." An impertinent young politician of the opposite party, challenged his vote on the ground that being blind he could not read his ballot, but the challenge aroused such a storm of indignation from the voters present, without regard to their party affiliations, that it was quickly withdrawn. Isaac Foote, Jr., son of Judge Foote, held many important local offices in Sherburne and was a successful man of affairs. His son, John Foote, was brought up on a farm, graduated at Clinton Academy, was educated for the law, and became eminent as a counselor, an anti-slavery man and temperance advocate. He married Mary B. Johnson of Columbia County, New York, daughter of a noted physician of that county, and of this union was born Hon. John J. Foote, now of Belvidere, Illinois.

The short history of his antecedents which has been given in the foregoing shows that he began life with the heritage of a good name. He was born in Hamilton, New York, February 11, 1816, and grew to manhood there. His educational training was thorough, and although he did not pursue a full classical course he received his degree in later years, from Madison—now Colgate University. After completing his education he engaged in the drug business in Hamilton, where he married Miss Mary Crocker, daughter of Hon. Amos Crocker of the same place, and soon became recognized as one of the prominent citizens of the place. In his young manhood he took an active interest in politics as a member of the whig party, and by reasons of his personal popularity and political sagacity was elected to various local

offices when his party was largely in the minority in Hamilton. In those days he frequently met in convention men who afterwards became famous as leaders of the Republican party in the United States, among them Roscoe Conkling, who occasionally headed a delegation from Oneida County, when Foote headed a delegation from Madison County. He took an active part in the Presidental Campaign of 1840, and in the campaign of 1844, was a devoted follower of Henry Clay. In the latter campaign, it was through his influence that Charles Burchard—brother of Rev. S. D. Burchard, the despoiler of Blaine's presidential prospects in 1884—a prominent abolitionist of Hamilton, wrote and published a letter which secured for Clay a considerable proportion of the abolition vote of New York State.

In 1857 he was elected a member of the first Republican Legislature of New York, and served as a member of the Senate, representing the counties of Madison, Chenango and Courtland, with such distinguished colleagues as William A. Wheeler, General Francis B. Spinola and others scarcely less noted. As a member of this legislature he became conspicuous as the introducer and most active champion of the "Personal Liberty Bill," one of the most famous of the measures proposed in New York State prior to the war, designed to secure to the negroes additional rights and privileges. He served as chairman of the Committee on Militia, and stood next to Wm. A. Wheeler as a member of the Committee on Banks, becoming chairman of the latter committee when Wheeler became President pro tem of the Senate. In consequence of the financial panic of 1857, this committee had many important measures to consider, and its reports had much to do with shaping financial legislation. He also acquired some distinction as promulgator of the idea set forth in a minority report on a bill regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors—that "for all legitimate purposes the sale of liquors should be unrestricted while their sale as a beverage should be prohibited."

His acquaintance with Postmaster-General James began at Hamilton, where he was interested in the establishment of a Republican newspaper—the Democratic Republican—of which James became the editor. He was one of the most active of the men who sought to promote the fortunes of the Republican party in New York State, immediately after its organization, being intimately associated at that time with such famous party leaders as Wm. H. Seward, Governor Morgan, Thurlow Weed, James W. Nye and others, and in 1860 being chosen a presidential elector on the Lincoln ticket, representing the counties of Madison and Oswego. When the war broke out he was prominent among those who did all in their power to aid in the suppression of the rebellion. When Fort Sumter

was fired on he was in New York City, where he was called into a conference with Thurlow Weed, Governor Morgan, General Wool and others, held at the Astor House, to consider the situation and devise means for putting New York on a war footing. The New York Legislature was still in session but had adopted a joint resolution providing for adjournment. The conference was held on Saturday night and the legislature was to adjourn on the following Monday. It was imperative that the proposed adjournment should be postponed, and Mr. Foote was delegated to go to Albany to impress upon the legislators the necessity for rescinding the adjourment resolution and remaining in session long enough to pass a bill making provision for the enlistment and equipment of troops.

When he reached the Capital he began his labors among Republican members of the Legislature, many of whom hesitated about assuming the war-like attitude proposed. In this emergency he received powerful aid from an unexpected source. While addressing a group of Republicans in the Delavan House, and seeking to pledge them to carry out the policy which had been outlined by the party leaders at the New York conference, one of those who listened to his arguments was Francis B. Spinola, with whom he had often crossed swords in the field of politics. Finally Spinola blurted out; "Foote, your Republicans are a pack of cowards. I'm a Democrat, but I propose to vote for a reconsideration of the adjournment resolution, and for a three million dollar war appropriation, as you propose. And more than that, I will raise a regiment to go down south and help lick the rebels." The effect of this speech can be imagined, and how well General Spinola kept his promise is a matter of history. During the entire four years of the war, Mr. Foote continued his labors in behalf of the Union cause, performing many important and valuable services.

In 1865, his health having become seriously impaired, he sold out his business in Hamilton and removed with his family to Illinois, where he settled on a large farm near Belvidere. Here he gave his attention mainly to agricultural pursuits, whereby he partially regained his health, and was enjoying comparative rest and quiet, attending only to his private affairs, when he was summoned to New York by Mr. James in 1873, immediately after the latter was made postmaster of that city by President Grant.

The financial affairs of the New York Post-office were at that time in a deplorably bad condition, and the most important duty of the new postmaster was to call to his assistance some one who could thoroughly reorganize and systematize the affairs of this department of the office. He realized that he was entering upon a work which made it imperative that his chief lieutenant should be

a man of courage, of convictions, of integrity and ability. Knowing John J. Foote to be such a man he did not hesitate to go outside of the State of New York to solicit his services. Thurlow Weed, Governor Morgan, General Arthur, Samuel P. Russel and other personal and political friends commended his action and brought their influence to bear upon Mr. Foote to induce him to accept the newly created position of Auditor of the post-office. In tendering the appointment Mr. James wrote: "It is but just to me to say that I do not take personal friendship into account when I tender you this office. It is on account of my knowledge of your integrity, your high character and your great ability as a financial and business man."

Feeling that he could not in justice to old time friends and associates, decline to render them such services as he could, Mr. Foote accepted the position, with the understanding that as soon as he had systematized the financial affairs of the post-office he should be allowed to retire. In the spring of 1873 he went to New York and at once entered upon the task to which he had been assigned, as Auditor, and—in the absence of the postmaster—as acting postmaster. The task proved a herculean one and instead of its requiring a few months to get all the machinery of the office into satisfactory operation, Mr. Foote gave to it the next three years. During these three years all the accounts of the post-office, and those growing out of the erection of the new post-office building—then in process of erection with the postmaster as "custodian"—passed through his hands and were paid only after his inspection and approval. Prior to this the different departments of the post-office had been running independently of each other, and when the auditing department was organized with Mr. Foote at the head, he found it exceedingly difficult to bring these different departments under one control and supervision. He entered upon the work, however, determined to do it with the thoroughness with which he had been in the habit of doing everything else he had undertaken.

Some of the changes which he made, without unnecessary delay, were radical in their character, but in all his changes and decisions, and in the adoption of new rules, he was sustained by the postmaster, and the much needed reformation of the financial affairs of the post-office was pushed forward regardless of the complaints of spoils-hunters and truckling politicians.

As Auditor Mr. Foote had oversight of expenditures of every kind, the rents of stations, alterations and repairs of buildings, salaries, supplies of every kind etc., and also of the sources of receipts. All departments were accountable to his department for money transactions and all contracts entered into were subject to

his examination and approval. As rapidly as he could do so he brought the different departments of the office into such relations to his own that the financial leakages of previous administrations were stopped, and to defraud the government of its revenues became almost if not entirely an impossibility.

In the beginning the rules and regulations which he adopted resulted in more or less friction and now and then there were appeals from his decisions to the department at Washington. But in every case he made it a point to so thoroughly familiarize himself with the postal laws and with all the points bearing on the matter under consideration, that he was invariably sustained. There was no favoritism shown in his administration of affairs, and no one was allowed to evade the postal laws with his knowledge and consent. To secure to the government proper returns from unpaid postage he organized an "unpaid postage department" which was so conducted, that for the first time in the history of the post-office, the collection of unpaid postage by superintendents, delivery clerks and letter carriers found their way into the treasury as regularly as any other receipts of the office.

In this connection an incident will illustrate how steadfastly he adhered to the rules governing the postal department, and how courageously he defended his position. A book was sent by one high in authority to a certain college president, which contained much writing, subjecting it to letter postage amounting to about five dollars. The college president refused to pay the postage and reported the matter to the department at Washington. The Postmaster General, while in New York, called Mr. Foote before him, inquired into the matter, admitted that the Auditor was right in the position he had taken, but suggested that in view of the prominence of the parties it might be better to remit the postage. Mr. Foote asked the Postmaster General if his rule did not sustain the charge, and being answered in the affirmative, he said: "Very well, I have sworn to enforce these rules and I shall do so. It is in your power to change the rules but it is not in your power to otherwise change my obligations." It is perhaps needless to say that the rule was enforced.

It is impossible to call attention to the many reforms inaugurated under this administration, to the improved system of keeping accounts, and to new methods of making the quarterly reports which were sent to Washington with a promptness which made the authorities wonder how it was done. It is only necessary to say that at the end of three years of hard labor, having performed work which won renown for his chief, himself and the New York Post-office, Mr. Foote tendered his resignation, which was made necessary by the

pressure of private business and failing health. It was accepted by Mr. James with expressions of sincere regret and the hope that he would return to official duties when his business and health would permit. Those who had been associated with him in the different departments of the post-office presented to him a strong testimonial of their appreciation of his services and he retired from the office bearing with him their high esteem and kindly regards.

Returning to his Illinois home, he turned his attention again to his private affairs, becoming interested in various manufacturing, banking and other enterprises, and sustaining his reputation as a skillful and able financier. Avoiding as much as possible the turmoil of political and public life, he has since only consented to accept certain local offices where he was practically the unanimous choice of his fellow citizens by reason of his eminent fitness for the positions to be filled.

Mr. Foote lives now in pleasant retirement at Belvidere, his wife and one daughter, Miss Harriett Foote, being the other members of his family circle. John C. Foote, his only son, is a merchant of Belvidere, and a second daughter is the wife of Hon. Enos Clark of St. Louis.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

A NEW DEPARTURE IN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

ONE of the most interesting and important chapters in the history of political parties in America was begun a little less than five years ago, in the fall of 1887, by the formation of "The Republican League of the United States." The convention which created this league marks a new era in political methods to achieve political purposes. Henceforth, party contests must be fought and elections decided, along the lines of the plan of permanent and effective organization here first put in operation. In this view, the consideration of the initial movement becomes interesting and instructive, not merely as an incident in the history of one political party, but as a precedent set—a system and method introduced—which every existing or future political party must, per force, accept and adopt, if it would hope to secure victory and the triumph of its principles in popular elections.

In a pamphlet published by the League in 1888, a few months after its organization, the following brief account of the movement is given:

"For a number of years the one great need of the Republican party has been thorough and united party

organization, and while there has been in some localities systematic and efficient work, there has been no general movement for the purpose of *permanently* organizing the Republican party and enlisting the new forces that have grown up since the war.

"Recognizing that there have been efficient Republican organizations in some localities, and remembering that these organizations have demonstrated the value of systematic work, the Republican Club of the City of New York appointed a Committee on Associate Organizations in April, 1887, for the purpose of enlisting the clubs already in existence into one compact body, and for the further purpose of bringing about permanent Republican club organizations in localities where none existed. To this end the above mentioned Committee devoted months of arduous labor, sending out circulars to every part of the United States. By means of this extensive canvass, and in addition to a few well-known clubs, some three hundred other Republican clubs were discovered, and many new ones were formed through the efforts of the Committee, prior to December, 1887. Great was the interest and enthusiasm awakened by the first suggestion of a National organization of Republican clubs, and in response to an official call for a National Convention of such clubs, delegates were appointed from clubs representing some twenty-three States and territories; and these delegates, about fifteen hundred in number, assembled in Chickering Hall, New York City, on the 15, 16 and 17th of December, 1887. The Convention elected the Hon. Daniel J. Ryan of Ohio, as Temporary Chairman, and the Hon. William M. Evarts, of New York, as Permanent Chairman, with vice-presidents and secretaries from the various States."

But no adequate idea is conveyed in this brief epitome, of the vast labor required to propagate the conception of a great union of permanent Republican clubs, and eventually assemble the Chickering Hall Convention. It should be emphasized that the League scheme was distinctly the invention, and the result of the hard work of the Republican Club of the City of New York. Mr. James P. Foster was president of the Republican Club in 1887. On the occasion of the Club dinner on February 12th of that year, in celebration of Lincoln's birthday, Mr. Foster in his opening address, uttered the following prophesy: "Turning now from the past and present to the future, this club shall soon become the central rallying point for Republicans from all parts of the State and the nation." In less than a year's time these words were wonderfully verified. At a meeting of the club on April 12, just two months after the February speech, Mr. Foster appointed the Committee on Associate Organizations referred to above. It consisted, at the time of Mr. Joseph Pool, chairman; Mr. Henry Gleason, secretary; and Mr.

James A. Blanchard, Mr. Foster being a member *ex officio*, and during the succeeding months, two additional members, Joseph Ullman and Edward T. Bartlett were appointed.

The significance of this movement was soon proclaimed to the public in a speech by Mr. Foster at Pittsburgh, Pa., in the same month of April, in response to the toast, "Republican Clubs." After reciting that in the Civil War "drill and discipline were worth more to our men than fortifications." Mr. Foster spoke, in part, as follows:

"The club should be the drill-room from which its members may go forth into the active army of the party at large, armed and equipped with those invincible truths of the party which shall carry conviction and conquest with them. A Republican Club should stand intermediate between the voter on the one hand, and the regular party organization on the other. It should not attempt to overrule the free will of the one nor to usurp the power of the other, but the club can act as a unit and as a power to create public opinion, to formulate the great principles of the party. It can prepare and proclaim those eternal truths, as the foundations upon which the party must rest. Then enlarge the view, and call a conference or convention of these well organized bodies prior to a National Convention, and let the proposed platform be discussed. There are to-day not less than twenty, and perhaps double that number, of Republican clubs of value and standing, and their constituents run up into the many thousands of voters. Assemble these and array the party issues, and the land would resound with the true principles of the party, enunciated in such clear and decided tones that the convention would take up the refrain and proclaim them as its own; such I believe to be the power of the united effort, of drilled and matured thought, of a concert of action by the various clubs in these cities."

These sentiments were published and widely circulated and caused much comment at the time. They were accepted by the Committee on Associate Organizations as the key-note of their operations. In the first report of progress made by this Committee to the Republican Club of the city of New York, May 25, 1887, this fact is stated as follows:

"The undersigned, constituting the 'Committee on Associate Organizations,' beg leave to report. Following the views of the President of this Club, outlined by him in his recent address before the Republican Club in the City of Pittsburgh, your Committee beg leave to state . . . The growth of Republican clubs throughout the country in the past year or so, has demonstrated that permanent club organizations are beneficial to the usefulness and growth of the Republican party, and only indicate that a new system of dealing with

party measures and new methods of conducting campaigns are to be wrought out through the agency of these permanent organizations. . . . Considering this important and advanced position rapidly being acquired by permanent Republican clubs, your committee has under consideration the question of convening all the Republican clubs of this and adjacent States, and the holding of a convention some time in November or December of this year."

From this time forth to the final convention in December following, the full energies of the Committee were directed to the gigantic task of effecting the permanent organization of Republican clubs throughout the country. Numerous circular letters were issued, correspondence was had with every section, and members of the Committee, re-enforced by others of equal enthusiasm in the Club, travelled extensively, delivering addresses and organizing clubs. The idea of *permanent* organization was the inspiration of this canvass. In the May report of the Committee just referred to, the proposal of a National Convention of clubs was based upon the belief that it "would inspire the formation of permanent Republican clubs."

As the canvass progressed and the convention of clubs became a certainty, the Committee's correspondence grew to such magnitude as to be quite too onerous for the shoulders of its few members with business cares and responsibilities of their own. Accordingly, in the fall of 1887, they were re-enforced from the ranks of the New York Club by twenty-three assistant secretaries, appointed as auxilliary committees, and distributed into sub-committees. a man for each specified State or group of States, as follows: California, Nevada and Oregon, Philip R. Van Wyck; Colorado, Dr. E. A. Judson; Dakota, Charles H. Dennison; Delaware, Henry Melville; Illinois, C. H. Applegate; Indiana, George D. McCarthy; Louisiana, John A. Grow; Maine, Frederick C. Royce; Maryland, William L. Findley; Massachusetts, Joseph Ullman; Minnesota, Morris M. Budlong; Mississippi, Noah C. Rogers; Missouri, John F. Baker; Nebraska, Mahlon Chance; New Hampshire, Harwood R. Pool; New York, James W. Hawes; North Carolina, H. W. Hayden; Pennsylvania, John S. Smith; Rhode Island, Walter B. Tufts; Vermont, Henry M. Wynkoop; Virginia and West Virginia, James S. Lehmaier; Wisconsin, James A. Blanchard. Later were added to the number, for the State of Georgia, Henry C. Sommers; Kansas, Lucius C. Ashley; Tennessee, Humphrey H. Leavitt; South Carolina, Charles Schwacoffer. Each member of this Auxilliary Committee was supplied with circulars for his especial field, containing both the names of the general Committee and his own name as sub-committee for the district with which he opened communication.

The formal, or official call for a convention of clubs, signed by the presidents of one hundred and eight organizations, four of which were State Leagues, appeared November 15th. This had been done through the suggestion of the Committee, who sent out blanks for the purpose to the respective presidents. Every Republican club in the country was authorized to send five delegates to the convention, and the enthusiasm manifested in every direction insured a large assembly. The exact number of accredited delegates who actually arrived was 1,180, while hundreds of others attended unofficially. During the three days' session of the convention, December 15, 16 and 17th, 1887, Chickering Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity. Everything that an active, influential and free-handed body like the Republican Club of New York could secure in the way of cheap transportation, good halls, complete appointments and excellent accommodations had been provided, the expense being met by individual subscriptions within the club.

A chief feature of the convention was the unbounded enthusiasm which prevailed throughout the three days of its duration. The assembly was called to order by Mr. Joseph Pool, chairman of the committee. Rev. R. S. Mac Arthur offered prayer. The official call was read by Mr. Henry Gleason, secretary of the committee. Mr. James P. Foster, President of the New York Republican Club, then delivered the address of welcome. This speech is interesting both for the bit of history it details, and also as illustrating the grasp of the idea of the power of organization in the minds of the projectors of the enterprise.

"This movement," said Mr. Foster, "now a most glorious success, was begun with caution, without any list of organized clubs and the names and location of not more than twenty or thirty. Last June a committee of this Club, by authority, ventured to ask the press and leading Republicans to give publicity to this movement. It was readily taken up, and to-day over 400 clubs are on the list thus obtained, and it is not too much to predict that within six months over 4,000 clubs will be in existence, all of which shall embrace more or less of the first voters and the men hitherto indifferent to their political duties. . . . We propose to organize, to go out and beyond the individual, in order that we may work for some end and some principle higher and broader than the single man, for he who selfishly is working for himself is a danger to be avoided. Hence we have by common consent agreed to have only one rule for this convention, and we have decided that this convention shall not name, recommend or nominate any candidate for office—but we shall organize.

"It was through organization that Washington, ardent and unselfish,

and assailed by difficulties and defeat, never faltered in his purpose, and from the sufferings of Valley Forge marched triumphant to Yorktown. It was organization that gave Abraham Lincoln success in his endeavor to establish the final supremacy of a broad and grand principle of right. It was organization, coupled with courage and fidelity to a just cause, that at last made it possible to place the chaplet of fame and honor on the brow of the immortal Grant. . . . This then is the mission of this convention. Do we look for proof of the power of club organization, the answer will come from many localities. Do we ask for States, let Ohio reply. Before that State League was formed doubt came with the close of the polls. Since the days of that League, Ohio has always stood firm in the Republican ranks. From Michigan would come the response that the State was rescued by organization at a time when Democracy was fast gaining control, and a Republican majority, by organization, was made certain and sure."

As has been said, Hon. Daniel J. Ryan, of Ohio, was elected Temporary Chairman of the convention, and Senator Evarts made Permanent Chairman. The usual committees of such a body were appointed; a set of resolutions adopted, setting forth the principles of the Republican party and the accustomed arraignment of the opposing Democracy; and the convention formally converted itself into a National League, it being entered upon the minutes that "The National Convention of Republican Clubs held at New York City, on December 15, 16, and 17, 1887, hereby forms a National organization and adopts the following Constitution:

I.

"The name of this organization shall be 'The Republican League of the United States.'

II.

"The League shall consist of the State and Territorial Leagues which may be duly admitted as hereinafter provided.

III.

"The objects of the League are to encourage and to assist in the formation of permanent Republican Clubs and State Leagues, to unite such clubs and leagues for effective and organized work, and generally to advance the principles of the Republican party.

IV.

"The officers of this League shall be a President, a Vice-President from each State and Territorial organization in the League, a Secretary and Treasurer all of whom shall be elected at the Convention of the League, and shall hold office until the election of their successors," etc.

Article IX. declared that "There shall be an Executive Committee composed of one member from each organization, who shall be elected by the delegates from such organization present at the Convention. The

President, Secretary and Treasurer of the League shall be *ex-officio* members of the Committee. The Committee shall have power to fill vacancies in its own members or in any of the offices." And Article X. provided that "The Executive Committee shall have the general management of the affairs of the League when the Convention is not in session, and shall have control of all funds of the League, subject to the direction of the Convention. It shall have general supervision of the organization composing the League, and shall in States which have no State League, be charged with the duty of organizing new clubs, and City, County and State Leagues, wherever in its opinion advisable. The Committee shall be called together by the President of the League, immediately after the Convention and shall then organize. It shall make its own rules and shall hold meetings at such times and places as it shall determine. A meeting may be called at any time by its chairman and must be called by him when requested by ten members in writing."

But the most noteworthy part of the Constitution was that part of Article XIII. which provided that "This League shall not, in any manner, endeavor to influence the action of any National, State, County or Municipal Convention; nor shall it indicate, as a League, any preference for any candidate before any political convention, nor shall it as a League recommend any person as an applicant for any official position."

Mr. James P. Foster, President of the Republican Club of the City of New York, was chosen first President of the League. The Secretaryship having been offered to Mr. Henry Gleason, who declined, the selection of Secretary and Treasurer was left to the Executive Committee. Subsequently Mr. Foster was requested to fill these positions by appointment, and accordingly, Mr. Andrew B. Humphrey, of the Republican Club of New York, who actively assisted in the organization of the League, was made Secretary, and ex-Governor Phineas C. Lounsbury of Connecticut, Treasurer. Vice-Presidents, one from each State were elected by the respective State delegations.

An Executive Committee was chosen in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the delegates from each State and Territory having the right to appoint one committeeman. Alabama, Indiana and a few other States deferred the selection of their representatives. The names immediately reported to the Convention by the several delegations, thus constituting the first working Executive Committee, were as follows: Arizona, A. L. Morrison; Connecticut, James A. Howarth; Dakota, Judge A. P. Guptill; Delaware, Edward Mitchell, Jr.; District of Columbia, E. N. Fox; Illinois, William W. Tracey; Iowa, J. S. Clarkson; Kansas, J. G. Slonecker; Kentucky,

Augustus E. Wilson; Maine, Joseph H. Manley; Maryland, W. W. Johnson; Massachusetts, John W. Chandler; Michigan, Junius E. Beal; Minnesota, T. E. Byrnes; Nebraska, R. W. Breckinredge; New Hampshire, Myron J. Pratt; New Jersey, E. W. Sanderson; New York, Edgar T. Brackett; Ohio, Judge John A. Caldwell; Pennsylvania, A. C. Robertson; Rhode Island, Henry W. Hayes; Tennessee, M. J. Condon; Vermont, Guy C. Noble; Virginia, J. W. Southward; West Virginia, D. P. Morgan; Wisconsin, R. M. La Follette.

Promptly on the afternoon of Saturday, December 17th, this Committee had their first meeting at the Republican Club-house, New York, President Foster in the Chair. They declared a majority should constitute a quorum, and proceeded to appoint a sub-committee of seven to discharge such details as should be resolved upon. This sub-committee, or right hand of the League, consisted of the following persons: James S. Clarkson, Chairman; A. L. Morrison, A. C. Robertson, J. A. Caldwell, E. N. Fox, E. W. Sanderson, and R. M. La Follette. The President and Secretary of the League were also members *ex-officio*. The sub-committee met immediately upon the adjournment of the larger body. Mr. Clarkson presided and E. W. Sanderson was made Secretary. The proffer of the club-house of the Republican Club of New York as temporary headquarters was accepted, and it was decided to establish a branch headquarters at Washington, with Assistant Treasurer and Statistician. The offer for this purpose, of the club-house of the Washington National Republican Club, was accepted.

Some further details of the work performed by the Republican Club of the City of New York, preliminary to the Convention, are recounted in an address of Mr. Foster delivered October 15, 1889, at the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the State Club. In narrating the principal occurrences during his term as President of the Club, he refers to the organization of the League in part as follows:

"Who can depict the growth and development of the Republican League? Who can describe the earnest, zealous, untiring activity of nearly two hundred members of this club, day and night for nine months at work—money and brains, words and thoughts, letters and circulars, journeys, and work without stint, without a murmur, without a complaint? All were brought to the altar of the Club and freely given for the gigantic effort. . . . Then month by month men fell into line, and the Finance Committee of fifty was appointed, with Judge Noah Davis as Chairman and William Leary as Secretary, and William Brookfield as Treasurer; and they found willing help for this movement. The Reception Committee of the Club kept open house for sturdy and deter-

mined patriots who had come hundreds and thousands of miles to the League Convention.

With the exception of the few projectors of the enterprise in the New York Club, the full power and significance of the new League was not by any means fully understood by the convention which organized it. Two years later the *New York Tribune* declared.*

"Until recently the League had been looked upon by many political leaders as little more than an elaborate campaign organization whose existance practically ceased with the elevation of General Harrison to the Presidency. Its claims to be anything more were looked upon skeptically. This is not surprising. A majority of its own members held a similar view regarding it. Even some of its active leaders could see in the great movement only an energetic, wide-spread effort to get the party in line for the campaign.

"The idea of permanent organization apparently did not enter their minds except as a plan of something that was uncalled for and impracticable. But there has been from the beginning a strong body of workers who never for a moment lost sight of the fundamental principles of the movement, namely, a complete party organization and the education of voters in sound political principles through the medium of the local club. To these men the League possessed a deep significance. In their judgment its continuance as a potent factor in political affairs was a necessity to the party. Starting at a time when the Democracy, strongly entrenched in power, seemed likely to control the Government for many years, the League by its irresistible energy and enthusiasm brought about a renewal of party faith and activity that ultimately resulted in the overthrow of the Democratic administration and the election of General Harrison. The splendid services rendered by the clubs have been acknowledged on all sides."

It cannot be disputed that the organization of the Republican forces accomplished by the League was a vital element in the presidential contest of 1888; and it appears unquestionable, as the *Tribune* affirms, that the League was the chief agency in inspiring the "renewal of party faith and activity that ultimately resulted in the election of General Harrison." The League when organized had included about four hundred clubs; and Mr. Foster, in his address of welcome, had confidently declared to his incredulous audience, "It is not too much to predict that within six months over 4,000 clubs will be in existence." As a matter of fact, within the specified time, Mr. Foster's figures were nearly *doubled.* In the single State of New York, before the Chicago convention, one thousand

* Library of *Tribune* Extras, November, 1889.

clubs had been organized, enrolling ninety thousand voters, and these numbers grew during the succeeding canvass. In the entire Union, at the close of the Harrison campaign, there were in existence at least ten thousand clubs, including nearly a million voters. In almost every State and territory State Leagues were formed, uniting and centralizing the numerous organizations in each commonwealth, and themselves in touch and communication with the national head and center of the League. By this system of ramification from one chief center, and thence, from auxilliary centers, a large percentage of all the Republican voters of the land could be reached at the smallest possible expenditure of time and money.

It was inevitable that such an organization, the most perfect and systematic in any political party in the history of the country, should be invincible unless the opposition could marshall its forces in a similar and equally effective manner. An attempt to accomplish this was made by wise Democratic leaders who comprehended the formidable nature of the new Republican movement. In July, 1888, near the beginning of the campaign, a "National Association of Democratic Clubs," answering to the National League of the Republicans, was organized, but "too late"—in the words of a Democratic circular of 1889—" for the most effective campaign work during the last presidential contest." That the Republican victory was due to the timely organization of the National League, and the Democratic defeat to the lack of such discipline, is confessed by the authors of this circular, in their opinion that "had the active club organization of the Democracy permeated the agricultural districts, Cleveland and Thurman would have had an electoral as well as a popular majority."

In future elections it is certain that the new machinery of a system of political clubs, organized throughout the country and under central control and guidance by means of State Leagues and a national organization, must play an increasingly important part, and in such elections the result will be decided by the relative degrees of organization effected by the contending parties. This fact is receiving speedy recognition at the hands of political thinkers. Says Judge John M. Thurston: "The League bears the same relation to the Republican National Committee that the Federal Army bears to the War Department." Again, "The National League is the army of the Republican party." And again, in a letter to a friend: "In my opinion its existence and prosperity can alone keep the Republican party in power." Joseph H. Manley asserts that "The permanent club will occupy to the Republican party the relative position that the Sunday School does to the church." And ex-President Cleveland declares that "The club is the

most efficient agency ever devised for the propagation of a political doctrine."

Since its organization, the Republican League of the United States has held three conventions: At Baltimore, March 1, 1879; at Nashville, March 4, 1890; at Cincinnati, April 21, 1891. Judge John M. Thurston was nominated by Mr. Foster and unanimously elected President of the League at Baltimore, and was re-elected at Nashville. At Cincinnati, James S. Clarkson became president, and has continued to the present time. Andrew B. Humphrey, first secretary, and Phineas C. Lounsbury, first treasurer, still hold their respective offices. The character, plan, present status, significance and future outlook of this remarkable movement can not be more intelligently stated than in the words of an official pamphlet published by the organization.

"The National Republican League is a social, political body. It is neither intended nor permitted to serve the interests of individuals or factions. Nor is it designed to take the place in campaign work of the regular party organization. Its pre-eminent aim is educational. By the constant and harmonious effort of many thousands of local clubs it proposes in every community throughout the land to teach the principles of the Republican party, and to enforce upon every citizen who believes in those principles the duty of becoming an active politician.

"The League seeks in its work to touch the social instinct. It thinks by this means not only to reach large bodies of the people whose attention could not otherwise be obtained, but to get a closer view of the every day thoughts and aspirations of the Nation. Already [1891] its members constitute a full twelfth of the legal voters. Within another year it is confidently anticipated that they will constitute a full fourth. Already on its lists of membership are enrolled 1,100,000 American voters, divided into 12,000 separate organizations.

"The primary object of the League is the organization of permanent Republican clubs in every State, county, city, town and school district where it is possible to perfect a Republican organization. It is particularly desirable that it should be thoroughly understood that this organization is not to seek, or in any manner to promote the interests of any candidates prior to their nomination by the regular party conventions. The first object to keep in mind is thorough and complete party organization upon a broad, fair and liberal basis, which will bring into the ranks of the party all Republicans who may wish to become identified with it. It is particularly desirable that special efforts should be made to enlist the young men just entering upon their first political duties and men who have hitherto been more or less indifferent to the management of political affairs.

James P. Foster

"Campaign clubs and legitimate campaign work are not to be disparaged—they are essential and most important in their proper place; but it is an error to suppose that mere enthusiasm is sufficient to produce the discipline and organization required to develope the full power of the party. The ideal Republican Club is an organization that maintains its activity throughout the year, and every year. Its primary object should be to enroll among its members all good Republicans within its territorial limits. It should hold a meeting at least once a month, at which a paper on some political subject should be read by a member or invited guest, or some living question discussed. It should provide a comfortable club-house or headquarters, open every evening, where the members may meet in political and social intercourse. It should found a political library (however small at first, it is sure to grow), and furnish the club-room with the current, political literature of the day, as found in the party newspapers and the magazines. It should see that every Republican voter discharges his duty on election day.

"This brief outline of organization and work must satisfy thoughtful minds, that with this system thoroughly carried out in all the states, and with the State Leagues under the control of the National League, the working power of the Republican party will be placed upon a basis of great efficiency. With the political machinery thus provided, every part of the country will be made accessible for united and well-directed work."

It is readily seen that the possibilities of such a scheme of party organizations are boundless. The law of self-preservation will force each political party to adopt it, and to devote its entire energies to developing the system to the highest point of perfection. The present generation is not likely fully to appreciate contemporaneous events; but the future historian will look back to the Chickering Hall Convention of December, 1887, as the effective beginning of a new era in the history of political methods in America.

JAMES P. FOSTER.

James P. Foster, born at Flushing, New York, August 31, 1848, is descended, through both parents, from old American families, several members of which figured in the wars of the Revolution of 1812, and with Mexico. His grandfather on his mother's side died from a wound received on the battlefield in the service of his country. From childhood Mr. Foster resided in New York City, receiving his early education from the public schools of the metropolis. After completing the high school course,

he entered the University of the city of New York, and subsequently the law department of Columbia College. From this institution he graduated with honors in 1873, taking the degree of L.L. B. Two weeks after his graduation, and shortly after his marriage to Miss Sara M. Haight, an accomplished New York lady, they went to Berlin where they resided during the next few years. A hint as to the object of Mr. Foster's visit is disclosed in the following cablegram which we extract from an old file of the *New York Tribune:*

"An American named Foster, after studying jurisprudence at the Berlin University for three years has been awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws. He passed his examination in German and Latin, and a crowded auditory comprising many learned professors and a great number of ladies were both delighted and astonished by his dissertation and his defence of his theses. Readers of Hart's 'German Universities' will appreciate the difficulties Mr. Foster had to overcome to achieve such a triumph."

It may appear odd that the graduation of an American from a German university should assume the importance of a news item of international interest, but it will not seem so when the facts in the case are known. It is generally understood that the standard of scholarship maintained in the best universities of Germany is above and beyond anything in the curriculum of an American college; but the real extent of the difference is little known. It often occurs that American students who have the inclination and time to spare, after their graduation from an American institution, spend some time attending lectures in a German university. But it is only occasionally that one of these has the ability and perseverance sufficient to carry him through the curriculum and through the formidable examinations to receive a degree. Few even of the German students undertake this.

Mr. Foster,however, passed through this ordeal with signal distinction. A brief outline of his course and graduation will be of interest.

The university of Berlin is universally recognized as one of the most difficult in its requirements, if not the most formidable of all the universities of Europe. The studies and lectures had required from Mr. Foster six hours' daily attendance at the university during four years. At the expiration of this time, and while still attending lectures, he was required to write an exhaustive dissertation on some legal subject, which must be passed upon favorably by the faculty before he could proceed to the regular examination. At the request of the faculty Mr. Foster selected "The Public Lands of America" as his theme. The resources of the public library of Berlin were placed at his disposal, while through the kindness of Hon. Ban-

croft Davis, then United States Minister to Germany, and Mr. Nicholas Fish, secretary of the legation, American books and data of great value were placed in his possession.

At the end of the six months required in its preparation, Mr. Foster handed in his treatise, written in the German language. The faculty were occupied three months in examining and criticizing it, and then returned it with the request that Mr. Foster add to it a comparison of the land system of the United States with the "Ager Publicus" of the Romans. This was done, the young author devoting another three months to the task. When again submitted the treatise was approved by the faculty, and a Berlin publisher, learning of the work through one of the professors, made an arrangement with Mr. Foster for its publication. Foster's "Die Public Lands der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-America" was considered at the time the best authority on the subject in the German language, and the profits from its sale netted quite a revenue.

Mr. Foster was now free to take his examinations, and he announced himself ready in the spring of 1877. Two weeks before the date set for him to appear, the Emperor by royal edict had proclaimed the use of German instead of Latin in the questions and answers of the examinations. Mr. Foster had prepared himself for either language. On the appointed day he confronted seven professors in evening dress, assembled about a round table in the University building, who one after another, during six consecutive hours plied him with difficult legal questions. At length, after retiring for a brief consultation, they re-appeared and formally congratulated the candidate, and as if by magic, a repast was brought in and all engaged in friendly conversation, toasting the health and prosperity of the young man.

But another trying ordeal yet remained before the degree could be conferred. The candidate must successfully defend five or six legal theses against several disputants in public debate, after which any one in the audience, professor, student, or the general public, might rise to debate or assail him with questions. In Mr. Foster's case, for the first time in the history of the Berlin university, if not of any German institution, the opposing disputants were two members of the faculty, Professors Dambach and Lewis, together with Dr. Joseph Thompson, a man of profound learning, formerly pastor of the Congregational church at the corner of Thirty-fourth street and Sixth avenue, New York, then residing in Berlin. The debate was to be in German, but fortunately Mr. Foster had mastered this almost as well as his native tongue.

As the hour approached, he found himself facing an audience which might well cause trepidation. On a

raised platform sat the presiding officer, Professor Berner, Dean of the Faculty. Standing on a lower platform in front, Mr. Foster faced the assembly. Before him were professors, students and citizens of Berlin, hundreds of ladies and gentlemen, all the American legation, and attaches of foreign embassies. The Dean declared that never before had he seen such an audience on a like occasion, and was especially surprised by the presence of the ladies. But the debate had been announced in the Berlin press, special interest being incited by the fact that he was an American, as also on account of the authorship of his American land system treatise. Moreover, it will be remembered that just before his departure for Germany Mr. Foster had been married to Miss Haight, an attractive and entertaining lady of unusual accomplishments. During their residence of nearly five years in Berlin, their home had become the centre of a large circle of friends, both Americans and Germans. Most of these were present to witness Mr. Foster's triumph.

After opening the debate with a brief statement of his propositions, Mr. Foster gave way to his first opponent. He replied, in turn, to the arraignment of his theses by the three opposing disputants, the debate lasting about two hours. When none of his opponents and no one in the audience had anything further to oppose, the Dean declared that Mr. Foster had successfully maintained all the propositions laid down, and with the full ceremonies of the occasion, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, at the same time administering to him the public oath that he would never apply for, nor accept the same degree from any other institution, in any place or at any time. The diploma given, after the usual preliminary concerning "the most benign and powerful Prince William, emperor of the Germans," and some account of the Berlin University, declares in Latin, of which the following is a literal translation, that "Albert Frederick Berner, rightful Doctor and regular public Professor to the King, Dean of the Faculty of Lawyers from the inner council of the Institution, has by right conferred upon the very renowned and very learned, James P. Foster of New York, after he had properly sustained the examinations, and had publicly defended a dissertation written in the German language, 'Die Public Lands der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-America,' the highest honors and privileges, in every respect, of Doctors; and the things conferred he has proclaimed by this public diploma, with the approved seal of the Faculty of Lawyers."

Following the public discussion, occurred the characteristic German celebration, the "Doktor Schmaus," or graduation banquet. It was attended by the members of the American legation, the Professors of the

University and the personal friends of Mr. Foster, the Dean, Dr. Berner presiding. In the summer of 1877, following these events, Mr. Foster returned to America and began the practice of law in New York City, devoting himself to the specialty of Patent Law.

Soon after his return at the request of his friend, Professor Dambach of the Berlin University, Mr. Foster made a special study of the patent laws of the United States, and drafted a law for Germany, following in many respects the American law. Professor Dambach for a long period had been Royal Counsellor to the Department of the Post-office in Germany, and had been entrusted with the preparation of a law to protect patentees in Germany. Availing himself of the assistance of Mr. Foster, his friend and former pupil, Professor Dambach submitted a measure based largely upon the American law, remodelled to fit into the German system. At the suggestion of Prince Bismark this draft was incorporated in a bill, passed by the Reichstag, and made the Patent Law of Germany.

Mr. Foster's legal practice has constantly increased, is very lucrative, and has brought some of the most important cases into his hands. In politics he has always been an ardent Republican, and during the last fifteen years has taken an active part in every campaign. He joined the Republican Club of the City of New York in 1881, and immediately became interested in strengthening and upbuilding that organization, believing that it might be made the rallying point and centre of Republican Club organizations throughout the country. In 1886 the New York Republican Club leased the Club House at 32 West 28th Street, Mr. Foster assuming all liability for the rent. The following year he was elected President of the Club. On March 17th 1887, there appeared in the *Mail and Express*, from his pen, the first public utterance suggesting a national organization of Republican Clubs. In April, 1887, he delivered his celebrated Pittsburgh address, and the newspapers announced the scheme of a national club convention and organization as "Foster's Mission." Just previous to this, April 12th, 1887, he had appointed a committee from the New York Club to undertake the execution of the plan.

The story of the organization of the Republican League of the United States has been already told. Mr. Foster was chosen its first President, and during that memorable campaign he traveled from one end of the country to the other, attending innumerable meetings and making more than 250 addresses. His time and energy were gratuitously devoted to this work, in the hope that through the agency of the new club organization the Republican party would be reinstated in power. During his presidency of the League Mr. Foster was

urged to permit the presentation of his name for official preferment, and to avail himself of his position by securing letters and club recommendations from the various auxiliaries of the League. But he refused to sanction such a plan, declaring that never should it be said that he had in any way used his office to secure personal promotion, or achieve any other object than the advancement of the Republican party.

The National League, at the outset, did not receive a very cordial welcome in some quarters, a fear existing that it would attempt to usurp the privileges and place of the regular party organization. It required time, and the demonstration of experience to convince party leaders that, as Mr. Foster had expressed it in so many of his addresses, the League stood "intermediate between the voter on the one hand and the regular party organization on the other, without attempting to overrule the free will of the one nor to usurp the power of the other." It is still Mr. Foster's belief that the Republican League, as it brought victory to a party out of power in 1888, if kept free from internal contests and personal politics and its energies constantly directed against the common enemy, will be the agency which in 1892 will retain the Republican party in the administration of the Government of the United States.

Mr. Foster has been a member of the Union League Club since 1878, and is a member of a number of other clubs and social organizations. He holds positions as trustee and director in various corporations and institutions in New York City and elsewhere, and is a man of considerable wealth. For more than twenty years, from 1865, he was a member of the famous Hamilton Literary Society of Brooklyn, occupying every office from the presidency down, and was a member when it disbanded a few years ago and was re-organized into the present Hamilton Club of Brooklyn.

L. A. Bond.

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Historical Society of Southern California, (Los Angeles,) held a regular meeting April 4. Mr. C. P. Dorland offered a resolution asking the appointment of a committee of the Historical Society to co-operate with the Ruskin Art Society and other societies in calling a meeting under the auspices of this Society to consider the subject of the old missions, their history and restoration. In order to advance historical interest it is proposed to arrange for a series of excursions to the different missions.

The Connecticut Historical Society (Hartford), held a meeting April 6, when it voted unanimously to raise funds for cataloguing and arranging its invaluable manuscripts. It is doubtful if any one knows the full significance, much less the details, of the vast amount of letters and other papers, unpublished, that the Society holds. The Society has done a great work in collecting, and it is welcome news that the articles of historical interest are to be re-arranged, assorted and catalogued.

The Historical Society of Delaware (Wilmington), held an interesting meeting March 21. Bishop Coleman on behalf of Mayor Willey, presented a copy of the Declaration of the King of Spain in reference to his dominions in America.

The Louisiana Historical Society (New Orleans), elected new officers at their meeting on March 28, as follows: Frank T. Howard, president; Wm. Miller Owen, secretary.

The Dedham Historical Society (Mass.), elected officers on April 11, as follows for the ensuing year: Don. Gleason Hill, president; Erastus Worthington, vice-president; John H. Burdakin, librarian; Julius H. Tuttle, corresponding secretary. The Society has enjoyed a successful year of progress. Its publication, the "Historical Register," one of the very best Society publications, has entered upon its third year. The librarian's report is interesting. It shows that during the past year 225 volumes and 431 pamphlets, many of which are rare and valuable, have been added to the library. Among the books added last year are 41 relating to New England history and 22 of genealogy. The library now contains 3500 volumes, and it is safe to say that no other Historical Society in New England is better equipped for historical and genealogical research. More than 400 people from fifteen States and two of the Territories, and also from foreign countries, have visited the historical building within the past year. This shows an historical organization of remarkable vigor.

The Danvers Historical Society (Mass.),

held its quarterly meeting March 21. A recent gift is an interesting historic picture of Washington, of life size, done in crayon and ink and giving a profile view of the "Father of his Country." It is a copy taken long ago from an original miniature for which Washington sat, and is the gift of Willard H. Brown, of Salem, and other friends of that city and neighborhood. It is regarded as one of the most precious treasures of the gallery, and a full account of it was given at the meeting.

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The Maine Historical Society (Portland), held a regular meeting on March 17. The following papers were read: "The Plymouth Trading House at Penobscot," by Samuel Adams Drake. "Privateers of the Revolution," by S. P. Mayberry. Hon. Charles E. Allen, of Dresden, Maine, read an account of the Huguenots and other early settlers on the Kennebec. The Society celebrated its 17th anniversary on April 11, with a banquet at the Preble House.

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The Historical Society of Winnepeg (Manitoba), have decided to make a vigorous effort to complete their collection of works relative to the Lord Selkirk era in the history of this country. For this purpose a large sum was voted, and the committee have special instructions to at once make inquiries on the London book market in reference to several missing volumes. It is expected that perhaps some may be found in this country.

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The Long Island Historical Society (Brooklyn), has been granted articles of incorporation at Albany, so that it can now receive bequests of money or articles of a historical nature, and can be held responsible as an incorporated body.

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At the meeting of the Pennsylvania Historical Society (Philadelphia), March 21, Howard M. Jenkins gave the fourth lecture in the course on the Colonial History of the State, entitled "The Period of Colonial Wars—1744–64."

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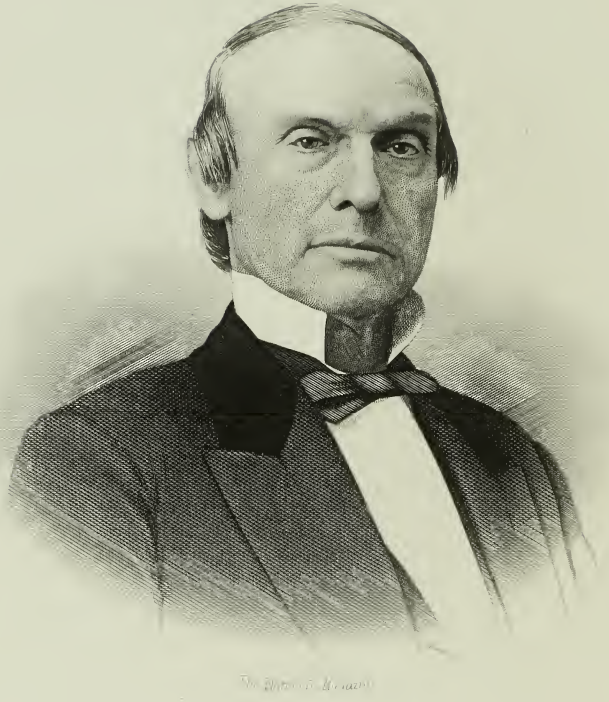
The Washington State Historical Society (Tacoma), held a special meeting on March 23. Papers were read by Allen Weir on "Roughing it on Puget Sound in the Early Sixties," and by Edward Higgins on "The Attack on Fort Nisqually by the Snoqualmic Indians in 1849." Weir's father came from Los Angeles, California, with his family in 1860, and their early experience was in a log cabin at Dunginess. The record of early events among the pioneers there, and at Port Townsend, as well as other portions of Puget Sound, were told with the freshness of an eye witness and gave to the picture an interesting color.



E. D. Taylor

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. XVI. JUNE, 1892. *No. 2.*

FRANCIS LOVELACE, AND THE RECAPTURE OF NEW NETHERLAND 1668–1674.*

CHARLES II, is said to have been caricatured in Holland with a woman on each arm and courtiers picking his pocket—this latter the last place, perhaps, they would have thought worth the trouble of picking. Nevertheless, to be a court favorite during his reign presented opportunities for profits and perquisites, of which the shrewd or needy—colonels, younger sons, and others—were not slow to avail themselves. If nothing offered at home, there were governorships, proprietorships, and land grants in America to be had almost literally for the asking. It was such an easy way for Charles to silence importunity and reward or gratify friends, to give them what they sought—whole provinces, sometimes, as large as France—a less costly gift to himself than would have been a snuff-box. Of Virginia in 1669, says Bancroft: "To satisfy the greediness of favorite courtiers, Virginia was dismembered by lavish grants, till at last the whole colony was given away for a generation, as recklessly as a man would give away a life-estate in a farm."

Some of these men—as, for instance, Sir William Berkeley, Lord Clarendon, and others associated with them—very well knew what they were asking, if Charles did not; knew that they were obtaining valuable prospective estates, if they could only retain them; knew that there were perquisites of office open to a Governor, such as might compensate for a few years' absence from court and court life. Few, if any of them, we may be quite sure, had in mind Addison's idea, that "the best perquisites of a place are the advantages it gives a man of doing good." Yet, it

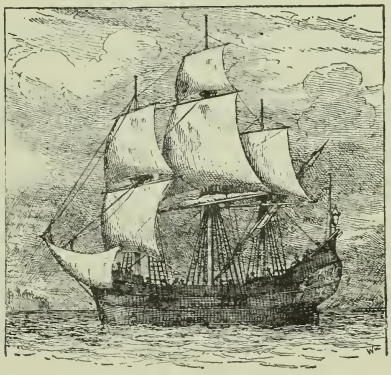
* From "The Memorial History of New York."

must be said that, though the most of them fished the streams of the New World thoroughly and well, few, if any, brought home any satisfactory amount of fish. Colonel and late Governor Nicolls did not, for the reason that he was really an honorable and loyal soldier, and advanced, from his own means, to put the fort in a state of defense, more than he could collect by taxes. Colonel and Governor Lovelace did not, for a reason not so honorable.

The "Right Hon. Francis Lovelace, Esq.," of whom, and his ad-

ministration we now present the history, was the second son of Sir Richard, who had been elevated to the peerage in 1627, by Charles I., as Baron Lovelace of Hurley, Berks County. There Francis was born, and was about thirty-eight years old when he became Governor. He is not to be confounded with another Colonel Richard Lovelace of the period, who had repute as a dramatist and poet, and some of whose effusions have survived to our own day; nor with his grandson, the fourth Baron, who died Governor of New York in 1709. Nor was it the same family, since the title had lapsed therein and been later revived, from which came Lord Lovelace, Byron's son-in-law. Of this family the special founder was a lucky knight, and comrade of Sir Francis Drake in the Spanish main, who, with the rich spoil there obtained, had built an imposing country mansion about thirty miles from London, in the parish of Hurley, and on the Berkshire side of the Thames. Evidently he had taste, for he surrounded it with spacious grounds and terraced gardens, and its hall looked upon the river. Greatly improved by his son, the first lord, the father of Francis, the old baronial residence of the Hurley Lovelaces, like the family itself, does not now exist; but we have a memento of it in this State, in the little town of Hurley, on the right bank of the Esopus, Ulster County, where Governor Francis Lovelace endeavored to build up landed interests for himself, but did not succeed. Living, however, as he had done, within such easy access to London as was Hurley and "Lady Place," (the name of the house) with aristocratic breeding and influence, and with such a personality as history assigns to him, there is no wonder that he should have been a favorite at the court of Charles II., one of those able to secure the plums of office. An ardent supporter of the royal cause against Cromwell, he had early become a colonel and a Knight of the "Royal Oak." Handsome, agreeable, and a polished man of the world, withal generous and amiable, without being prominent or able enough to excite envy, the gay life of the court certainly suited him, if it did not his finances; and he knew

how to make friends of those in place and power. At the time of his appointment he was even a gentleman of the king's "honorable privy chamber." As Governor he is said to have "lacked energy and discrimination," whatever the latter may mean. But he nevertheless had the rare "discrimination" for the year 1668 or 1673, when he left, of a profound conviction of the future destiny of New York. This prevision of a future for New York, yet remote and dim, was not, however, what brought him hither, and with him his younger brothers Dudley and Thomas, but a motive much more personal and immediate. They were emigrants for the profit and advancement to be thus acquired. And indeed, in that day it needed a strong motive and considerable courage to induce one, not bred nor used thereto, to adventure the vicissitudes of the voyage to America. The same uncanny ocean had to be crossed, but without that knowledge, even in the captains, or those appliances of the present, which make a voyage comparatively safe, rapid, and a pleasure. Seven weeks might be considered a fair passage; and amid what discomforts of the vessel—which might be of two or three hundred tons! What a passage was that of the Mayflower in 1620—occupying four months! Here, in a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons burden, were crowded forty-one men, aud about sixty women and children—two of the latter being born during the voyage; whilst in addition must be counted the necessary provisions and stowage. Not all godly pilgrims, influenced by the highest of motives, these forty-one men; since, within a few weeks, two of them, (servants) fought with sword and dagger, the first duel recorded in the New World; whilst another committed the first murder, and for it graced the first gallows! As for the vessel itself, so leaky were its upper works, and its middle beam so bowed and racked by the winds



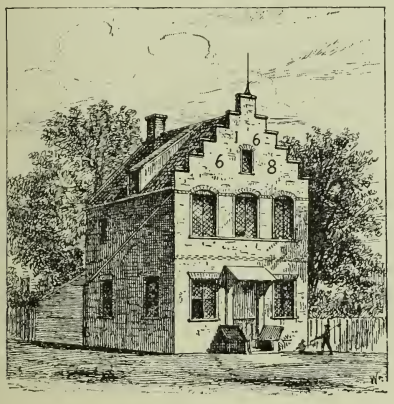
THE MAYFLOWER.

and storms they encountered, that but for "a great iron screw" which a passenger had brought from Holland, and which enabled them to raise it into place, they must have turned back in despair.

So in 1636 another company, not so famous in history, a company of persecuted Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, men, women and children, set sail in the Eagle Wing, of about one-hundred and fifteen tons burden,

"purposing (if God pleased) to pitch their tents in the plantations of New England." They numbered about one hundred and forty, more than did the Mayflower pilgrims; and among them were Blair and Livingstone, celebrated ministers in the north of Ireland. Much of the bread, not being well baked, had to be thrown overboard. Off Newfoundland they "foregathered with a mighty hurricane," during which, with damaged sails and broken rudder, they seemed at the mercy of the waves. From this danger, however, they escaped, but deemed it best to return; and did so—more fortunate throughout than the brave Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who, in those same seas, but earlier, went down uttering the gallant words: "It is as near to Heaven by sea as by land." It is true that in New England, prior to 1640, there was at least one vessel, a "large ship," of five hundred tons; and when the Dutch retook New York in 1674, they found there two ships (and only two) loading, one of five hundred tons and thirty-five guns, the other of one hundred tons. Mostly, however, they crossed the Atlantic in those days in vessels of two hundred tons. So, in 1663, crossed Mr. John Josselyn to Boston, in the Society, of two hundred and twenty tons and sixteen iron guns (most of them "unserviceable," he says), with thirty-three sailors and seventy-seven passengers, men, women and children; and again in 1671, he returned home in a vessel of one hundred and ninety tons, the voyage taking seven weeks and four days. Scant quarters and long discomfort for a royal Governor and courtier of King Charles in 1668, with no Majestic or Teutonic yet in sight, nor for two hundred and twenty-four years—palaces upon the waves and a transit of five days and sixteen or eighteen hours! Nevertheless, being by nature, as Lossing says, "phlegmatic, indolent, and good-tempered," he doubtless bore it and took his dose of mal de mer with commendable philosophy. In fact, he already knew something of what he was to expect in getting to and in the New World; since it appears that in 1652, as a young man of twenty, he had once made the voyage under a pass from Cromwell's Council of State, had visited Long Island, and passed thence, doubtless by water, into Virginia. New York was then a Dutch dependency; but in Virginia were many who had themselves come over under the auspices of the nobility and were warmly attached to monarchy, of which he was an adherent. and among whom, therefore, he would be welcome. But of New York, city and province, of which he was now to be the second English Governor, he certainly knew nothing when he came, either as to its limits or condition. And, indeed, as to its limits, amid the different charters and claims, it was a hard matter even yet to tell what was exactly the province of New York. The Dutch did not know when

Stuyvesant surrendered. Massachusetts was claiming an indefinite right of extension to the west; and Connecticut, on its part, claimed that by its charter it extended to the Pacific. "Where, then," said the Dutch commissioners in 1663—"where is New Netherlands?" To which the Connecticut people replied, with provoking frankness, "We do not know!" King Charles gave his brother of York from the Connecticut to Dela-



HOUSE BUILT IN 1668.

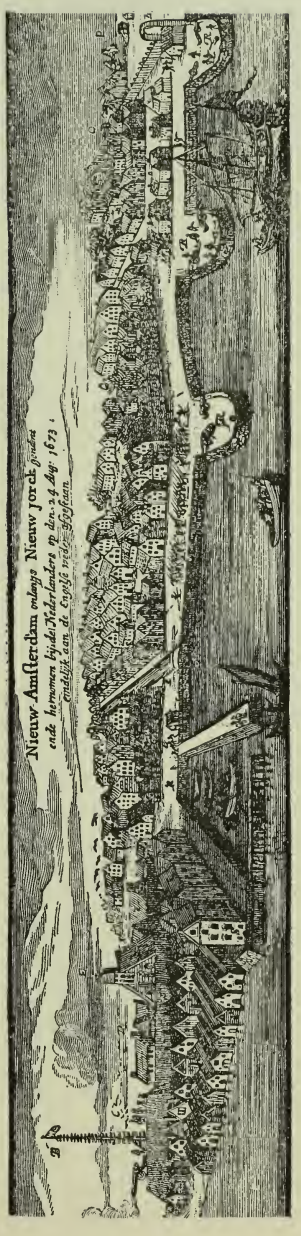
ware Bay for a possession in 1664; and he, within three months, and without consulting Governor Nicolls, conveyed the whole of New Jersey to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, of his Majesty's Privy Council, for ten shillings, "to him in hand paid," and a rent of "one peppercorn," to be paid "on the day of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, if legally demanded." Verily, a charter of King Charles was an immense instrument! "During the first four years of his power," says Bancroft, he "gave away a large part of a continent," and this without right, title, exploration or knowledge. "Could he have continued as lavish, in the course of his reign he would have given away the world." One might have asked, as did Francis I. of France, when the Spanish and Portuguese were making exclusive claims to this whole new hemisphere, to see "the clause in Adam's will" which made it his thus to give. But it was providential; it stimulated colonizing, and placed the country, ultimately, in the very best of hands.

Equally ignorant was Lovelace of the condition of his new government when he arrived during the spring of 1668. But as the duke had requested Nicolls to remain till he came, and to assist him in this, in July they together took a trip up the Hudson to Albany, stopping on the way at Esopus, where the location and look of things seem to have suggested to him the new town of Hurley, which, however, had originally been laid out by Stuyvesant. They then went on horseback over Long Island, and into Connecticut to Hartford and New Haven—a first visit to Governor Winthrop. And so, having with Nicolls, taking a bird's-eye view of the whole, its three principal towns and outlying villages, upon the 28th of August, Lovelace himself assumed the government of "his Highness's territories," these being, as he

writes to Lord Arlington, "the middle position of the two distinct factions, the Papist and Puritan." That New York at this time, should have attracted his cultivated tastes was hardly possible. It contained but about three hundred and eighty houses and fifteen hundred inhabitants. In 1643 it was said by the Director-General that "eighteen different languages" were spoken among them, and it is not likely that this difference had decreased, although the majority were Dutch, English and French. And thus, as he found it, New York resembled one of those islands of the South Sea, where birds of alien tribes build along the streets of the same feathery metropolis, where the air resounds with the din and jargon of their dissonant voices, but where (tolerant if not akin) the same nest receives and shelters a diverse brood. They were huddled mostly below Wall street, and were, by a large majority, women and children. Yet, even within that short space, and notwithstanding repeated orders, he could not get obstinate or wilfully negligent people to pave the streets, or keep them and the wharves and dikes clean from filth and garbage—evidently the same city in such respects when young as now that it has grown to be a home for all nationalities and conditions. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if—within three months of his coming—a severe epidemic ("fever, and ague, and fluxes") visited the city. It led him to proclaim a day of humiliation and prayer, and to reprove "the swearing, intemperance, and impiety which he observed to prevail." Indeed, for a courtier of Charles II., he seems to have had unusual religious proclivities, and in this respect was much before some of his successors. One of his earliest efforts was to procure a printing press, for the purpose of having published a catechism and some chapters of the Bible, which the Rev. Thomas James, the first minister at Easthampton, Long Island, had prepared in their own tongue for use among the Indians. And he it was who, in 1670, by his official action and interest in the matter, not only enabled the Dutch church to secure a minister (from Holland), "an accomplished scholar and divine," the Rev. Wilhelmus Van Nieuwenhuysen, but to provide for him handsomely a salary of one thousand guilders Holland money, a dwelling house rent free and fire wood. It cannot be said, however, as Brodhead seems to think, that by his pledges relating thereto, "under his hand and the seal of the province," and by his order in council authorizing the Consistory to tax the congregation, he "virtually established" the Reformed Church in New York. It merely shows how, in those days and till the legislature grew into power, everything depended upon the disposition, and was under the control of the Governor, subject of course, to the approval or orders of the duke. The duke's role at the

time, as best for his interests, was toleration; and Lovelace allowed the Rev. Jacobus Fabricius, the first Lutheran minister, to practice his profession in Albany, although he afterwards removed him for bad conduct. It is to his credit that, throughout, he consulted the interests of religion and morality, and did not make his power offensive.

In things most congenial to the polished gentleman, however, in New York in 1668, evidently his scope was limited. Above Wall street were mostly commons, woods, and swamps, and in the latter, says Mr. John Josselyn, "frogs sitting on their breeches a foot high." The island was almost overrun with horses bred wild in the woods and commons, and from small and "unproportionable" stallions. One of his early "orders in Council" was directed against this evil, and to secure a better breed of horses. Moreover, there was, as yet, no fit wagon road even to Harlem, where had already settled a number of families destined to continue in the history of New York; the means of communication, such as they were, being merely the development of some old Indian trail. Ignorant as are most people of the short time which covers the great growth of New York, mainly since 1825, and considering the great duties and aspirations which now occupy the thoughts of a New York governor by night and by day, it seems almost ludicrous to read how, on the 22d of



NEW YORK OR NEW AMSTERDAM, 1673.

February, 1669, "Governor Lovelace and his Council, with others of the bench at New York, held a Court at Harlem," to consider first and principally "the laying out of a wagon-road, which hath heretofore been ordered and appointed, but never as yet was prosecuted to effect," though "very necessary to the mutual commerce with one another" of New York and Harlem; or again, to find him referring to the mayor and aldermen the important question of appointing a certain man, one Johannes Verveelen, ferryman across the Spuyten Duyvel, "from the Island to the Main," before he issues his own warrant—the subsequent "articles of Agreement indented" between the Governor and Verveelen covering two full pages, in small type, of the history of Harlem! Such primitive matters, however, or his many and most profusely worded "orders in Council" to the mayor and aldermen, as to, for instance, how many cartmen, and who, were to be employed in the city—orders written mostly, no doubt, by Secretary Bayard or his brothers Thomas and Dudley—or other occasional if more important duties of his administration, evidently did not free his life in the city from dulness. To his familiar, Arlington, he writes that nothing had happened lately except an Indian murder, and that was six weeks before—and evidently nothing of importance; that one might as well have crossed Lethe as the Atlantic; that the conveyance from England was as slow as the production of elephants, once almost in two years, since vessels were uncertain as to the most convenient port; and he craves news, about theatricals, or any other matters of interest abroad. Indeed, just then, vessels of any kind in the harbor—a harbor fit to float navies—were but an occasional sight. After the treaty of Breda in 1667, Stuyvesant, being then in England, had obtained a "temporary permission for seven years," but "with three ships only," during which the Dutch could "trade freely" with New York. Van Cortlandt and others ordered one of these, "a large ship," and the three came at intervals during that period; but nine or ten vessels in port at once, even of traders to Boston, the South, or the West Indies, was in 1669 an event to be recorded, Of the latter the Governor himself and some others in partnership built one, "a very strong and handsome vessel, but costly, the Good Fame, of New York." But such were the "Navigation laws" in 1669 that, although the king authorized the trading of two Scotch ships between Scotland and New York, as an encouragement to emigration, the English farmers of the revenue defeated the enterprise. Lovelace had gone so far as to arrange for settling two hundred Scotch families at Esopus, but no ship came: so he had the garrison disbanded and parceled out in the two new adjoining villages of Hurley and Marbletown.

In population the city itself remained almost at a stand-still; for although several people from Boston showed a disposition to invest in land, and one of them actually bought five houses, and although some from Bermuda and Barbadoes were attracted thither, yet others were being enticed away with "fair and specious pretenses" to new plantations further south, It received no additions of any particular account; remaining,

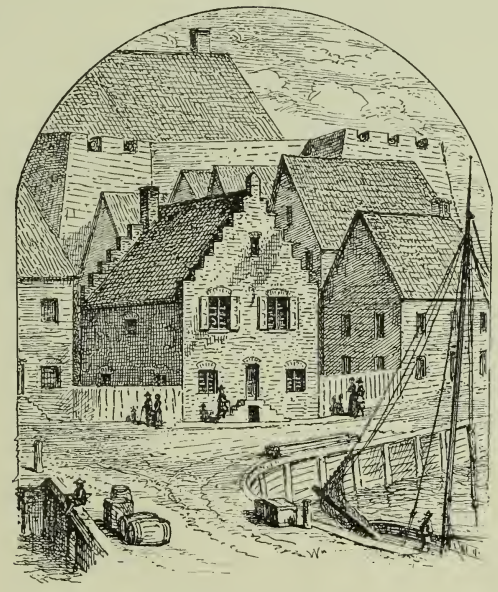
CORNELIUS STEENWYCK.

except as changed in some ways by Nicolls, substantially as it had been under the Dutch rule, with a larger but by no means predominant English element; so that, cut off as he was from intercourse with England, the Governor had to find such amusement and such society as he could among these old settlers. And, for a place so limited and so populated and where the advantages of superior education were so limited, there was remarkably good society. Lovelace himself wrote to the king in 1668: "I find some of these people have the breeding of courts, and I cannot conceive how such is acquired—" coming from him, a compliment of the highest kind. Their libraries were meagre, for they had no printing press to give them books. What they had came from abroad. The only printing press in the colonies was, at the time, at Cambridge, Mass., and under rigid censorship of the General Court, producing only Puritan literature, which did not circulate in New York. Yet, in 1670, the three daughters of Anthony De Milt were known as the best Latin scholars in the city—not even excepting the Dutch minister, who had been educated in Holland. Mrs. Stuyvesant (Judith Bayard) spoke French (naturally, as the granddaughter of a French Huguenot minister), and also Dutch and English, was a rare musician, in dress a French woman of fashion; whilst Mrs. Bayard, herself Dutch, was, for her day, highly educated, and able to teach her three sons in almost every branch of a practical business education. With such women among them, and others who might be mentioned, no wonder there was society, and of the genuine kind—society which had even more than courtly breeding, which had intelligence and refinement, with solidity of thought and

character. Moreover, several of them had "good houses." That of Cornelius Steenwyck, who had moved from Holland in 1652, had handsome carpets, marble tables, velvet chairs, fine paintings and silver. And so, during the winter of 1668–1669, at the Governor's instance, they established a "club" of ten French and Dutch and six English families, to meet at each other's houses, twice a week in winter and once a week in summer; he himself being generally present and making himself "agreeable." They met from six to nine in the evening; the entertainment was simple"—chiefly Maderia wine and rum and brandy punch, served in silver tankards, and "not compounded and adulterated as in England"; and to speak French and Dutch and English was almost indispensable. But it was two hundred years ago. Neither their English, French, nor Dutch, written or spoken, was quite the language of to-day. When Mr. Harmanus Bleeker, of Albany, went as minister to the Hague some forty years ago, they told him that he spoke the Dutch of two hundred years before—that is, as the first settlers had brought it over and perpetuated it, such of them as continued to speak it at all. But there was one young woman in Holland who so thoroughly understood his old-time speech and loved it (and him), that, when he returned, she came too, as his *vrouw!* Nevertheless, how scant of material in the little city, in the time of Lovelace, was "society"—that which, under subsequent governors, grew into such pride and power as "persons of quality," "people of figure"—may be seen from the small number composing this club—ten French and Dutch and six English families. Stuyvesant had, indeed, endeavored to introduce into New Amsterdam the "great" and "small burgher" system of Amsterdam in Holland; but the list of the "great citizenship never exceeded twenty names. It became unpopular, besides leaving so very small a number who were eligible to office. Therefore in 1668 it was abolished, and every "burgher" became entitled to equal privileges with his neighbor. Of the list of 1657 (which includes one woman) Cornelius Steenwyck (whose house we have mentioned), was undoubtedly the chief figure under the administration of Lovelace. He was mayor for three years under him, one of his wisest and most influential councilors, a man of stirling character and wealthy. He owned a bouwery on the east side above Stuyvesant's, and ultimately, by the extinction of the Archers, became owner of the "Manor of Fordham" and a "Heer," subject to no jurisdiction but that of the Governor and his Council and the General Court of Assize.

But of that original list of "great citizenship," as distinguished from the "small," by 1668 several names had disappeared. How many of them

remain in this changing city, and in what walks of life? Stuyvesant, Kip, Strycker, Van Dyck, Van Wyck, Bogardus, we have—long-lived names. It is interesting, however, to notice how many afterwards prominent, or still existing, begin to appear just at this time. Nicholas Bayard comes in, as a young man and Secretary of Governor Stuyvesant and Olof Stevensen Van Cortlandt, they as elders and he as a deacon, is one, who, twenty years later, will accomplish a name more long-lived in State history than Lovelace, one not in the "court circle" around him—Jacob Leisler. In 1663, two years after his arrival, he had married the widow of Vanderveen, a



LEISLER'S HOUSE.

the Council, a post he held for many years—and an official always. Johannes De Peyster, the first of the name, but already wealthy, emerges into public affairs, and by Colve, in 1673, was chosen Burgomaster—to suffer for it much petty tyranny from Andros. And in 1670, sitting in the same church-consistory with Governor Stuyvesant and Olof Stevensen Van Cortlandt, they as elders and he as a deacon, is one, who, twenty years later, will accomplish a name more long-lived in State history than Lovelace, one not in the "court circle" around him—Jacob Leisler. In 1663, two years after his arrival, he had married the widow of Vanderveen, a well-to-do merchant trader, who had built the first brick house in the city near the fort; and having inherited his goods as well as his widow—in other words, having stepped into his shoes—there Leisler now lived, an active, busy aud growingly respected citizen, but not one of the Governor's kind, not one adapted to shine in

"society." In Harlem also, small as it was, families were appearing whose names are still well known in business and other circles. Just at this time Colonel Lewis Morris, a merchant of Barbadoes, secured a valuable tract, which his brother, Captain Richard Morris, came to occupy, thus becoming a prominent man under Lovelace. Dying, however, within two years, he left an infant of a year old, a "poor blossom," at nurse in Harlem, but who ultimately became that distinguished Chief Justice Lewis Morris, proprietor (in 1697) of the newly created Manor of Morrisania (1920 acres), the father of the more distinguished Gouverneur Morris, and ancestor of the still existent family. How many more in the city, not in the Governor's "set," nor holding office, nor rising speedily, but industrious and honest "carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, tailors, weavers, shoemakers, tanners, etc., were yet the lower stones of good families in the future we cannot tell, although some names might be mentioned. Daniel Denton, who visited New York in 1670, says that such "lived happily" in the city, in fact found it an "earthly Canaan." Nor, because they were not among the Governor's budding aristocracy, which so dominated the city under later Governors, are we to regard them as deserving generally the slur it so loftily cast upon them as "the lower classes, the rabble." It applied, if at all, to the Dutch, the original and larger element. But we must remember Motley's declaration that the New England pilgrims, during their residence in the glorious country of Holland, found already established the system of free schools which John of Nassau had recommended" the famous decree, also, which the Synod of Dordrecht, anxious to promote the well-being of Church and State, had in 1619 passed in behalf of education, and which led to church-schools throughout Holland; and that (as told by Brodhead) "schools were everywhere provided at the public expense, with good schoolmasters, to instruct the children of all classes in the usual branches of education; whilst the consistories of the churches took zealous care to have their youth thoroughly taught the Catechism and the Articles of religion." This was in Holland, full of intelligent and patriotic citizens, so noted as to attract scholors from every part of Europe, and therefore called in the learned world "Compendium Orbis" and in Holland had the earlier Dutch settlers been instructed. It is true that their children had not quite the same advantages, and that wealthy families sometimes employed "private tutors"—which implies tutors to be had. But in 1630 the West India Company had bound itself "to maintain good and fit preachers and schoolmasters," in order to encourage immigration—however inadequately it may have carried out its pledge. What, however, it failed to do, the

church was painstaking in doing. If it could not readily send a minister, it sent a schoolmaster, who as "voorleser" acted both as teacher and as conductor of religious services. Even before the church, there were a school and schoolmaster. So early as Stuyvesant's administration, says

A

Brief Description

OF

NEW YORK:

Formerly Called

New Netherlands.

With the Places thereunto Adjoyning.

Together with the

Manner of its Scituation, Fertility of the Soyle, Healthfulness of the Climate, and the Commodities thence produced.

ALSO

Some Directions and Advice to such as shall go thither: An Account of what Commodities they shall take with them; The Profit and Pleasure that may accrue to them thereby.

LIKEWISE

A Brief Relation of the Customs of the *Indians* there.

BY DANIEL DENTON.

LONDON.

Printed for *John Hancock*, at the first Shop in *Popes-Head-Alley* in *Cornhil*, at the three Bibles, and *William Bradley* at the three Bibles.

The above fac-simile of the title-page of the first printed description in book form in English of New York, is copied from one of the few existing copies of the original edition. The rare work was re-printed by William Gowans in 1845, with notes by Gabriel Furman. Daniel Denton was among the early settlers of Long Island, and as there was not at that time, or for more than a score of years after, a printer in New York, his little quarto was sent to London for publication. He was a son of the Rev. Richard Denton, a Presbyterian clergyman and a graduate of Cambridge, England, who accompanied Governor Winthrop to America in 1630.

O'Callahan, "schools existed in almost every town and village" in New Netherland. Nor, when the government changed hands, did the Dutch surrender either their church or their schools, but maintained both even in the face of opposition and at their own expense. In 1673 they obtained a special charter from the English Government authorizing them to erect churches and schoolhouses (which were often under the same roof); and in order to maintain the standard of instruction, they procured the teachers from Holland, at a "heavy and unusual expense." Evidently, therefore, it is a mistake to suppose that the better-known and wealthier families monopolized the education and intelligence of the city. and that all the rest were illiterate "lower classes." Leisler himself, in later times of intense partizanship, was branded by his opponents (and some histories have repeated it) as an "ignorant and illiterate" man. But, himself the son of a clergyman (as it has been recently discovered), it is hardly credible that in 1670 an "ignorant and illiterate" man could have found his way, and by their votes, into a Dutch consistory composed of a learned clergyman and such men as Peter Stuyvesant (an earnest advocate of education) and Olof Stevensen Van Cortlandt. Indeed, the city was as fairly intelligent as most young cities for its day.

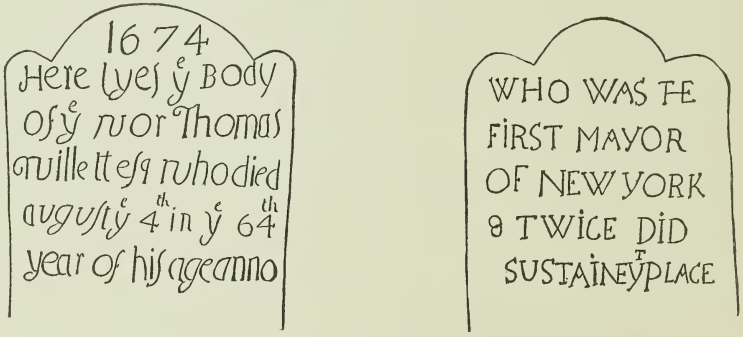
It must now be said that the public acts of Lovelace, as Governor, were

few of them historically important, although matters troublesome to himself occasionally came up. These, however, he seems to have left, as much as possible, to others to arrange, commissioners and agents appointed by him, to whom he gave voluminous orders. And certainly he could not have had a more useful subordinate than his brother, Captain Dudley Lovelace, who frequently represented him, and sometimes received the same honors. Thus, when at Hurley and Marbletown, as head of a commission to arrange about the lands, they gave him an artillery salute, "when the President took horse to depart for New York." It was one indication of that spirit of display and subserviency to viceroyalty which was growing up, which later became still more marked, and through which certain families themselves grew into importance and power. But, to counteract this, there was another spirit in the community, which would not down, which troubled Lovelace, and which, in future years, made itself felt as a power; a spirit which, in 1691, was one and the principal reason for the execution of Leisler—that reason, as given by the Council of that day, being "the assertion of the government and authority, and the prevention of insurrections and disorders for the future." Its focus, under Lovelace, was Long Island. If, in the spring of 1669, he obtained amusement and pleasure out of the "general training" and the race-course established by Nicolls's fiat at Hempstead, and which he named Newmarket (so old is racing on Long Island), at the November assizes of that year he was not so well pleased when eight towns (Hempstead, East and West Chester, Oyster Bay, Flushing, Jamaica, Newtown, and Gravesend) presented a list of "grievances." There was Puritan and English blood in those towns, as well as Dutch. They wanted the promises made by Nicolls at the time of their "submission" kept. They wanted the privilege of "advising about and approving" laws, by "deputies yearly chosen by the freeholders of every town and parish;" in other words, they wanted a popular assembly in addition to the Governor and a "subservient Council." But it was denied that Nicolls had made any such promise, and the Governor (by his instructions) could make no changes in the laws as already established when he came. And as they also asked to be informed what was required of them under the duke's "Commission"—a question which might interfere with the "Governor's pleasure"—they were told bluntly that there was "nothing required of them but obedience and submission to the laws of the Government." That was all, submission. That it did not satisfy the Long Islanders, they very soon made evident. Taxes were necessary for the support of the government and (ostensibly at least) for repairs at the

fort, the latter of which were imposed on the several towns of Long Island; as to which Woods, in his history of Long Island, says that Lovelace "imposed duties according to his pleasure for the support of the government, and attempted a direct tax for repairing the fort." But the towns objected. "If they yielded in this they might be taxed to maintain the garrison, and they knew not what else." Southold, Southampton, and Easthampton were willing to contribute "if they might enjoy the privileges of the New England colonies" (Bancroft); Huntington refused, because her people were deprived "of the liberties of Englishmen." All of which, when presented to the Governor and his Council, was adjudged "scandalous illegal and seditious, tending only to disaffect all the peaceable and well-meaning subjects of his Majesty;" and the papers were ordered to "be openly and publicly burned" before the Town Hall at the next Mayor's Court, and "the principal contriver thereof inquired into and proceeded against." Nevertheless, the tax failed, as other attempted impositions on Long Island failed, the fort was not repaired, and the spirit of the people and their democratic desires burned on.

But if Lovelace suppressed liberty, as, being the duke's agent, he was bound to do, whether in Long Island or on the Delaware (where also, among the Swedes and Finns, its spirit gave him trouble) one truly progressive and important act, one in which he took real interest, may be set down to his credit. And it was one of the few things he undertook which was carried to completion. It was the opening of a post-road and better correspondence between New York and Boston—very important in view of European complications and wars. He wrote to Governor Winthrop and enlisted him in the scheme, and at length put it in operation. That often-ordered but slowly evolved wagon-road to Harlem was, by the last of 1672, finished or made usable, and a monthly mail was officially announced to start for Boston the 1st of January, 1673. It is recorded as creating great excitement in the little village of Harlem, when that first postman drew up at the tavern door to refresh himself, as he undoubtedly did, with some good home-brewed Harlem beer—his "portmantles" (portmanteaux) crammed with "letters and small portable goods." He himself was "active, stout and indefatigable;" had been "sworn as to his fidelity;" was to receive an "annual salary," which, with his letters and packages, might afford him a "handsome livelyhood." Hartford was the first place where he might change his horse. And meanwhile, before his arrival in Boston, Governor Winthrop is requested by Lovelace (whom we are quoting) to "discourse with some of the most able woodmen, to make out the best and most facile way for a

post, which in process of time would be the King's best highway; as likewise passages and accommodation at rivers, fords, and other necessary places." But meanwhile the poor fellow, thus laden with letters, portable goods, and "diver's bags" for the different towns, is to jog on, through deep forests, through rivers, and in all weathers; to mark trees "that shall direct passengers the best way;" and "to detect and cause to be apprehended all fugitive soldiers and servants" from New York. Meaning place, and left on the table, to be well thumbed and critically examined, till called for or removed by neighbors or friends. Of course, at first, letters were few. But that "locked box," quietly awaiting its mail, was the small germ of the present bustling and surcharged New York Post-office. That postman, who needed to be "stout and indefatigable," was merely marking out a way. It was better when, in 1727, Ebenezer Hurd began his remarkable riding-career of forty-eight years, between



INSCRIPTIONS ON THOMAS WILLETT'S GRAVE.*

while also the "locked box" stood in the office of the Colonial Secretary in New York to accumulate his next month's mail; and what he brought, being "post-paid," was carried to the "coffee-house," as a popular gather- Saybrook and New York—making thereby, through letters and parcels, a goodly property. And it was still better when, in 1775, he closed up his service (as seems probable) by bringing the first or second despatch of

* Thomas Willett, the first Mayor of New York, died on August 4, 1674. His property having been confiscated in 1673, on the recapture by the Dutch, as he was then one of the Royal Council, he moved to Rhode Island, and was one of the founders of the town of Swansey. He and his wife were buried in what is now known as "Little Neck Burial-ground," within the present limits of East Providence, R. I. The illustration in the text shows the rude characters upon the head-stone and foot-stone of his grave there.

the Watertown Committee with news of the battle of Lexington. But that first postman was doing more than he dreamed of, as he made his solitary and laborious ride. He was aiding to draw together colonies that would soon be States; and to whose great struggle in 1775, and its success, nothing would be more important than good post-roads and speedy intelligence—a fact clearly discerned by Jefferson and Franklin. For this incipiency of communication, then, we have to thank Lovelace, as really the great act of his administration.

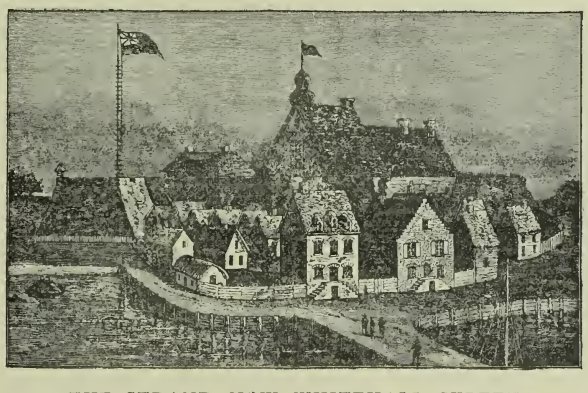
One other act of his has been called so, the "most memorable," which, however, it was not. It was his purchase from the Indians, April 9, 1670, of Staten Island (Aquehonga Manacknong), "in the Hudson's river" (of which the "kills" were supposed to be a part), and which was then considered "the most commodiosest seate and richest land" in America. It was a good thing to have the Indians a little further away and their title extinguished, to prevent collisions. Had he waited a little longer, however, he might have saved his money. The Island must apparently, have dropped into his hand as a ripe plum; for Daniel Denton informs us (1670) that "wherever the English came to settle, the hand of God mostly removed the Indians, either by wars among themselves or some raging mortal disease!" Still, the price was not heavy—some "wampum" (which was exchangeable money), with some "coats, kettles" (second-hand, we may be sure), "powder, lead, guns, axes, hoes and knives;" the city was not as yet flush of old tin cans. To read of it, how sorry such a ground-floor chance must make intending purchasers of lots at the island, that they were not born when land was so reasonable! Lovelace bought it officially for the Duke of York, whose title to it, and through him that of New York State, was good. But Lovelace had a good eye, not alone for horses, but for choice spots. Moreover, the courtier of Charles II. had not come over to this "wilderness" out of mere philanthrophy, or duty to the crown; and, as subsequently appeared, his accounts with the duke in this and other matters were sadly mixed. If he bought the island for the duke with one hand, he must have sold its very best part to himself with the other, and forgot or failed to pay. For we find him owning a large farm where the Quarantine grounds now are, and having there a water-mill, with sheep and cattle; on all the latter of which, when the Dutch subsequently sailed into the bay (as he writes to Winthrop), they "breakfasted." Lovelace is also said to have had a "garden house" on Broadway; but it probably refers to the "Domine's Bouwery," a plot of about sixty-two acres lying between the present Warren and Christopher streets, and the greater part of which he bought in 1671. It belonged to

the heirs of Domine Everardus Bogardus and his widow—the Anneke Jans estate. It was an evidence of his foresight concerning New York, since it was not esteemed of very great value at the time. It is said, however, that one or more of the heirs did not join in the sale to Lovelace—a cause of persistent litigation down to recent years by "the heirs of Anneke Jans." And since (first by confiscation of Lovelace's estate to the Duke of York and then the vesting of this part in the crown, and second, through the generosity of Queen Anne) it became a part and a chief part of the estate of Trinity Church. Lovelace bought it as an investment which promised a great future for his family. But within a few months died a Dutch ex-Governor, also the possessor of a "Bouwery"—Peter Stuyvesant. There are now no Lovelaces; but there are still Stuyvesants enjoying the fruits of the sturdy old ex-Governor's latter years labors on his farm.

It would appear that in addition to buying—whereby he evidently got in debt to the duke—he must be building. Governor Nicolls had found the Governor's house, built by Stuyvesant about forty years previous to the surrender, "very comfortably furnished and quite attractive for a new country." Yet, for some reason, Lovelace seems to have erected another inside the fort—it being on one side the church and the prison on the other. He never furnished it, and Andros, when he came, found "the stairs and some rooms quite rotten." Nor was it, apparently, paid for, or other work within the fort, whatever money may have been raised therefor. In fact, debt to the duke and everybody else ultimately worked his ruin. When the city was recaptured by the Dutch fleet (August 9, 1673), his vessel, the Good Fame, had already been taken in Europe. The Dutch commanders now seized and confiscated his property; his house had already, in the heat of conquest, been plundered; he himself, as we shall see, was absent; and, as Governor Leverett wrote to Lord Arlington, "it was expected that he would have kept himself out of their hands, though he had not kept the fort; but by one of their Dutch Domines he was collogued with, whereby they got him in (to the fort) for three days; and then—the inhabitants laid arrests upon him for debts due to them!" This, after confiscating all his property; and the commanders told him that, if he paid his debts, he might leave the country in six weeks! He was ultimately permitted to sail with Admiral Binckes for Holland, and not England, as he wished and had intended, "unlesse prevented." Before doing so he wrote to Winthrop, "Would you be curious to know what my losses might amount to—I can in short resolve you. It was my all which ever I had been collecting; to greate to misse in this wildernesse." So he had feathered his nest, and everything

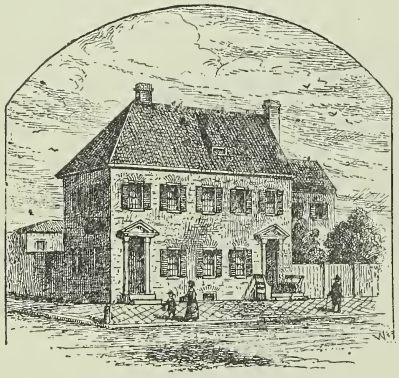
might yet have come out well with him, but for his debts to the Duke of York. For his apparent inefficiency in losing the fort, he was at home severely reprimanded; but that might have been satisfactorily explained, or condoned, with a little loss of honor—especially as the city was so soon restored. Not so with his accounts. One of the duke's last orders to Andros (August, 1674) was to seize his estate. He was charged with owing him £7000; and Andros was to hold the estate till that sum was satisfied. Lovelace died before it was done—that is, before January 21, 1679, when the accounts of his estate were exhibited. Besides his debts, so loosely and generally contracted for goods, labor and the like, whilst he was himself "collecting" much property, there is little to be charged against his memory as a Governor. He principally angered the Duke of York, from whose exchequer he borrowed his means. But to offend the Duke of York was substantially disgrace, and, as to any public employment for the future, ruin. The bright light from that cloud fell, ultimately, upon Trinity Church.

It is now as introductory to Anthony Colve, the next Governor, that we relate Lovelace's loss of New York to the Dutch. One thing is certain that, when the war between England and Holland began in 1672, he had been warned by the king to put his whole government in a state of defense; and that the declaration of war had been read at the fort gate and the City Hall. Moreover, the fortifications were vigorously pushed forward for a time. But it was a year (March, 1673), before the news came that a Dutch squadron was coming from the West Indies to Virginia and thence northward. He himself was away on postal business, but was summoned home. Unfortunately he



THE STRAND, NOW WHITEHALL STREET.

did not believe it. Soldiers were, indeed, summoned from Albany and elsewhere, and one hundred and thirty men enlisted; there were in all three hundred and thirty. But they were sent home, and only eighty left in garrison at Fort James. This was in March. In July, "having urgent occasions," he set out to visit Winthrop at New Haven. Yet the enemy, was that July, already in the Chesapeake. Nor was their steering for New York, a "mere accident" and without "orders." On the contrary, from documents now accessible it appears that the whole affair was planned before the fleet left Holland. In the secret instructions a cipher was used, and "163" stands for New Netherland. It was to be taken and held, or, if that was impracticable, to be devastated. That it would have been taken by such commanders, with such a fleet is altogether probable, even if Lovelace had used the interval discreetly. At the same time, his neglect and unreadiness and unfortunate absence made the task an easy one. He could hardly call the capture, as he did to Winthrop, "*digitus Dei*, who exalts and depresses as he pleases, and to whom we must all submit"—a pleasant philosophy, and like him. So now, again, for a year and three months, New York is back in possession of the Dutch, with Captain Anthony Colve as Governor, and with the experienced Cornelius Steenwyck as councilor, in so far as the Governor shall "deem proper to ask his advice and assistance." Bayard is again secretary. The change, however, made little difference in the colony or province. The time was too short. Nevertheless, for so brief an administration, Colve, an old sea-dog, showed himself to be a man of firmness and vigor, whom Massachusetts and Connecticut, and the recusant towns on Long Island which were not disposed to submit, found themselves obliged to respect. Colve received "for his last year's services" two hundred and fifty florins, and Governors Andros stepped in—a man of more note in history than either Nicolls or Lovelace had been.



STEENWYCK'S HOUSE.

OLD COLONIAL DRINKS AND DRINKERS.

The English settlers who peopled our colonies were a beer-drinking and ale-drinking people, and none of the hardships which they had to endure, in the first bitter years of their new life, caused them more annoyance than the deprivation of their beloved English malt-liquors. Bradford, the Pilgrim Governor, complained loudly of his annoyance and distress, while Higginson, the Salem minister, accommodated himself more readily and cheerfully to his changed circumstances, and boasts quaintly in 1629, "Whereas my stomach could only digest and did require such drink as was both strong and stale, I can and do often-times drink New England water very well."

But their beerless state did not long continue, for as the Puritan colonists grew richer, the first luxury to be brought to the new country was beer, and they quickly imported malt and established breweries and also made laws governing and controlling the manufacture of ale and beer, for the pious colonists quickly learned to cheat in their brewing.

In 1634, when sixpence was the legal charge for a meal, an ale-quart of beer could be bought for a penny, and a landlord was liable to ten shillings fine if he made a greater charge. This low price was doubtless established by the Puritan magistrates, in order to prevent the possibility of profit by beer selling, and thus reduce the number of sellers. Josselyn wrote at this date, "I have had at the tap-houses of Boston an ale-quart of cyder, spiced and sweetened with sugar, for a groat." This could hardly have been, at that price, the New England nectar, which he praised so highly and which was composed of "Syder—Maligo Raisins—Milk and Syrup of Clove Gilly flowers." Josselyn complained, however, that at the "houses of entertainment called ordinaries, into which a stranger went, he was presently followed by one appointed to that office who would thrust himself into his company uninvited, and if he called for more drink than the officer thought in his judgment he could soberly bear away, he would presently countermand it and appoint the proportion beyond which he could not get one drop." It was also ordered that not more than an ale-quart of beer should be drunk out of meal-times.

So plentiful at this time had ale

and beer become that in 1675 Cotton Mather said that every other house in Boston was an ale-house; and a century later Gov. Pownall made the same assertion. In Virginia plenty of liquors were found to drink. The richer colonists brewed beer from malt, which they imported from England, while various curious makeshifts were also resorted to.

Beverly wrote of Virginians in 1703, "the poorer sort brew their beer with molasses and bran; with Indian corn malted by drying in a stove; with persimmons dried in a cake and baked with potatoes; with the green stalks of Indian corn cut small and bruised; with pompions; with the Jerusalem Artichoke, which some people plant purposely for that use, but this is the least esteemed of all the sorts before mentioned."

So extraordinary were the fruits and grains and vegetables used to make beer that 'tis no wonder the old ballad boasted:

"Oh we can make liquor to sweeten our lips
Of pumpkins and parsnips and walnut tree chips."

Other mild drinks too were made and owned by every family in large quantities. Metheglin or mead, made of water, honey and yeast, was made by the barrelful. A kind of metheglin was made in Virginia which was much esteemed; it was brewed from the sweet bean of the honey-locust and great plantations of that graceful, thorny tree were set out to furnish plentiful substance for the manufacture of their favorite drink. These metheglins and meads made from honey were intoxicating, though mild. An old writer says metheglin "doth stupefy more than any other liquor if taken immoderately, and keeps a humming in the brain which made one say he loved not metheglin, because he was wont to speak too much of the house he came from—meaning the hive." Loud must have hummed and buzzed the heads of the Virginian colonists.

Perry was made from pears. From peaches they "made a drink which they call Mobby and drink as Cyder." Spruce and birch beer were made at an early date, and above all "Cyder famed" from the fruitful apple trees.

Unfortunately this large catalogue of simple drinks did not long content our forefathers. "Cyder" was not left to quietly ferment and grow old, but was distilled into a fiery liquor called pupello or cider-brandy. A fiercer spirit still was made in inland towns from peaches, and when they could not obtain peaches, they turned undeterred to cherries, plums, crab-apples and grapes, and made brandy from each and all.

By 1674, molasses was very freely imported to the colonies from the West Indies and "rhum—a strong water drawn from sugar-cane" was quickly known. In all the seaport towns, as soon as the cargo of molasses was landed it was turned into New England rum, or "kill-devil," as it was everywhere called. It soon

became cheap enough. Burke said, "The quantity of spirits which they distil in Boston from the molasses they import, is as surprising as the cheapness at which they sell it, which is under two shillings a gallon—but they are more famous for the quantity and cheapness than for the excellency of their rum." New England distillers quickly found a more lucrative way of disposing of their "kill-devil," than by selling it at such cheap rates. Ships laden with barrels of rum were sent to the African coast and from thence they returned with a most valuable lading—negro-slaves. Along the coast of Africa New England rum quite drove out French brandy.

The Irish and Scotch settlers knew how to make whiskey from rye and wheat, and they soon learned to manufacture it from barley and potatoes, and even from the despised Indian corn, which furnished so many varieties of food for the colonists. So universal was the desire for these fiery liquors that it is said that in some parts of the country there was a still in every house.

Not content with their own manufactured liquors, the thirsty colonists also imported strong waters in large quantities. The Dutch settlers, of course, sent for their beloved gin and anise-seed cordial, and many wines came from Spain, Portugal and the Canaries. Of these the fiery Madeira was evidently the favorite of all fashionable people, and each and every wine was strengthened by liberal doses of brandy.

In 1710, the strong drink of Virginia was "Madeira Wine, Cyder or Mobby Punch made either of rum from the Caribbee Islands or Brandy distill'd from their apples and peaches." Mobby Punch is a name which we no longer hear, so also is "Bare-Legged Punch," of which an old writer speaks, calling it even then this "awkerd and awfull" name. These names pale, however, before a terrible drink which was very popular in Salem, consisting of sour, household-beer simmered in a brass kettle, sweetened with molasses, filled with brown-bread crumbs, and drank piping hot.

A disease which attacked Virginians was attributed by Berkeley to "drinking new unfine Cyder Perry or Peach-drink which the people are impatient to drink before it is ready, or by the excessive use of Lime Juice and foul Sugar in Punch and Flip, or else by the constant drinking of Uncorrected beer made of such unwholesome things as some people make use of brewing." No wonder the Virginians were ill.

The Puritan magistrates in New England made at a very early date a decided stand, not only against excessive drinking by strangers, as Josselyn complains, but against the habit of drunkenness in their citizens. Drunkards were in 1636 in Massachusetts, subject to fine and imprisonment in the stocks; and sellers were

forbidden to furnish the tipplers with any more liquor. An habitual drunkard was punished by hanging a great letter D. around his neck. In 1630, Governor Winthrop abolished the "Vain Custom" of drinking healths at his table, and in 1639, the court publicly ordered the cessation of the practice because "it was a thing of no use, it induced drunkenness and quarrelling, it wasted wine and beer, and it was troublesome to many, forcing them to drink more than they wished"; and a fine of twelve shillings was imposed on each health-drinker. In Connecticut no man could drink over half a pint of wine at a time or tipple over half an hour or drink at all after nine o'clock at night.

All these rigid laws had their effect, and New England people were sober and law-abiding. Boston was an especially orderly town. Several visiting and resident clergymen testified that they had not seen a drunken man in the Massachusetts colony in many years. The following quotation will show how rare was drunkenness and how abhorred. Judge Sewall wrote in 1686, "Mr. Shrimpton and others came in a coach from Roxbury about nine o'clock or past, singing as they came, being inflamed with drink. At Justice Morgans they stop and drink healths and curse and swear to the great disturbance of the town and grief of good people. Such high handed wickedness has hardly been heard of before in Boston." Still all classes drank liquor to some extent, the grave Judge himself writes of "Grace-cups" and many "good drinks," and sent gifts of wine and strong liquor to his friends, and says "I treated, and the Deputies treated."

Flip was at this time a universal and "most insinuating" drink, and continued to be a prime favorite for a century and a half. It was made of home-brewed beer, sweetened with sugar, or dried pumpkin, and given a good dash of New England or Jamaica rum, and was stirred in a great mug or pitcher with a red-hot iron called a "loggerhead" or "hottle," which made the mixture boil and foam and gave it a burnt, bitter flavor. In some hospitable homes the loggerhead was kept always heated in the coals of the fireplace ready to give its foaming welcome to every visitor.

The New England Almanack for 1702 thus bears its testimony to the customs of the times.

DECEMBER.

The days are short, the weather cold,
By Tavern-fires tales are told.
Some ask for dram when first come in,
Others with flip or bounce begin.

JANUARY.

Ill Husbands now in taverns sit,
And spend more money than they get,
Calling for drink, and drinking ready,
Tho' many of them poor and needy.

Even the children drank strong drinks in those times. In a chapter of advice upon the rearing of children in an old almanac, we learn that "very young children must not drink cold

drinks but must have their beer heated, and must first eat a piece of brown bread before drinking beer or wine." A young miss of seven years was sent from the Barbadoes to live with her grandmother in Boston, and with her maid left the house in high dudgeon because she was given water only to drink. A letter of remonstrance is still in existence from the parents of the determined young lady to the temperate grandparent, saying that Missy had always been brought up as a lady and must have wine and beer with every meal. From the great mug of flip or bowl of punch that was nightly prepared for the grown members of the family, the children were each given a sip to warm them before going to bed.

Cobbett, who thought drinking a national disease, said that "at all hours of the day little boys at or under twelve years of age, go into stores and tip off their drams."

In Virginia the amount of drinking among the clergy was notorious. Mr. Parton in his life of Thomas Jefferson says, "The tales we read of the clergy of old Virginia stagger belief, though it is clergymen who report them. We read of one who was invited after dinner to a planter's house where he drank so much that he had to be tied in his gig and a servant sent to lead his horse home. One jolly parson comes down to us, reeling up and down the porch of a tavern, bawling to the passers-by to come and drink with him. Another is remembered as a jovial hunter who died cheering on the chase. One old clergyman is remembered as staggering towards the altar at the time of communion, when the rector who was officiating ordered him back to his seat. The monthly dinners of the clergy have not yet passed out of mind, to which men would ride for thirty or forty miles, and revel far into the night. The court records of Hampton show that a clergyman of that period was tried for drunkenness."

The Bishop of London was shocked at these scandals and sent a commissary to investigate, and weddings in private homes were at once forbidden by him because of the habit clergymen had of "being drunk in such times and places." Directions were sent over expressly indicating when a clergyman should be considered drunk. "If a clergyman sat an hour or more with a company that were drinking strong drink (not wine) and took the cup as it went the rounds of the table, and drank the healths like the rest of the company" there were grounds of proceeding against him. Not only by the church commissary were rules given as to when a person should be considered drunk. In various towns the magistrates gave vivid descriptions and minute and elaborate details of the appearance and behavior of a person who had been drinking too freely, and the toper could thus be readily detected in his offence, arrested and fined or imprisoned. Students at college also

drank freely. At Harvard they were served in the early days at "commons," with beer at dinner and at breakfast, or "beever" as it was called. Cider at a later date supplanted beer, and students were allowed all the cider they wished to drink. It was served in two quart tankards, which were passed from hand to hand down the table. A vender was licensed in Cambridge to sell beer, cider, and metheglin to the students, "not over twelve barrels of beer," however, to each collegian. At the Commencement Dinner in 1703, eighteen gallons of wine, four barrels of beer and one of cider were drank. The entire class of 1760 was suspended for drunkenness, for bringing in and drinking so much rum.

The Quakers, though pledged to "temperance in all things," were not a whit behind their neighbors. The thrifty Penn, at an early date, established breweries and wine manufactories, for it was estimated that in one year 50,000 pounds went out of the colonies for liquors and wines. An enormous sum when we consider the number of the population.

In the early part of the eighteenth century it was estimated that in Philadelphia one house in ten was an ale-house. In 1726 the yearly meeting of Friends adopted resolutions against giving liquors at "public vendues," or auctions, as it induced too high bidding. In 1736 the Quakers found it necessary to protest against giving liquor to children; and also to women who "felt that they must have two or three drams in the morning." Liquor was cheap enough for all to drink. In 1719 rum was only three shillings ninepence a gallon; and in 1757, New England and Pennsylvania rum remained the same price, while West India rum was two-pence more a gallon.

In 1744, William Black records in his diary that in Philadelphia he was given cider and punch for lunch; rum and brandy before dinner; punch, Madeira, port and sherry at dinner; "bounce" and liqueurs with the ladies after dinner, and wine and spirits until bed-time. Well may he write that they "were as liberal with wine as an apple-tree with fruit on a windy day."

Philadelphia's luxury increased after the Revolution, and John Adams' diary, kept when he was a delegate at the first Continental Congress, has a succession of such entries as these:

"Went with William Barrell to his store, where we drank punch and ate dried smoked sprats with him.

"Dinner with Joseph Reed. We drank sentiments until eleven o'clock —Lee had dined with Dickinson and drank Burgundy all the afternoon.

"At Mr. Powells, curds and cream, sweetmeats of various sorts, twenty sorts of tarts, fools' trifles, floating islands, whipped syllabubs, Parmesan cheese, punch, wine, porter, beer." One can imagine he would need

punch and wine and porter and beer, to balance "twenty sorts of tarts," to say nothing of sweetmeats and trifles. At Quaker weddings the consumption of punch, toddy and mulled wine was enormous; not only was a steady drinking kept up at the bride's house for days, but cake and punch were sent out to the entire neighborhood.

In Newport the rich Quaker merchants had cellars well stocked with wines. Friend Elam, the wealthy owner of the beautiful estate of Vancluse, partook so freely of his own good wines at his Thursday dinners, (to which all his friends were invited each week) that these carousals became a scandal to the community, and he was notified that a committee of Friends would wait upon him and administer counsel and reproof. Friend David Buffum, who was a weighty and worthy Quaker, was appointed chairman of the committee, and upon the appointed day they all solemnly repaired to Friend Elam's beautiful house. The day was raw and cold, and the courteous host offered to them a hot sangaree, which he said was so smooth and mild that a small glass would hurt no one, and was most necessary for their health. All soberly partook of the sangaree, which though composed of choice wines had also as an ingredient some forty year old cognac. From sipping they fell to drinking, and finally Chairman Buffum was seized with a violent vertigo, which was only relieved by putting him to bed, while the other members of the drab-coated, broad-brimmed temperance committee were sent reeling home in broad daylight, each supported by a negro servant, to steady his sangaree-filled legs. Every gathering of people was, in those early days, a scene of riotous drinking—a house-raising, a corn-husking, a timber-rolling, a muster, a lottery-drawing, a christening, a wedding, and even an ordination of a minister and a funeral.

In New York whole pipes of Madeira and casks of beer were consumed at a funeral; and in New York a terrible punishment was devised for a drunkard. He was forced to drink three quarts of salt and water, and a large dose of lamp oil. 'Twere well if that punishment had never been abolished. The Dutch, when they invited guests to a funeral, sent a scarf, and gloves, and bottle of Madeira to each invited person. Cake and hot-spiced punch were served in Pennsylvania to all present at a funeral; on one occasion five hundred persons were thus "treated." At the funeral of the Rev. Thomas Cobbett, minister of Lynn, who died in 1680, this was the bill of expenses:—

	Pounds.	Shillings.
1 barrel wine,	6	8
2 barrels cider,		11
82 pounds sugar,	2	1

And some spice and ginger for the cider.

Another funeral bill was for thirty-

two gallons wine, 104 pounds of sugar, and a large quantity of cider, and a committee was appointed to look after the burning of wine and heating of cider at the funeral. This is a description of a New England funeral at a somewhat later date. "Every one as he entered took off his hat with his left hand, smoothed down his hair with his right, walked up to the coffin, gazed upon the corpse, passed on to the table, took a glass of his favorite liquor, went out in front of the house, talked politics, or swapped horses, until it was time to *lift*." A very worthy old gentleman, in the early part of this century complained with much bitterness that "temperance had done for funerals."

In South Carolina, funerals were so ostentatious, so many gloves and rings, and so much liquor was provided, that often the living members of the family were left impoverished by the funeral expenses. But in South Carolina heavy drinking was so prevalent every where, and so many men died young, as the result of their excesses, that a large proportion of the plantations were carried on by women. Ramsay, the State historian, declares that drunkenness was the endemic sin of the State. Of course, many protests were made against such excessive drinking, often, however, on the ground of the wasteful expense. Rev. Andrew Eliot wrote in 1735, "'Tis surprising what prodigious sums are expended for spirituous liquors, in this one poor Province—more than a million of our old currency in a year." Dr. Tenney laments that the taverns of Exeter were "thronged with people who seldom retired sober;" and a strenuous but ineffectual effort was made to "prevent tippling in the forenoon."

Many of the advertisements in the newspapers of the day show to what extent punch-drinking existed in the eighteenth century, and show of what ingredients the punch was composed, and some descriptions are certainly most appetizing. Here is one from the "Salem Gazette" in 1741. "Extraordinary good and very fresh Orange Juice, which some of the very best Punch Tasters prefer to Lemmon at one dollar per gallon, Also very good Lime Juice and Shrub to put into Punch at the 'Basket of Lemmons,' J. Crosby, Lemmon Trader." So it would seem that there was a profession of punch-tasting.

Here is another advertisement of July 9th, 1741, at Lyme, Connecticut. "There is now at Lyme, the first Town on the East side of our river, at the Tail of a Saw mill a body of Ice as much as two carts can draw, clear and cold, and I believe it might last there a month longer were it not that so many resort there to drink Punch made of it. If any of Boston people have a mind for a taste, let them come quickly and for 18 pence a bowl they shall be complimented with a Kindly, Welcome Sir, for Your Money."

Punch drinking had by that time evidently quite superseded the drinking of the milder beer. Bennett, an English traveler, wrote thus in 1740, of American beverages, "As to drink, they have no good beer in this country. Madeira wines and rum-punch are the liquors they drink in common. With their victuals the generality of the people drink cider. But there are several brewers in the town that brew for the shipping and serve some families with table-beer, which is very cheap—less than half the price we pay in London. But cider being cheap likewise, and the people used to it, they don't encourage malt-liquors. They pay about three shillings sterling a barrel for cider."

The inventories sent to the government by New Jersey and Delaware farmers, whose possessions were destroyed by the Revolutionary troops, and who expected redress for their losses, have been preserved in the State archives. These inventories give an absolutely correct list of the furniture and possessions of the country residents in that locality at that date. The amount of strong and mild liquor that each family possessed was most astonishing. Even where their furniture was scanty, and their clothing common-place, their cellars were well-stocked with barrels of cider and metheglin, and pipes of Madeira, and kegs of rum and peach brandy.

It was the custom everywhere among people of fashion to serve a great punch-bowl of egg-nogg, flip, or punch before dinner; in New York they served "rack punch" made of arrack. If the bowl were not too large and heavy all drank directly from it without the ceremony of intermediate glasses. Even at public dinners enormous quantities of various beverages were furnished. Here is an abstract of an election dinner to the General Court in Massachusetts in 1769. Two hundred and four dinners, seventy-two bottles of Madeira, twenty-eight bottles of Lisbon wine, ten of claret, seventeen of port, eighteen of porter, fifteen double bowls of punch and a large quantity of cider. A double bowl of punch held two quarts, and there were also "thribble" bowls, which each held three quarts. An old bill of an account at the Wolfes Head Tavern, in famous Newburyport runs thus:

Dr.

Messrs. Joseph Stanwood and others of the Town of Newburyport for Sundry Expenses at my house Sept 26th 1765 at the Greate Uneasyness and Tumult on occasion of the Stamp Act.

To William Davenport.

	£	sh.	d.
To 3 Bowls Punch by Captain Roberts Order	3	7	6
" 7 Double Bowls Punch	7	17	6
" 1 Mug Flip 3d. to a Thribble Bowl Punch	1	19	9
" Bowl Egg Toddy		7	
" 6 1-2 Pints Spirits	3	5	

and so on till a total of 59 pounds

and 17 shillings was reached, which was, of course, in "Old Tenor." Of this only two pounds were for supper and coffee in the morning. Well might we say "O, monstrous! but one penny worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack." Upon a computation based upon the number of inhabitants and the probable number present, certainly over a gallon of punch must be allowed to each person. Let us hope their "uneasyness" was allayed by the "double" and "thribble" bowls of the delicious fluid. When we read such bills as this we think it no wonder that Baron Riedesel wrote of New England inhabitants, "most of the males have a strong passion for strong drink especially rum and other alcoholic beverages."

In 1792, Gov. Hancock gave a dinner to the Fusileers, at the Merchants Club in Boston. As there were eighty dinners paid for, there were, of course, eighty diners. They drank one hundred and thirty-six bowls of punch, twenty-one bottles of sherry and a quantity of brandy. But these dinners, in which the liquor was in such large proportion to the number of guests, might be cited in large numbers. Gov. Hancock always entertained most liberally. D'Estaing lived for weeks at his house, during the War of Independence, and with forty officers dined daily in the most sumptuous manner. Madam Hancock complained that during this visit D'Estaing went to bed drunk, with his spurs on, and tore her best satin damask bed-coverlet to pieces.

But we will not tell of our Revolutionary Statesmen and heroes, who drank to excess, for their number was legion and the relation is neither edifying nor pleasant, but we will tell of one who did not drink.

Col. Marion, the Revolutionary "Swamp-fox," was very determined in many of his ideas and was bitterly opposed to drinking in excess. At a dinner given in Charleston in 1780, it was determined to play him a trick. After the repast was ended, the host rose and said, "Gentlemen I have a few bottles left of old '32 and and in that wine I propose a toast . . . Health and happiness to the defenders of Fort Moultrie." Every eye was fixed on Marion, who simply tasted his glass of wine, and at once an uproar arose, with cries of "Bumpers All"—"No Retreat"—The host at once locked the door, threw the key out of the window into the street and exclaimed, "By the laws of good-fellowship no man leaves this room till all the liquor is drunk." Marion at once sprung from the window of the room, which was in the second story of the house, and in so doing sprained his ankle.

That there were temperance workers in the early days of the Republic, who wished to establish temperance drinks this article printed in a Philadelphia newspaper would seem to prove.

Philadelphia, July 23, 1788.

A correspondent wishes that a monument could be erected in Union Green with the following inscription

"In Honour of
American Beer and Cyder.

It is hereby recorded for the information of strangers and posterity that 17,000 Assembled in this Green on the 4th of July 1788 to celebrate the establishment of the Constitution of the United States and that they departed at an early hour without intoxication or a single quarrel. They drank nothing but Beer and Cyder. Learn Reader to prize these invaluable liquors and to consider them as the companions of these virtues which can alone render our country free and respectable

Learn likewise to despise
Spirituous Liquors as Anti Federal and to consider them as the companions of all those vices which are calculated to dishonour and enslave our country."

With this suggestion of a Federal drink in Federal times we will leave the old colonial drinks and drinkers. To some noble temperance worker this glimpse, looking backward at the "good old times" may show by comparison much cause for congratulation in the condition of things in these better present times.

As for the tipplers, topers and drunkards, they mournfully will sing—

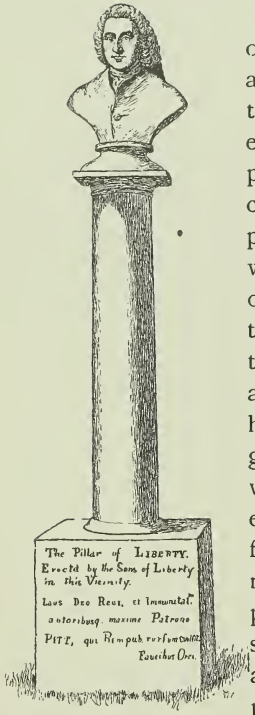
"Would our bottles but grow deeper,
Did our wine but once get cheaper,
Then on earth there might unfold
The golden times, the age of gold?

But not for us; we are commanded,
To go with temperance even-handed.
The golden age is for the dead,
We've got the paper age instead.

For oh! our bottles still decline,
And dearer daily grows our wine,
And flat and void our pockets fall,
Faith! soon we'll have no times at all."

ALICE MORSE EARLE.

THE RECORD OF A NEW ENGLAND TOWN FROM THE PASSAGE OF THE STAMP ACT TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. 1766–1776.



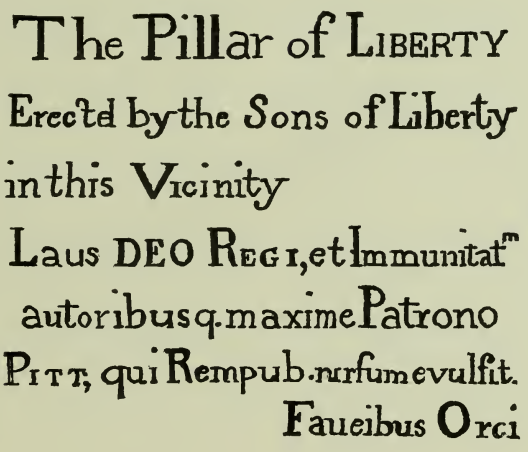
A careful study of the records of a New England town during the eventful ten years preceding the Declaration of Independence will reward the student of American history with much that is interesting and will reveal to him one of the great forces which contributed to the successful accomplishment of our Independence. It will show that resistance to the oppression of Great Britain was not alone, or chiefly, the work of a few leaders, but that its inspiration and sustaining force came from the masses of the people who assembled in that good old New England Institution, of which Samuel Adams was called the father—The Town Meeting.

All over New England, and particularly in Massachusetts, these town meetings were frequently held during these exciting times and the inhabitants entered into the discussion of questions of state with great zeal, as though the whole solution depended entirely upon them—as indeed it did. There were of course leaders in every town; men who were in touch with the leaders of the neighboring towns on the great public questions of the day and, receiving their inspiration from Adams and Warren and others in Boston, kindled and diffused the spirit of patriotism among the people at home, leavened the whole mass and made the contest a genuine contest of the people.

In illustration of this idea, this paper presents extended extracts from the town records of Dedham which was at that time a part of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, but since 1793 the county seat of Norfolk. This ancient country town, ten miles from Boston, was incorporated as early as 1636 and, in 1765, about the time these records begin, had less than two thousand inhabitants.

Such quotations are given as, need-

ing little comment or explanation, tell in a very simple, direct and vivid manner the impression which the leading events of the ten years, beginning with the stamp act and culminating in the battle of Lexington and the formal opening of the revolutionary struggle, made upon this country town, and clearly describe


The Pillar of Liberty
Erected by the Sons of Liberty
in this Vicinity
Laus DEO Regi, et Immunitat
autoribus q. maxime Patrono
Pitt, qui Rempub. nurfum evulfit.
Faucibus Orci

the growth among the people themselves of that patriotic spirit which made certain the final issue. Dedham is not an isolated or even unusual example—for the records of many of the adjoining towns show resolutions similar in purpose and effect, engrossed upon their faded pages.

Some extracts from the diary of Dr. Nath'l Ames* (brother of Fisher Ames) of Dedham will give a very complete idea of the state of mind the people were in when the town meeting was called, the record of which is first given. Under date of Aug. 1765, he writes:

"Secretary Oliver appointed distributer of stamps for the Province—

The country incensed against the stamp distributers and begin to hang them in effigy as well as Judges of Admiralty Courts—

Lieut. Gov. (Thos. Hutchinson) suspected of being in favor of the Stamp Act and has his house destroyed with some others viz: Hollowell & Wm. Story"

Oct. 21st, 1765, a town meeting was called and all the articles in the

* Dr. Nath'l Ames was born in Dedham Oct. 9, 1741, graduated at Harvard College 1761, married Melitiah Shuttleworth, and died July 21, 1822. He was the son of Dr. Nath'l Ames, author of the famous Ames Almanac for 40 years, 1726–1765, and which on the death of his father, he continued to publish for several years.

warrant, related to the public affairs of the Country. At this meeting, a committee of seven was chosen to prepare instructions to be given by the town to its representative. Dr. Nath'l Ames was one of this Committee. The representative was then Samuel Dexter Esq. This Committee presented a draft which the Town accepted—

To Samuel Dexter Esq.

SIR:—The Freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Dedham, greatly alarmed at the late burdens which the Parliament of Great Britain has laid upon the Colonies, particularly at the Tax imposed on us by the Stamp Act, so called, and being desirous by all regular and legal methods to do what lies in our power, to prevent the difficulties in which we shall be involved by the operation of the said Act, if the same should take place in this province, do now instruct you that while you appear at and represent this Town in the Great and General Court, you do, by no means, join in any public measures for countenancing and assisting in the execution of the said Act. It being the sense of the town, that our rights as British Subjects, which are founded in those that are common to all mankind, are by this Act greatly infringed upon, and that our invaluable Charter Rights are also thereby in a great measure violated, and not being sensible that this Province has by any disloyal or unworthy conduct, forfeited the privileges it enjoyed, we do therefore, in justice to ourselves and our posterity, direct you that you be not wanting in your endeavor in the General Assembly, to have these rights

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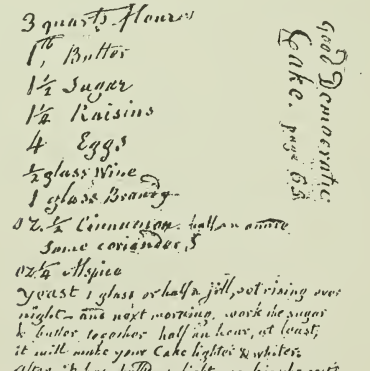
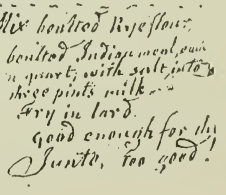
The diary mentioned was commenced while he was in college and continued until the year of his death, with only one year missing. Under the will of his niece Hannah Shuttleworth, who died in 1886, and who inherited his property, this diary, the existence of which was known to but few individuals, with many other valuable historic books and papers, including a complete bound set of the Elder Ames Almanac came by bequest to the Dedham Historical Society, together with a lot in the centre of the village, and ten thousand dollars with which to build a Society building (see page 173). Dr. Ames was as strong a Democrat in politics as his well-known brother, Fisher Ames, was a Federalist. He always wrote the name "Fuderalist" or "the junto" in his diary when speaking of that party, and the diary is very valuable as showing that side of political questions of of the days succeeding the revolution, when the National character was being formed. His political feelings even found a place in his domestic economy, as the following recipes in his well-known hand-writing aptly illustrate.





in direct terms asserted and vindicated; which being left on record will be a testimony for us in future generations, that we did not tamely acquiesce in the loss of our liberty. To do this we think it our duty and we desire thus in the way of our duty, to trust in the good providence of God, which often has, and we hope will again appear for our relief, however dark the prospect may appear.

* * * *

As we have an unquestionable right to give you the foregoing instructions, so we doubt not, you will consider it as your duty to pay all due attention thereto and strictly observe the same.

All other matters, we leave to your prudence, trusting you will always act as you judge most for the interest of the Province in general and of this Town in particular.

Great efforts were being at this time to obtain a repeal of the odious Stamp Act. In the Diary of Dr. Nath'l Ames are to be found the following interesting and very significant entries—

March 31, 1766. Mr. Pitt that best of men and true patriot engaged on behalf of America.

April 30. All impatience for confirmation of the Repeal of the Stamp Act—prepared for illuminations.

May 17. Glorious news!–total repeal of the Stamp Act.

May 19. Town Meeting—Dexter reports Public rejoicing at Boston–Repeal of Stamp Act.

May 21. Stone cutter at work on the Pillar of Liberty

July 2. Went to Boston, bespoke Pitts Head for Pillar of Liberty.

July 22. Pillar of Liberty erected—Vast concourse of people.

July 24. Public thanksgiving for repeal of Stamp Act.

This Pillar of Liberty* was a large square block of hard granite surmounted by a turned pillar on which was a wooden bust of Wm. Pitt, Earl of Chatham, cut by a ship's carver. The pillar and bust have long since disappeared but the stone block still remains in the centre of the village, cherished as a monument consecrated to liberty and liberty's friends, having besides the inscription on its face the two accompanying ones, cut into the stone on the sides.

A Town meeting was held on Dec. 1, 1766, under a warrant which contained at the end—"N. B. The matters to be acted upon being of great importance, it is desired that

The Pillar of Liberty
To the Honor of Will.m Pitt Esq.r
& other Patriots who saved
AMERICA from impending Slave
ry, & confirm'd our most loyal
Affection to K.G George III by pro
curing a Repeal of the Stamp Act,
18.th March, 1766.

* Illustration on page 160 is from a pencil sketch made by the late Chas. Bullard about 1869 from a picture he had drawn as a boy (1802) when pillar and bust were standing.

Erected here July 22,1766,
by Doct^r Nath^l Ames 2^nd
Col. Eben^r Battle, Maj Abijah
Draper & other Patriots friendly
to the Rights of the Colonies at
that day
Replaced by the Citizens
July 4. 1828.

every person would attend who is qualified to vote."

The town, taking into consideration the Bill now pending in the House of Representatives, relative to making compensation to the sufferers and granting pardon to the offenders in the late times, expressed their minds thereupon in the following significant resolution:

7th. Voted that out of a dutiful regard to the mild recommendation of our most Gracious Sovereign, to testify at the same time our unfeigned gratitude to those worthy personages who generously and nobly patronized the British Colonies, by promoting the repeal of the Stamp Act and by other good offices, who, we understand, are desirous that compensation should be made, and as the sufferers have at the present session of the General Court, humbly petitioned, therefore: We direct our representative to give his vote and interest that their real losses be made up out of the Public Treasury, and that he use his endeavors that such previous or subsequent Resolves may be passed relative thereto, as may tend to secure our invaluable rights and privileges.

In November, 1767, a meeting of the Town was called to take any prudent and legal measures to encourage the produce and manufactures of this Province and to lessen the use of foreign "superfluities" and unanimously acted as follows:

Voted; that this Town will in all prudent methods encourage the use of such articles as may be produced or manufactured in the British American Colonies, particularly in this Province, and discourage the use of superfluities imported from abroad, and will not purchase any article of foreign produce or manufacture when the same article may be got of the produce or manufacture of said Colonies.

Voted; that this Town will strictly adhere to the new regulations respecting funerals. That no gloves shall be used on such occasions, but such as are manufactured in this Province—that no articles of mourning shall be purchased except a weed and black gloves for men and a black bonnet without gauze on it, a black handkerchief, ribband, fan, and gloves for women.

The last two votes having been brought into a proper form for subscription and a suitable introduction prefixed, the same was subscribed by the Inhabitants of the Town.

March 5, 1770, at a general meeting

of the Inhabitants of said Town, regularly assembled at the meeting-house in the first parish in said town, after the Clerk had read the laws, as usual, the town chose the Honorable Samuel Dexter, Esq., for their Moderator.

After the election of the town officers for the year, on a motion made and seconded;

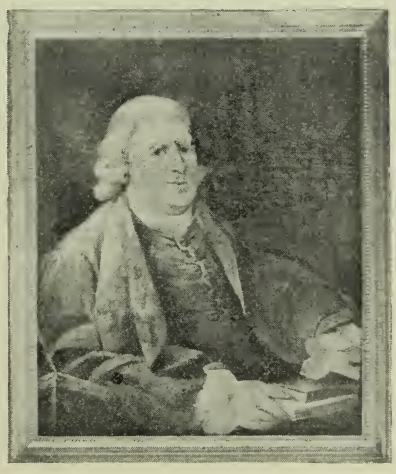
"The Town, taking into serious consideration ye great distress to which the people are reduced by means of ye oppressive Revenue Acts, and the troops sent to enforce obedience to the same, and being desirous of contributing all in their power to restore and preserve their liberties, according to the laudable example of many other towns in this Province, and being deeply sensible that the patriotic resolutions of the merchants and traders not to import goods and merchandise from Great Britain, ought to be seconded by such as have usually been purchasers of such goods and merchandise, came to the following votes:

Voted *nem. con.* that the town will add their interest to encourage ye produce and manufactures of all such articles as have formerly been imported from Great Britain.

Voted *nem. con.* that we will not directly or indirectly have any commerce or dealing with those few traders, lists of whom are posted up among us, who have had so little regard to the good of their country as to oppose and counteract the noble exertions of the body of merchants and traders of this Province and of the whole continent.

Voted *nem. con.* that as the duty on tea furnishes so large a sum towards ye maintenance and support of an almost innumerable multitude who live upon the fruits of the honest industry of the inhabitants, from the odious Commissioners of the Customs down to the dirty informers that are employed by them, therefore we will not make use of any foreign tea, nor allow the consumption of it in our respective families, till such time as the Duty being first taken off, this town shall by some future vote, grant an indulgence to such persons to drink tea, as have not virtue enough to leave off the use forever.

Voted that Messrs. Sam'l. Damon,



SAMUEL DEXTER.

Richard Woodward, George Talbot, Eliphalet Baker and Deacon Ralph Day be a committee to see that the foregoing votes be complied with."

June 4, 1773, a Town meeting was called at the request of the inhabitants in order to take into consideration the violations and infringements of the rights of the people in this Province particularly with respect to the independency of the judges of the Superior Court, and to act relative to such infringements as the town shall think proper. A letter was read from the town of Boston containing their votes and proceedings of the 20th of November last, after which this town came into the following votes:

Voted; that in the opinion of this town, the invaluable rights of the Colonies and of this Province in particular, have of late been greatly infringed upon by the Parent Country, and that the infringement and violations of these rights threaten this province and continent with certain and inevitable destruction.

Voted; that this town are, in a very particular manner, clearly of the opinion that the affixing stipends or salaries from the Crown to the office of the Judges of the Superior Court of Judicature making them entirely independent of the people whose lives and fortunes are so much in their power, is extremely alarming as being directly contrary to the spirit of our charter and pregnant with innumerable evils.

Voted; that our Representative in the general assembly be, and he hereby is instructed, to exert himself to the utmost that the public grievances which are now become so many, may be redrest and our rights and liberties fully restored to us, and that if he, upon examination shall find, that the salaries granted by the general assembly to the Judges of the Superior Court are insufficient, that he in said Court use his influence that an adequate sum be granted to them.

Resolved, That this town will at all times heartily join with any other town in this province, in such measures as might be proper, salutary, and effectual for the redress of our grievances and the establishing our Charter rights and privileges.

Voted; that the Town Clerk be directed to return an attested copy of the proceedings of this meeting to the Committee of Correspondence in the Town of Boston.

At a town meeting held Dec. 27, 1773, the Town, taking into consideration the present state of public affairs, particularly the late arrival of a large quantity of teas from the East India Company, and the subsequent destruction of the same, came to the following votes:

Voted; that this town do highly approve of the proceedings of the numerous assemblies of the people of Boston, and the neighboring towns convened at once and again of late at the Old South meeting-house in said Boston, to consider and determine

what was proper to be done, to prevent the landing of the teas shipped hither by the East India Company, and the consequent payment of the unconstitutional tax of three pence sterling a pound laid thereon by the British Parliament.

Voted; as the opinion of this town, that the respectable body of men there assembled, acted with the greatest prudence and caution, and did their utmost to preserve the property of the East India Company, and procure it to be safely returned to them again, and that whatever blame may be incurred by the destruction of the tea must and will be imputed solely to those who prevented their upright intention from taking place.

Voted; that this town hear with infinite pleasure of the patriotic determinations of the other Colonies; that the artful design of the ministry to carry more thoroughly into effect the Act of Parliament laying a Duty on teas imported into America by procuring another Act, in consequence of which, very large quantities have been sent by the East India Company, shall not operate to the establishment and increase of the American Revenue, but that the said teas shall upon their arrival be forthwith returned to the Port from whence they came.

Voted; that as so many political evils have been brought about by an unreasonable liking to the use of tea, and as we are convinced that it is baneful to the human constitution, we will do all in our power to prevent the use of it in time to come; and if any shall refuse to comply, at least till such time as the Act imposing a Duty thereon shall be repealed, we shall consider them as unfriendly to the liberties of the people, as well as giving a flagrant proof of their own stupidity under a most grievous oppression.

Voted; as the opinion of this town, that the general concurrence in sentiment among the Colonies, as it is an evidence that the complaint of the infringement of their rights is justly founded, so it likewise affords a happy prospect that by their united efforts they may obtain redress of their grievances; and therefore this Town direct Mr. Abner Ellis, their representative, that for this desirable purpose he use his influence in the Honorable House at the next session of the General Court, that a Congress of Deputies from the several Colonies on this continent be proposed, to be held as soon as conveniently may be.

It was moved and seconded that as this Town did, at their meeting held on the 4th day of January last, resolve that they would "at all times hereafter join with any Town in this Province in such measures as might be proper, salutary and effectual for the redress of our grievance and the establishing our charter rights and liberties" but did not, at that time, choose a committee to correspond with the several towns as occasion

might require, that such a committee be now chosen.

They then chose Dr. Wm. Avery, Mr. Richard Woodward, Nath'l Sumner Esq., Capt. Daniel Gay, Dr. Ralph Day, a committee for that purpose.

It was moved and seconded and thereupon voted; that as the Town have several times received very respectful letters from the town of Boston communicating such intelligence and proposing such measures as tended to promote the interest of the public, that the Committee of Correspondence prepare a letter to said town to be sent to their Committee of Correspondence and report the same to this town.

Then the committee withdrew and after some time, returned with the draft of a letter which was read and thereupon the following vote passed.

Voted; that the draft of a letter to the town of Boston, as read, be accepted and that the same be forwarded to the Committee of Correspondence of said town.

Voted; that the town Clerk be directed to transmit an attested copy of the votes and proceedings of this meeting to the Committee of Correspondence of the town of Boston.

The warrant for a town meeting to be held Sept. 1st, 1774, contained the following preamble:—

Whereas a number of gentlemen from and belonging to the several towns and districts in the County of Suffolk, assembled at Stoughton on Monday the 16th inst, have earnestly and unanimously recommended to the said towns and districts to appoint members to attend at a County Convention at the house of Mr. Richard Woodward in this town on Tuesday the 6th day of September next at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, to deliberate and determine upon all such matters as the distressed circumstances of this province may require.

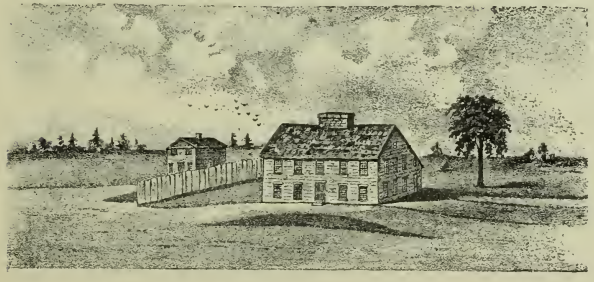
At the town meeting held under the above call, it was,

Voted; that this town look upon it to be their indispensable duty to do everything in their power, in a peaceable and orderly way to prevent the operation of the Acts of Parliament lately passed, so destructive of the rights, liberties and priviliges of this people, and that with this view, they will immediately proceed to the choice of persons to meet in a convention for this County on the sixth day of Sept. next.

The town then made choice of Dr: Wm. Avery, Mr. Richard Woodward, Nath'l Sumner Esq., Capt. Daniel Gay and Dr, Ralph Day to meet at the convention aforesaid. The meeting then adjourned, first to the 8th and then to the 15th of Sept. at which last adjournment the town voted as the desire of this Town that the constables, that may have money in their hands, withold the same from the Province and County Treasurers till the next town meeting.

The convention mentioned in the above record composed of delegates from every town and district of Suf-

folk County, (Dedham having five delegates present) was the one which passed the celebrated Suffolk Resolves. A committee was appointed at the meeting at Mr. Richard Woodward's house in Dedham, which reported the resolutions that were adopted by the convention at an adjourned meeting held a few days later in the neighboring town of Milton. The late Hon. Samuel F. Haven in his address delivered at Dedham 1836 at the celebration of the 200th Anniversary of the incorporation of the town, says in speaking of this convention at Mr. Woodward's house, "Those who now, or in after times, shall examine the journal of the earliest continental Congress, in search of the first recorded resolutions to try the issue with Great Britain if need be, at the point of the sword, will find the doings of this convention entered at length upon its pages, appearing as the medium through which the object of their assembling was first presented to their deliberations and serving as the basis of their subsequent proceedings. The house of Richard Woodward most of us remember. In it was born Fisher Ames. *Was it also the birth place of the American Revolution?*"



THE WOODWARD HOUSE.

At a town meeting held Sept. 29, 1774, it was

Voted; that the collectors be directed to withhold the money from the Province and County Treasurers till the determination of the Provincial Congress be known.

Voted; unanimously, that the Town do approve the Resolves of the committee of several counties met at Boston, lately entered into, to prevent the regular troops being supplied with timber and every other article except provisions.

Voted; that a committee of eleven be appointed to see that the above resolve be strictly adhered to.

Voted; that the Town do highly approve of the late Resolve passed at the County Convention and of the upright and faithful conduct of their own members at said convention. The gentlemen chosen to represent the town at the Great and General Court were by vote empowered and directed to appear and act in behalf of the Town at the Provincial Congress proposed to be held at Concord 2d Tuesday of Oct. next.

At a town meeting held Dec. 5, 1774, it was,

Voted; that this town do solemnly engage to conform to all the Resolves

and Recommendations of the Continental Congress, and that we will do everything in our power to carry this Association Agreement in complete execution.

Voted: that we do further engage that we will not drink nor suffer any in our families to drink any kind of India tea, till we have a full redress of all the grievances ennumerated in the Association Agreement.

Voted; that [twelve persons being named] be a committee of Inspection, who are carefully to endeavor to find out whether any of the Inhabitants of the Town presume to violate the foregoing engagement, and if any should discover themselves to be so utterly void of love to their Country as in any article to act contrary thereto, the committee are to post up their names in some public place in each parish as enemies to the welfare of America. And that any seven of said Committee be a quorum who shall sign such notifications.

This meeting was adjourned to Dec. 19, 1774, when it was,

Voted; that the several constables be, and they hereby are directed to pay the whole that may be in their hands, and that they may hereafter collect, of monies belonging to the Province that were granted before the first day of June 1774, into the hands of Henry Gardner Esq., of Stow, and that a receipt produced from him shall be to each and every one of them as full and sufficient a discharge as if they had paid the same to the late Treasurer Harrison Gray Esq., and that this town will forever secure and defend said constables from any damages arising from paying the money to Henry Gardner aforesaid.

A few more extracts from the Diary of Dr. Ames in 1774 show the strength of the popular feeling.

May 12. The Act of Parliament for blockading Boston and arrival of Gen. Gage as governor occasions terrible consternation in all America.

June—Boston very much distressed by the tyrannical Port Bill stopping up the harbour. Ships of war lying off and soldiers in the town—All America in consternation!

June 21. All business in Boston almost ceases.

June 22. Boston people trying for places in the Country.

July 14. A voluntary fast is observed this day, in this and some of the neighbouring provinces, at the recommendation of our House of Commons without the Governors assent, on which occasion Mr. J. Haven delivered an excellent political sermon in the forenoon, and a good pulpit discourse in the afternoon.

Sept. 2. Country alarmed even as far as the Mohawks who under Johnson set out to the relief of Boston from the tyranny of Gage.

Oct. 28. This afternoon was held a Lecture on the times, and Rev. Mr. Adams, Gordon, Abbot, Robins,

and Haven agreed to hold such Lectures in their several parishes.

A town meeting was held Jan. 2, 1775, to elect a representative to the Provincial Congress to be held on or before the 1st day of Feb. next.

At this meeting the town made choice of a committee to prepare subscription papers and to obtain signers to subscribe towards relieving the distressed poor of the town of Boston now cruelly suffering in the common cause of America. Richard Woodward, Hon. Samuel Dexter, Nath'l Sumner Esq., and thirteen others appointed for that purpose.

At a meeting held March 6, 1775.

Voted; that the Selectmen of the Town, the Committee of Correspondence or the Committee of Inspection, one of each, or any three of either of said bodies be and hereby are empowered to give the certificate which any teamster conveying to Boston such articles as are prohibited to be supplied to the troops, is required to produce and deliver to one or more of the Committee of Correspondence at Boston.

Voted; to raise 60 minute men in the town including officers.

Voted; to pay such men for three half days in the week for one month, and one half day in the week for two more, that they shall expend to inform themselves in the art military reckoning 4 hours in each half day.

Voted; to grant and raise the sum of sixty pounds to be assessed upon polls and estates within the town for the purpose aforesaid, and four muster masters are chosen. This meeting then adjourned to March 14, 1775, when the Town again voted nearly in same language as at the meeting Dec. 19, 1774, that the Constables pay the province tax for 1774 to Henry Gardner Esq. lately appointed Treasurer for this Province, and that the Town will defend them from all damages for so paying.

Voted that the detached Company or minute men (so called) shall be held bound for nine months from the time of their enlistment and shall be in readiness to march upon any emergency.

Voted that each minute man enlisted shall produce a certificate from his commanding officer, setting forth the time he shall have expended in informing himself in the art military in order to his receiving his money.

Voted that the Captains of the detached Company shall be entitled to four shillings per day, reckoning eight hours in the day for each day he shall spend in military exercises, and that each subaltern shall have three shillings per day.

Returning to the Ames Diary for 1775, we find the following entries:

April 19. Grand Battle from Concord to Charlestown: The regular forces sent by the British Government to Boston march out to Lexington, and fired on a company of men and killed six, then immediately marched off to Concord to seize our Province military

stores, destroyed some flour, two cannon, and then, upon being attacked by our people, began to retreat and continued fighting all the way to Charlestown. Thirty men lost on our side—many more on theirs. I went and dressed the wounded.

April 21. Elias Haven of Dedham killed—Israel Everet, Jr.. wounded in the battle.

April 23. Connecticut forces gone to Boston. Siege. King's ships and arms taken at New York by our Americans.

May 18. Ticonderoga, Crownpoint, Sheensboro, taken by New England men from Old England men.

May 21. Men of War Tenders went to plunder Grape Island—beat off by our men tho' they had cannon, which fired incessantly.

May 29. Town meeting.

May 29, 1775, the Town voted "to pay the men that were called down and were in the service on former alarms."

Voted; to pay the men that may be called in the service.

Voted; to raise 120 men in the several parishes in the same proportion that the minute men were raised, to stand ready to march on an alarm in defence of their country.

Voted; that said men be raised by the several officers of the militia in this town, and the men when raised be directed to meet at Dedham common on Thursday next, at one o'clock in the afternoon, in order to choose their officers.

Voted; to grant each man four shillings per day while in the actual service of the province, unless provision for their pay shall be made by the Congress, and in case the province shall grant a sum short of four shillings per day, remainder be paid by the town.

The Hon. Samuel Dexter signified to the Town that he was willing to give the Town his trouble and expense in serving the Town at the Congress, and the Town voted thanks to him for his service.

Voted; that a man be chosen to take care of the cannon. The town made choice of Ebenezer Brackett to have the care of the cannon day time.

Voted; to choose a committee to procure men to watch at night.

Ames Diary continued (1775).

June 16. Began to intrench on Dorchester Hill and Chelsea.

June 17. Terrible battle forced our intrenchments at Charleston.

July 3. Gen. Washington arrived and Gen. Lee.

July 20. Continental fast.

Aug. 9. Rifle men 300 pass. 3 comp. Connecticut men.

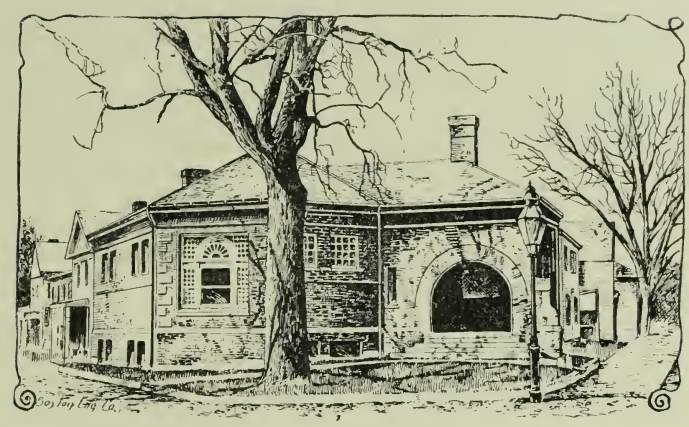
Sept. 1. Continual roar of cannon night and day.

Nov. 7. Privateers of America plunder Tory vessels.

Nov. 10. King proclaims all America rebels.

Ames Diary continued (1776).

March 5. Our army takes possession of Dorchester Neck.



DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

March 9. Gen. Howe offers to quit Boston.

March 17. *British Troops* and *Tories flee from Boston.*

March 18. *Boston opened yesterday.*

" 30. Went to Boston which looks very gloomy. All shops shut up.

April 1. Soldiers return home, and continental troops march every day to the southward.

April 5. Gen. Washington lodged in town (Dedham).

In the warrant for the meeting May, 1776, one article read as follows:

"6. *To know the minds of the Town with respect to coming into a state of Independency.*"

It is clear from the records, that this Town did not rush blindly into war for Independence, for when this Article was reached, it was voted to refer the subject to the next meeting, which in those days was not equivalent to indefinite postponement, for meetings were held very frequently. This next meeting was, in fact, held May 27, 1776, when it was put to vote to see if it be the mind of the Town, that if the Honorable Congress, should for the safety of the Colonies, declare their Independence of the Kingdom of Great Britain, *they, the said Inhabitants, will solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to support them in the measure;* it passed *unanimously* in the *affirmative.*

What could more fittingly close these records of a patriotic town than the following entries from Ames Diary. It is evident that it had taken ten days for the great news given forth by the bell in Independence Hall on the 4th of July, to travel to Dedham.

June 9. The *Yankee Hero* taken by the enemy.

June 12. All Dedham men gone to intrench on the east.

June 14. Artillery and militia clear Boston Harbor of enemy.

July 14. INDEPENDENCY declared by Congress.

DON GLEASON HILL.

NOTE—Samuel Dexter whose picture, from a portrait of 1792, is given, by courtesy of the "Dedham Historical Register," on page 165 and who is frequently mentioned in the Dedham Records, was the eldest son of Rev. Samuel Dexter, long a minister in that town. He was born in 1726, became a merchant in Boston and having acquired a considerable fortune returned to his native village in 1763 where he lived until 1776. For several successive years a member of the Governors Council, and elected to other offices of trust and responsibility, he was a leader in developing patriotic sentiment and organizing the people for the approaching crisis. His time, money and talents were freely given to the patriot cause without thought of honor or reward. He represented the town in the first Provincial Congress and was placed on the committee to provide for the public defense and subsequently for the support of the army assembled after the battle of Lexington for the siege of Boston, Of the measures of the patriots to secure and maintain their rights against British tyranny and aggression Sam'l Dexter was a sagacious and unfaltering supporter.

And yet, strange to say, soon after the beginning of hostilites, in 1776, he suddenly resigned his position on the committee for the support of the army, withdrew from all connection with public affairs and would never afterwards accept office. How is this singular conduct to be accounted for? It is well known he differed from the policy of his associates on the committee. He was opposed to the concentration of the army around Boston. He maintained it needed drill and discipline and the arms and ammunition essential to success—that it should be moved inland and prepared there for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Differing so radically from his associates he withdrew from the committee that they might not be embarassed by his presence and opposition. His action gave rise to the suspicion and the charge that he was lukewarm in the patriot cause if not a secret enemy. Nothing could be more unfounded and unjust.

No doubt the charge stung him to the quick. Conscious of the purity of his motives, unable to explain his position without causing dissension among the patriots and so endangering the cause that was dearer than his own reputation, he offered no vindication of his course, retired to private life and remained under a cloud during the war. He purchased an estate at Woodstock Hill, Connecticut, where he passed the remaining years of his life. His distinguished son, also Samuel Dexter, was Secretary of War and afterward Secretary of the Treasury under President John Adams.

MOTLEY'S VIEW OF THE CIVIL WAR.*

THE brilliant historian who made the sixteenth century live again upon his pages, had a keen insight into the events of the nineteenth. This we might prove in a very interesting manner by citations from these letters which refer to Louis Napoleon and the formation of the German Empire. No one since Sedan can form a better estimate of the essential littleness of Napoleon III., than Motley entertained of it while he was still at the zenith of his apparent glory. Nor could any one to-day discourse more convincingly about the inevitable and indispensable consolidation of the German Empire into the compact and effective state it has since become, than Motley did when the ideal was only ripening in the minds of its chief promoters. But such a topic would be entirely inadmissible in these pages. We shall confine ourselves therefore to proving our opening proposition by means of events upon American soil.

While Motley was in Europe industriously investigating the recondite sources of history, in order to present to the world a vivid picture of the struggles of the Dutch Republic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, his own beloved country was entering upon a struggle which was to test and settle forever the virtue of her foundation-principles. The Republic of the Netherlands was a confederacy, hung together but loosely, with States' Rights ever too prominently asserted, and ever menacing the sovereignty and integrity of the Union itself. It was only the "forge and the heat" in which "the anchors of her hope were shaped," that held the seven provinces together. It was well that the war lasted nearly a century, or the republic would never have endured as long as it did. But imperfect as was this union it was a magnificent experiment in free government, that told upon all the ages, and which found its logical issue in such a government as that of the United States of America. The founders of our state had the Dutch Republic before them with its glories and its mistakes. Its glorious achievements filled them with hope; its defects in government taught them wisdom. They avoided the loose confederacy

* "Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley," edited by George William Curtis, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1889, 2 vols.

with the menace of its constantly interfering States' Rights; they effected a Federation with a central national sovereignty of respectable strength.

But the course of our history throughout the nineteenth century developed the strange anomaly that what was best and strongest and wisest about our Republic, was just that which a formidable portion of the land wished to see removed. The menace of States' Rights it was eagerly sought to reinstate; the central government was to be wiped out, and the Federation was to turn back upon its course, back upon the lessons of history, back upon the plainest wisdom, and resolve itself once more into a confederacy. And all for what? That a certain institution cherished by a few States, might not be threatend by the wisdom or conscience of the nation of United States. When those who maintained that unhappy institution perceived the approach of the central government toward any act of national authority, they felt an instinctive alarm that this authority might one day touch that cherished slavery. They were keen-scented and keen-sighted. Even so innocent and remote a project as internal improvements in the way of canals, or in the way of settling government lands, was resented and resisted with a virulence that would have been inexplicable or ridiculous, had there not been nerves of feeling running beneath the surface which made some men wince when these so very different matters were touched.

Motley was in Europe, busy on the "United Netherlands," when the news of the election of Lincoln came. He wrote to his mother: "I rejoice in the triumph at last of freedom over slavery more than I can express. Thank God it can never be said, after the great verdict just pronounced that the common law of my country is slavery, and that the American flag carries slavery with it wherever it goes." Of course so close a student of the Dutch confederacy of yore, that finally fell to pieces from its self-determined incoherence—looked keenly to the real point and issue of the battle that was now to come. "The question is distinctly proposed to us," he writes, "shall slavery die or the great Republic? It is most astounding to me that there can be two opinions in the Free States as to the answer. If we do fall, we deserve our fate. At the beginning of the contest, constitutional scruples might be respectable. But now we are fighting to subjugate the South, that is slavery. We are fighting for the Union. Who wishes to destroy the Union? The slaveholders. Nobody else."

When war had been fairly launched Motley showed the true feelings of an American citizen. He had not been spoiled by his long residence abroad, or his delight in English society. He retained singularly bright and pure his republican principles. The first effect upon him of events

on this side the Atlantic was a distaste or disability for the concentration of his mind upon merely literary studies. His daughter (Lady William Vernon Harcourt) writes: "In the first dark years the painful interest of the great national drama was so all absorbing that literary work was entirely put aside, and with his countrymen at home he lived only in the varying fortunes of the day." Indeed he could not remain abroad. He hastened across the Atlantic and made every arrangement to remove his family back to America and dwell in the midst of the alarms of the war, if possibly he might render some service. But that service came in a peculiar way; before his family could follow him he had received President Lincoln's appointment as minister to Austria. His fame as an ardent supporter of Lincoln's cause had preceded him; for early in the outbreak he had addressed a letter to the London *Times* (thundering and blundering away as usual, and against the North) "explaining clearly and comprehensively," says Mr. Curtis, "the nature of the Union and the actual causes of the struggle. The letter was of the greatest service. It was republished in the United States, and universally read and approved." So his home was again to be abroad, in the distant and rather lonesome Vienna. Here after a while he betook himself once more to his literary task, but it was with a divided heart. Two volumes of his second work ("The United Netherlands") had now been published. He writes "I try to work at my History, and have really succeeded in getting my teeth into the subject; but the great events of our own day in our country are so much more absorbing that I find it difficult to make much progress." But as the strain of the first excitement was relieved, and especially when success to the Northern arms seemed assured, he naturally recovered sufficient equaminity and mental poise to resume his beloved labors. In 1863 he tells his mother: "As I have now made up my mind that our war is to be protracted indefinitely I am trying to withdraw my attention from it, and to plunge into the 16th and 17th centuries again. While I am occupying myself with the events of a civil war which lasted eighty years and engaged and exhausted the energies of all the leading powers of Europe, perhaps I may grow less impatient with military operations extended over a much larger and less populated area, and which have not yet continued for two years." Yet as late as 1864 he writes again: "I am sorry to say that I no longer work with the same interest and passion for my work as before. The sixteenth century palls before the nineteenth." To add one more point exhibiting the personal element in Motley's standpoint with regard to the Civil War, there is to be considered a somewhat painful difference of opinion

between himself and his father on the subject. It begins to appear at the very outset: "I am very sorry that I cannot exchange congratulations with the governor on the subject of the Presidential election," he writes playfully to his mother when Lincoln's election was assured. But later the known divergence of sentiments led to a cessation of correspondence between father and son, yet with continued love and esteem for each other. Hence he writes to his mother upon receiving the news of his father's death: "You may believe that it was a great pain that I could never exchange written or spoken words with him on the great subject of the age and of the world, and I therefore formed the resolution of always addressing my letters to you, in order that I might not seem to say to him what might cause controversy between us. I supposed that he would probably read or not, as he chose, what I wrote to you, and that he could not be annoyed by my speaking without restraint on such occasions. As to concealing my opinions, that neither he nor you would have wished me to do. . . . I could easily understand, however, that his age, and the different point of view from which he regarded political subjects, made it not unnatural that he should hold with tenacity to opinions which he had formed with deliberation and acted upon intelligently during a long lifetime."

Throughout the whole period of the war Motley kept before his mind with unabated clearness the great and vital subject of emancipation, "Are we to spend 1,200 millions," he asks, "and raise 600,000 soldiers in order to *protect* slavery? . . . The people have really decreed emancipation and is only puzzling how to carry it into effect. . . . With slavery in its primitive vigor I should think the restored Union neither possible nor desirable." At the same time he would deprecate any rash and hasty measures on this head. He commends Lincoln's cautious policy: "I think Mr. Lincoln embodies singularly well the healthy American mind. He revolts at extreme measures, and moves in a steady way to the necessary end. He reads the signs of the times and will never go faster than the people at his back. So his slowness seems sometimes like hesitation; but I have not a doubt that when the people wills it, he will declare that will, and with the disappearance of the only dissolvent the dissolution of the Union will be made impossible." He looked upon emancipation as something that would have important effects both at home and abroad. At home it would unify all parties and simplify the issue joined. "One would think it impossible for those engaged in a common resistance to this mutiny not to sink, for the period of the war at least, every petty feeling of dislike to each other. I am sure that I have none but the kindest feelings now to every man of whatever party

in the free States — Hunker, Democrat, Belleverettian, Republican, or Abolitionist — provided they are willing to stand shoulder to shoulder to save the country from extinction." It appears that Motley was not an abolitionist before the war, but the war itself now pointed him to abolition as the only issue: "The very reason which always prevented me from being an abolitionist before the war, in spite of my anti-slavery sentiments and opinions, now forces me to be an emancipationist. I did not wish to see the government destroyed, which was the avowed purpose of the abolitionists. When this became the avowed purpose of the slaveholders, when they made war upon us, the whole case was turned upside down. . . . There is no way of contending now with the enemy at our gates, but by emancipation."

So again in emancipation lay the only hope to prevent interference and to insure sympathy on the part of the governments of Europe. "Our great danger comes from foreign interference. What will prevent that? Our utterly defeating the confederates in some *great* and *conclusive* battle, or our possession of the cotton ports and opening them to European trade, or a most *unequivocal policy* of slave emancipation. . . . The last measure is to my mind the most important." When, therefore, Lincoln had issued his proclamation, the enemies of the North abroad were nonplussed. Agents of the slave States had industriously sought to spread the impression that the North was as much in favor of slavery as the South. The matter of Union or no Union, confederacy or federation, could hardly be expected to interest foreigners, or enlist their sympathies one way or the other. But in slavery or no slavery lay a principle of universal interest, which was certain to enlist the sympathy of the people of England and France on the side of anti-slavery. Thus Motley was enabled to write in a strain of great relief: "The President's proclamation was just in time. Had it been delayed it is possible England would have accepted the invitation of France, and that invitation was in reality to organize the slaveholders' confederacy, and to make with it an alliance offensive and defensive. . . . Nothing has saved us from this disaster thus far except the anti-slavery feeling in England, which throughout the country, although not so much in high places, is the predominant popular instinct in England which no statesman dares confront."

It is both interesting and instructive, now that we know the whole course and result of the great struggle, to take a look at the war from the standpoint of one who was keenly watching it and intelligently studying it with the training of a thorough historian. At first it seemed to him and other thoughtful observers as if it would soon be over. It was supposed that the war could be finished in a

year, and this "by accumulating so much force and by making such imposing demonstrations everywhere, as to convince the rebels that their schemes — already proved to have been false in all their calculations founded on co-operation in the Free States — have become ridiculous." This was before the Battle of Bull Run, and it was, perhaps, more a citation of the opinion of others, than his own conviction. Yet the drift of his own thought was quite in line with this conviction of a speedy end. But later there is a radical change in his expectations; his natural despondency comes to the foreground, and now he can see no end at all. In November, 1862, he writes to one of his daughters. "It is very probable that I shall not live to see the end of this great tragedy, which seems hardly to have passed its first act. . . . This war is a purifying process, but it seems that a whole generation of youths has to be sacrificed before we can even see the end." And again: "Certainly we live in tragic days! *You* may live to see tranquil and happy ones; but it is not probable that we of this generation will do so. The great slave revolution will, I think, take almost the span of one generation to accomplish itself thoroughly. This partial pro-slavery reaction in the North has, I fear, protracted the contest" And so he turned for consolation and distraction from this painful contemplation to his literary work, writing to his mother, in March, 1863, already quoted: "As I have now made up my mind that our war is to be protracted indefinitely, I am trying to withdraw my attention from it and to plunge into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries again."

Yet however despondent as to the continuance of the conflict, Motley never for a moment lost faith in the issue of it. At the beginning when the days were dark he wrote to his mother: "I do wish we could receive one good piece of news. But I am not disheartened. I feel perfect confidence that the great result cannot but be good and noble." A visitor of rather Southern leanings after calling upon him in Vienna, wrote to his friend that he had found Motley "more unreasonable than ever, vowing that the *restoration of the Union in its entirety was as sure as the sun in heaven.*" A year later, he writes to Dr. Holmes: "The harvest to be reaped by the country will be almost priceless. Of this I entertain no doubt whatever. God knows I was never an optimist, but in the great result of this tremendous struggle I can foresee nothing but good." And still another year later, when affairs had grown decidedly brighter for the North, in December, 1863, he writes in a brief note to his mother: "I am determined to say nothing of political matters save to repeat my conviction, firm as the everlasting hills, that the only possible issue of the war is the reconstruction of the Union and

the entire abolition of slavery, and such a glorious consummation is as sure as that the sun will rise to-morrow." Only for a brief period did this supreme faith desert him. It was after the capture of Mason and Slidell, when it seemed inevitable that war with England must follow. Then he wrote in almost an agony of despair to his mother: "I never expect another happy hour, and am almost brokenhearted. My whole soul was in the cause of the United States government against this pro-slavery mutiny, and I never doubted our ultimate triumph; but if the South has now secured the alliance of England, a restoration of the Union becomes hopeless."

Before leaving the general subject of the war we must be pardoned for giving one rather lengthy extract from a letter to his mother. It presents so clear, true, and philosophic a conception of the struggle then tearing our land asunder, but which in its issue has only cemented the Union the more firmly; — and that wonderful fact is here so calmly and intelligently traced to its necessary, historic grounds, long before the result justified Motley's reasonings,— that there will be no apology needed for the long citation: —

VIENNA, June 9th, 1862.

My dearest Mother:

I am pretty busy now with my history, and work on regularly enough, but of course I am disturbed by perpetual thoughts about our own country. I am convinced, however, that it is a mistake in us all to have been expecting a premature result. It is not a war; it is not exactly a revolution; it is the sanguinary development of great political and social problems, which it was the will of the Great Ruler of the universe should be reserved as the work of the generation now on the stage, and their immediate successors. The more I reflect upon this civil war, and try to regard it as a series of historical phenomena, disengaging myself for the moment from all personal feelings or interests, the more I am convinced that the conflict is the result of antagonisms, the violent collision of which could no longer be deferred, and that its duration must necessarily be longer than most of us anticipated. In truth, it is almost always idle to measure a sequence of great historical events by the mere lapse of time which does very well to mark the ordinary succession of commonplace affairs. The worst of it is, so far as we are all individually concerned, that men are short-lived, while man is immortal even on the earth, for aught that we know to the contrary. It will take half a century, perhaps, before the necessary conclusion to the great strife in which we are all individually concerned has been reached, and there are few of us now living destined to see the vast result. But it is of little consequence, I suppose, to the Supreme Disposer whether Brown, Jones and Robinson, understand now or are likely to live long enough to learn what He means by the general scheme according to which he governs the universe in which we play for a time our little parts. If we do our best to find out, try to conform ourselves to the inevitable, and walk as straight as we can by such light as we honestly can get for ourselves, even though it be but a tallow candle, we shall escape tumbling over our noses more than half a dozen times daily.

I look at the mass of the United States, and it seems impossible for me to imagine for physical and geographical and ethnographical reasons, that its territory can be permanently cut up into two or more inde-

pendent governments. A thousand years ago this happened to Europe, and the result was the parcelling out of two or three hundred millions of human creatures into fifty or five hundred (it matters not how many) different nations, who thus came to have different languages, religions, manners, customs, and histories. As I am not writing a historical lecture, and as I am a wonderful son who can always astonish his mother with his wisdom, it will be sufficient for my present audience to say that not one of the causes which ten centuries ago, disintegrated and decomposed the European world, with a territory about the size of the United States, and with essentially the same population, is present at this moment in America. The tendency of the age everywhere, and the strongest instinct of the American people, is to consolidation, unification. It is the tendency of all the great scientific discoveries and improvements which make the age of utilitarianism, at which we have arrived. I do not believe the American people (of course I mean a large majority) will ever make such asses of themselves as to go to work in the middle of the nineteenth century and establish a Chinese wall of custom-houses and forts across the widest part of the American continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and keep an army of 300,000 men perpetually on foot with a navy of corresponding proportion, in order to watch the nation on the south side of the said Chinese wall and fight it every half dozen years or so together with its European allies. The present war, sanguinary and expensive as it is, even if it lasts ten years longer, is cheaper both in blood and in money than the adoption of such a system, and I am so much of a democrat (far more now than I ever was in my life) as to feel confident that the great mass of the people will instinctively perceive that truth, and act in accordance with it. Therefore I have no fear that it will ever acknowledge a rival sovereignty to its own. The Union, I do not believe, can be severed. Therefore, I believe the war must go on until this great popular force has beaten down and utterly annihilated the other force which has arranged itself in plump opposition to it. The world moves by forces.

By the aid of Motley's letters we are enabled also to get a few intimate and interesting glimpses into conditions, popular opinions, and personal feelings, at the beginning and during the conduct of the war. It is amusing, and yet somewhat pathetic too, to read now the extravagant ideas of General Scott's invincible efficiency and genius which then prevailed from President Lincoln down to the very ragamuffins upon the streets. Reporting a conversation which took place when Motley first met the President, he writes: "When we were talking—all three—about the military plans in progress, he observed, not meaning anything like an epigram, 'Scott will not let us outsiders know anything of his plans.'" A little before this he had written to his wife, who was still in England: "I saw a small crowd waiting on the pavement and Lee, who was with us [not General Lee, but some friend of Motley's family] told me that they were to see General Scott come out of his office. It reminded me of the group I so often saw in Piccadilly waiting to see Lord Palmerston come out." The next citation shows both Motley's own estimate of Old Pomposity and the General's idea as to the celerity with which everything could be accomplished. "To the

question whether the task is beyond our strength, I can only repeat that General Scott—than whom a better strategist and a more lofty-minded and honorable man does not exist—believes that he can do it in a year." Enumerating the generals on our side, Motley again observes: "to say nothing of Old Scott, whose very name is worth 50,000 men." Even when murmurs of doubt about the great and mysterious designs began to arise, Motley keeps bright his faith in the generalissimo: "Don't be affected," he writes on July 14, 1861, just before Bull Run, "by any sneers or insinuations of slowness against Scott; I believe him to be a magnificent soldier, thoroughly equal to his work, and I trust that the country and the world will one day acknowledge that he has played a noble and winning game with consummate skill." Unfortunately that day has never come. The hero of Lundy's Lane, past his seventy-fifth year, could hardly be expected to do the wonders that people were looking for. And a sudden and significant silence about the "great Scott," falls upon Motley's letters.

At last there went forth a letter from Motley to his wife, which tells an eloquent story from its very composition. It is dated "Woodland Hill," near Boston, July 21, 1861. It begins very calmly, tells of his receiving the degree of LL. D. from Harvard, and of two other notable people, who obtained it at the same time, Governor Andrew and General Scott. With reference to the latter, it is really pathetic to catch one more note, even in this letter, of the popularity of the man. "When the name of Winfield Scott was announced, there arose a tempest of cheers such as I am sure was never heard before at any academic celebration in Cambridge. I thought the church would have split in pieces like a bombshell, so irrepressible was the explosion of enthusiasm. Here were grave professors and clergymen, judges, young under-graduates and octogenarians, all hallooing like lunatics." But this letter, like the traditional epistle from female hands, had a more important postscript. This was dated July 23. It was headed, "*Read this sheet first.*" We have italicized these words, but their position and their meaning are emphatic enough on the printed page of the "Correspondence," without that additional device of the printer's art. "I have had half a dozen minds about sending you the foregoing pages," he continues, "Since they were written, the terrible defeat of Sunday evening has occurred." This was the battle or the rout of Bull Run. Motley's language seems almost extravagent, as he reveals the effect upon his mind of this sudden disaster. Yet doubtless he reflects not only his own feelings, but those also of all ardent supporters of the Northern cause, or of the Union. "I pity you and my children inexpressibly to be alone there," *i. e.* in Eng-

land. "I sympathize most deeply with your position," he says again. "You have many kind friends—none can be kinder; but the situation admits of no consolation." "Don't show this letter to any one. I hope you are not in London." It would almost seem as if personal disgrace, or the death of a member of the household had fallen upon the writer. Then as to the situation around him he writes: "We are for the moment overwhelmed with gloom." "The measure of our *dishonor*, which I thought last night so great as to make me hang my head forever, I can not now thoroughly estimate." Yet even while bowed down under the crushing effects of the first news of the defeat, he takes a hopeful view of the conduct of the men engaged in the battle. "There is no doubt that our troops behaved admirably during the whole of Sunday; that they charged and carried battery after battery of rifled cannon; that the colonels of regiments led on their men on foot, rifle in hand, loading and firing like privates; that our men repeatedly crossed bayonets with the enemy, and drove them off the field. This went on for nine hours. In the evening it appears that Johnston effected his junction with Beauregard, and then a panic, commenced by teamsters, together with reporters, members of Congress, and outsiders generally, who had no business on the field at all, was communicated to the troops, who fled in disorder." Hence, about five days later, he encourages his wife as follows: "Don't be too much cast down about Bull Run. In a military point of view it is of no very great significance. There was a panic, it is true, and we feel ashamed, awfully mortified; but our men had fought four or five hours without flinching, against concealed batteries, at the cannon's mouth, under a blazing July Virginia sun, taking battery after battery, till they were exhausted with thirst, and their tongues were hanging out of their mouths. It was physically impossible for these advanced troops to fight longer, and the reserves were never brought up. So far I only say what is undisputed. The blame for the transaction can not be fairly assigned till we get official accounts."

Two years later there were happier tidings, and Motley wrote in a happier strain. "Isn't it one of the most striking and picturesque things imaginable that Lee's great invading army, after being thoroughly thrashed on the 2d and 3d of July, should have moved off in rapid retreat on the 4th of July, and that on the same famous anniversary, Vicksburg, the great fortress and stronghold of the Mississippi, should have surrendered to the United States troops?" Thus to his wife; and a few days later to Dr. Holmes: "There is no need of my descanting longer on this magnificent theme. Some things in this world may be better left unsaid. You and I at least know how we both feel

about Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Port Hudson, and I shall at least not try to add to the eloquence of these three words, which are destined to so eternal an echo. I wonder whether you or I half a dozen years ago were sufficiently up in geography to find all the three places on the map."

It is comparatively easy to stand off, as it were, and look at a battle as a picture, or to read with calm calculation how many were lost, killed, wounded, on either side. In that impersonal aggregate we forget there are individuals, and our human feelings are in abeyance. But when the personal element has to intervene, and we cannot forget the individuals, then a war or a battle becomes a very different thing. Then there are heartstrings reaching out to every field of carnage, to be rudely severed at every discharge of artillery, or amid the swordclash of the murderous melee. Very just is Motley's conception of this phase of the great conflict. "Slavery must go down and free labor prevail at last, but those of us whose blood is flowing or whose hearts are aching (like Mrs. W. D——'s, for instance, mother of heroes), may find it small consolation that the United States of 1900 will be a greater and happier power than ever existed in the world, thanks to the sacrifices of this generation." So Dr. Holmes writes to Motley about his son: "I meant to have told you that my boy was made a captain the other day. How our little unit out of the six or seven hundred thousand grows in dimensions as we talk or write about it!" The fate of this young soldier (since Motley had no son of his own), constituted one of the personal links with every battlefield for him and his family. "There are very many youths in that army of freedom whose career we watch with intense interest; but Wendell Holmes is ever in our thoughts, side by side with those of our own name and blood." In one of the earliest battles young Holmes was wounded and Motley's second daughter, then in America, informed her parents of the fact. The letter produced a rather curious effect, illustrating the point in hand, but with a pleasant sequel, for though apparently shot through the lungs, as Miss Motley (now Mrs. Sheridan, of England) wrote, the ball took a peculiar course, and made but a slight wound. Motley thus gave an account of the reception of the letter in writing to Dr. Holmes: "I seized it with avidity and began to read it aloud, and before I had finished the first page it dropped from my hand, and we all three burst into floods of tears. Mary wrote that Wendell. Holmes was shot through the lungs and not likely to recover. After the paroxysm was over, I picked up the letter and read a rather important concluding phrase of Mary's statement, viz.: 'But this, thank God, has proved to be a mistake.'"

One hero or demigod having departed (or having been deposed) it

was in order to look for his successor. We have looked with Motley's eyes upon the imposing figure of Scott. Who would or could succeed him? "The coming man, whoever he may be, must have military genius united with intense faith in something. In the old civil wars of Holland, France and England, the men who did the work were the men who either believed intensely in the Pope and the Inquisition, or who intensely hated these institutions. . . . And in our war . . . the coming man is some tremendous negro seller with vast military capacity, or some John Brown with ditto." This personage began to emerge from the clouds of war after a while. In December, 1863, he seems to be rising above the horizon. Motley writes to his mother: "We are very well satisfied with recent American news. In a military point of view, thank Heaven! the 'coming man,' for whom we have so long been waiting, seems really to have come. So far as I can understand the subject, Ulysses Grant is at least equal to any general now living in any part of the world, and by far the first that our war has produced on either side. . . . A correspondent of a widely circulated German newspaper (the *Augsburg Gazette*) very far from friendly to America, writing from the seat of war in Tennessee, speaks of the battle of Chattanooga as an action, which, both for scientific combination and bravery in execution, is equal to any battle of modern times from the days of Frederick the Great downwards." But this bright star verged towards setting again, and came quite near it, in Motley's estimation. "I have great faith in Grant; I think he is the man we have been waiting for these three years, but I don't feel absolutely certain." And a week or two later: "We have a telegram this morning, date August 6th, telling us that Grant has been repulsed at Petersburg; . . . few attacks made in front upon entrenchments by either belligerent have succeeded; . . . if anything could stagger my profound faith in Grant, it would be many repetitions of such assaults. If he can't make Lee attack him—which I always thought would be his game—I shall be disappointed."

The glorious and strongly wished for end of the struggle came at last and then amid all the gladness and relief of a nation, shone forth the boundless admiration and gratitude towards the man who had been the main instrument to set in motion all the thousands of lesser instruments, and converge them under God to the accomplishment of the grand result. Then with all Motley's ardent nature his intense happiness over the victory reflected itself in his letters, and he extolled Grant to the skies.

I am sure that no man ever looked for so overwhelming and so dramatic a catastrophe as the storming of the Petersburg lines, the capture of Richmond, and the surrender of all the armies of the "Confederacy" in so brief a period of time. No man, I mean, except Ulysses Grant. I am no great admirer

of military heroes, but we needed one at this period, and we can never be too thankful that exactly such an one was vouchsafed to us,—one so vast and fertile in conception, so patient in waiting, so rapid in striking,—had come, and withal so destitute of personal ambition, so modest, so averse to public notoriety. The man on whom the gaze of both hemispheres has been steadily concentrated for two years, seems ever shrinking from observation. All *his* admiration, warmly expressed, is for Sherman and Sheridan. So long as we can produce such a man as Grant, our Republic is safe.

How very feeble seems the talk much indulged in on this side of the Atlantic about military dictatorship and all the rest of it, in America, to those who know something of that part of the world and its inhabitants. There is something very sublime to my imagination in the fact that Grant *has never yet set his foot in Richmond*, and perhaps never will.

I said that we were not in a state of exultation at our immense victory. On the contrary, I believe that the all-prevailing genuine sentiment of the American people was that of humble, grateful thanksgiving to God that the foul sedition was suppressed and the national life preserved. The spectacle of twenty thousand men in the busiest haunts of trade, in one of the most thronged cities of the world spontaneously uncovering their heads and singing a Psalm of thanksgiving, — "O Lord [*sic*] from whom all blessings flow", — when the news of victory reached them, was not an ignoble scene.

LEONARD IRVING.

GLIMPSES OF OLD RHODE ISLAND.

WESTERLY AND WATCH HILL.

The founding of Rhode Island in 1636, after the banishment from Massachusetts Bay Colony of Roger Williams and his adherents for heresy and schism from the Puritan teachings, is a familiar story. Sick at heart from the uncharitableness of his civilized Christian brethren, he appears to have wandered into the wilderness resolved to devote his remaining years to teaching the red men. But his friends and disciples, accepting for themselves his persecution, followed hard after him and in the new country forced upon him the responsibility of leadership.

On August 20, 1636, was drawn up the agreement of those "desirous to inhabit in the towne of Providence," although in a record dated the 16th of June previous, we find the term "Towne meeting" applied to a gathering of the handful of Christian outlaws who had been cut off by the Puritans.

The settlement of Portsmouth dates from 1638, and Newport from 1639. These three towns, Providence, Portsmouth and Newport, together with Warwick, which was founded a little later, constituted for many years the "Collony of Providence Plantations." The first four settlements were all in the eastern section of the province, but the fifth town of Rhode Island was established on the frontier, in the "Narragansett country," in the southwest corner of the territory over which the Providence Plantations claimed jurisdiction. This settlement early received the appellation which its extreme situation naturally suggested—Wes-

terly. The act of the "Gennerall Assembly of the Collony of Providence Plantations," incorporating this frontier settlement, (in which the place is baptized with a prosaic Christian name to supersede the Indian designation) was passed "this 14th day of May," 1669. From this verbose and circuitous enactment we quote briefly:*

"This court taking notice of the returne of the committee . . . in reference to the petition and desire of the people inhabiting at Musquamacott and Pawcatucke in the King's Provinces to be made a towne-ship . . . . Be it therefore enacted by this Assembly and the authority thereof . . . the freemen and inhabitants in the said place called Musquamacott, &c., shall be knowne and called by the name of Westerly, and deemed the fifth towne of this Collony."

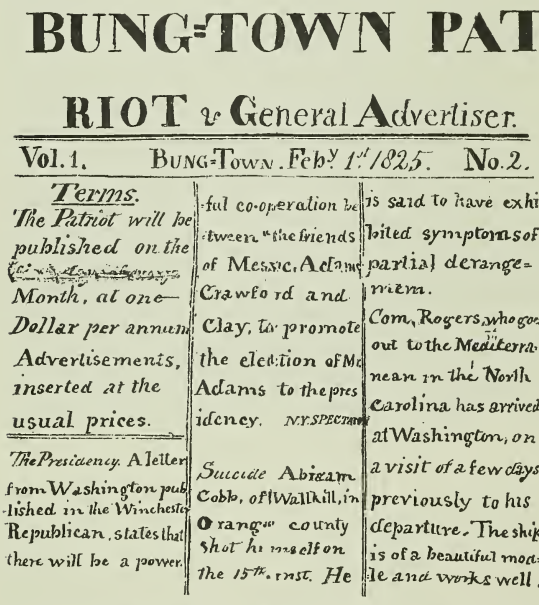
By this document and other ancient authorities the fact is established that the settlement of Musquamacott, which constituted the town of Westerly, was situated on the east bank of the Pawtucke ("alias Narragansett or Norrogawsitt") river. This narrow but picturesque stream, under its alias of Narragansett, had been designated in charters from the King as the boundary between the Connecticut and Providence Plantations. Thus the extension of Westerly which grew up just across the ford, on the opposite side of the river, took the name of Pawcatuck, and acknowledged allegiance to another government. The visitor who to-day steps across the little bridge from Westerly, Rhode Island, to Pawcatuck, Connecticut, can scarcely bring himself to believe that he has passed from one commonwealth into another, and in the same minute has visited two distinct corporations under separate State control. The present Pawcatuck, however, had no existence at the time of the first settlement of Musquamacott or Westerly; but six miles to the southwest was the thriving Connecticut settlement of Stonington, which proved at first

SCENE ON THE PAWCATUCK.

* R. I. Col. Records, Vol. II., pp. 250–1.

a rather rude and disagreeable neighbor.

Border towns are the principal sufferers from boundary disputes, and the pioneers of Westerly, with Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island all claiming the territory on which they had planted their town, found themselves in hot water much of the time. The discussion turned mainly upon the aboriginal ownerships in the soil. Various Indian tribes in turn had conquered the present territory of Westerly. Since the period of European exploration in America it had been the theatre for the operations of at least five aboriginal nations—the Niantics, Pequots, Narragansetts, Manisses (inhabitants of Manisses, or Block Island), and the Montauks of Long Island.



BUNG-TOWN PAT

RIOT & General Advertiser.

Vol. 1. BUNG-TOWN. Feb^y 1^st/825. No. 2.

Terms.

The Patriot will be published on the [illegible] *Month, at one Dollar per annum*

Advertisements, inserted at the usual prices.

The Presidency. A letter from Washington published in the Winchester Republican, states that there will be a power-ful co-operation between "the friends of Messrs. Adams Crawford and Clay, to promote the election of Mr. Adams to the presidency. N.Y. SPECTATOR

Suicide. Abigam Cobb, of Wallkill, in Orange county shot himself on the 15^th. inst. He is said to have exhibited symptoms of partial derangement.

Com. Rogers, who goes out to the Mediterranean in the North Carolina has arrived at Washington, on a visit of a few days previously to his departure. The ship is of a beautiful model and works well,

Bungtown was a small settlement within the limits of Westerly. This pen-printed sheet (6 x 7 inches) was passed from house to house. The original is in the possession of Mr. Chas Perry, of Westerly.

At the time of the first settlement of New England by the whites the Niantics had been well-nigh exterminated. They had occupied the southern coast of Connecticut and Rhode Island, but had given way before the fierce Pequots who moved down upon them from New York. The divided remnant of the Niantics occupied two tracts of land, one between New London and the Connecticut River, and the other just east of the Pawcatuck River—Musquamacott. The Niantics sought to retain these small holdings by means of an alliance with the powerful Narragansetts who ruled over nearly all Rhode Island.

At the opening of the year 1632 the Pequots had wedged themselves in between the eastern and western remnants of the Niantics, becoming practically the masters of all Connecticut east of the Connectiut River to the Pawcatuck.* But in April of that year the Pequots crossed the Pawcatuck, invading

* With the exception, of course, of the small tract before mentioned, along the coast between New London and the Connecticut River, which the Western Niantics still retained.

Musquamacott of the Eastern Niantics. A fierce battle ensued in which the Pequots gained a victory over the allied Niantics and Narragansetts, and thus "extended their territory ten miles east of the Pawcatuck." It was thus that the boundary dispute arose between the colonists. Five years after this Indian battle, in 1637, occurred the Pequot War, which, under the leadership of the renowned Captain John Mason, resulted in the practical extermination of that fierce tribe. Massachusetts claimed the Pequot country by right of conquest, and since the Pequots had taken possession of the ten-mile tract east of the Pawcatuck, the Puritans included that strip of Rhode Island in their claim.

But before considering the disputes thus engrafted upon the colonists, it is worth while to review a little more completely the history of Westerly, or Musquamacott, as the theatre of the red men. Westerly lies six miles inland, being about that distance from Stonington which crowns the western point at the mouth of the Pawcatuck, and the same distance from Watch Hill, which constitutes the eastern point. Standing upon Bear Hill, the highest elevation of Watch Hill, one can view the territory of three States of the Union. Rhode Island and Connecticut are near at hand, but, far out at sea, appears the low, blue line of Long Island. There dwelt the quarrelsome Montauks. A little nearer the main-

NINTH REGIMENT MEMORIAL.

ELM STREET, WESTERLY.

land appears also Block Island, the home of the peaceable Manisses, a small tribe which suffered much at the hands of both the Montauks and Pequots. On account of these enemies the Manisses put themselves under the protection of the Niantics, and joined the confederation which the latter established with the Narragansetts.

There are many traditions of the invasions of their respective enemies' territories by the Montauks, Niantics, and Manisses, who crossed the Sound in fleets of canoes. Watch Hill was long a sentinel post of the Niantics, from which they kept a lookout for excursions of the treacherous Long Islanders. In 1664 occurred a war between the Montauks and allied Niantics and Narragansetts, of which Roger Williams gives us some account. "The cause and root of all the present mischief," he writes, "is the pride of the two barbarians, Ascassassatic, the Long Island sachem, and Ninigret, of the Narragansetts: the former is proud and foolish; the latter is proud and fierce."

On account of their close relations the Niantics and Narragansetts were not always carefully distinguished, the latter name being made to include both tribes. Thus Ninigret was a Niantic, instead of a Narragansett, his headquarters being the present site of Westerly. This remarkable chieftain is said to have been of Pequot origin, though ruling the enemies of his own race. Roger Williams characterizes him as "a chiefe souldier," "one of the chiefe sachems," "a notable instrument." He was mainly friendly to the whites.

Tradition states that on a certain night he embarked with his warriors from Watch Hill to cross the Sound and deal a blow to his ancient enemies, the Montauks. Half way across the water he discovered the approaching canoes of the foe, evidently executing a like expedition to his territories. The reflection of the moon upon the water was such as to reveal the Montauks' movements, but conceal those of the Niantics. Ninigret, therefore, put back to shore, hid his boats, prepared an ambuscade, and slaughtered the invaders as they landed. But not satisfied with this triumph, he pushed across the Sound according to his original intention, and struck the helpless Montauks a terrible blow.

Another Indian intimately associated with the history of Westerly, was Sosoa (Socho, or Sassawwaw). He was a renegade Pequot who became the friend of Ninigret, the Niantic, and Miantonomi and Canonicus, the Narragansett sachems. Roger Williams, in 1637, in a letter to Governor Winthrop, declares that Sosoa first "turned to the Narrhigganssicks, and againe pretends a returne to the Pequots," and describes him as Miantonomi's "special darling, and a kind of Generall of his forces." As a reward for his prowess against the Pequots, Miantonomi and Ninigret conveyed to Sosoa the ownership of Musquamacott, and from him the early settlers of Westerly obtained their title to the land. From the record of this transfer which still exists we quote as follows:

"This deed or writing, bearing date this present twenty-ninth day June, one thousand six hundred and sixty, witnesseth: That I, Socho, an Indian Captain of Narraganset, being the true and lawful owner of a tract of land called Musquamacott, . . . surrender up all right and title to the said land . . . fully instating the said William Vaughan, Robert Stanton, John Fairfield, Hugh Mosier, James Longbottom . . . proprietors thereof to the world's end. In witness whereof, I, the Sosoa, have set to my hand and seal, the year and date above said.

"The mark of | ⎺ | ⎺ | Sosoa.
L. S.

"Sealed and signed in presence of Jeremy Clarke, Latham Clarke, Henry Clark, Awashwash ⅂, his mark, The mark, W°, of Nucum, Interpreter, George Webb, George Gardiner."*

On August 27, 1661, a little more than a year after the date of the deed obtained from Sosoa, a curious petition is presented "To the Honored Gentlemen of the Court of Commissioners assembled together in his Majesties name, for the Collony of Providence Plantations, at Portsmouth."† The petition is signed by William Vaughan and Hugh Mosier, two of the grantees mentioned in

* Rhode Island Col. Records, Vol. II., p. 450, note.

† R. I. Col. Rec., Vol, I., pp, 449-50.

Sosoa's deed, and seven others, Joseph Torrey, John Cranston, John Coggeshall, John Crandall, James Barker, Caleb Carr and James Rogers. "There being an opportunity or presentmente of a sartaine piece or tracke of land lately discovered or made knowne, which tract of land lyeth or is situated in the fardest or remotest corner of this Collonies Jurisdicktion, called by the name of Askomicutt," the petitioners request permission to settle upon it, declaring that the "number of persons may probably extend to the number of thirtie, fortie or fiftie, or ther aboute." In this action their patriotism is unquestioned, since they "are now confrontinge the adversaries of the Collonie, which by a specie of intrusion are seekinge to macke inroads upon our preveledges of Collonnies jurisdiction." But if their petition be but granted, they doubt not their ability to "macke the adversarie . . . anxious to retreatt, which we question not, in poyntte of right and title from the natives."

This brings us back to the boundary question. It will be remembered that Massachusetts claimed Musquamacott by virtue of their conquest (1637) of the Pequots, who, five years previous to their destruction by the whites, had driven the Niantics from the territory. Massachusetts having settled her boundary dispute with Connecticut in 1658, had resigned to the latter Colony her claim to the Pequot country. At the time of the settlement of Westerly, therefore, the quarrel lay directly between Connecticut and Rhode Island, although Massachusetts sympathized with, and aided Connecticut. In addition to their claim, as the heir of the Pequots, the Connecticut Colonists had another ad-

WESTERLY GRANITE QUARRIES.

vantage in the fact that their charter named the Narragansett river as the boundary between Rhode Island and Connecticut. This designation, declared these ancestors of the Yankee, could not mean the Pawcatuck river, and therefore must mean Narragansett Bay. Thus they claimed not merely Musquamacott, but almost the entire territory of Rhode Island. What with the persecution and indignities they had already suffered at the hands of the Puritans, it is not hard to understand that these last outrageous pretentions should have aroused the Rhode Islanders to the highest pitch of indignation, and induced a ready consent to the prayer of petitioners who stood prepared to "macke the adversarie anxious to retreatt." Under these circumstances, and with this curious and rather formidable commission, the first settlers of Westerly took possession of the soil in the name of Rhode Island and the King.

As might be expected the banks of the Pawcatuck were the scene of frequent collisions, acts of retaliation and reprisal between the Connecticut and Rhode Island pioneers. Massachusetts and Connecticut made common cause against their small and not very highly esteemed neighbor, and the records of all three colonies contain numerous accounts of professed outrages, with numerous threats and demands on the part of the respective governors and other authorities.

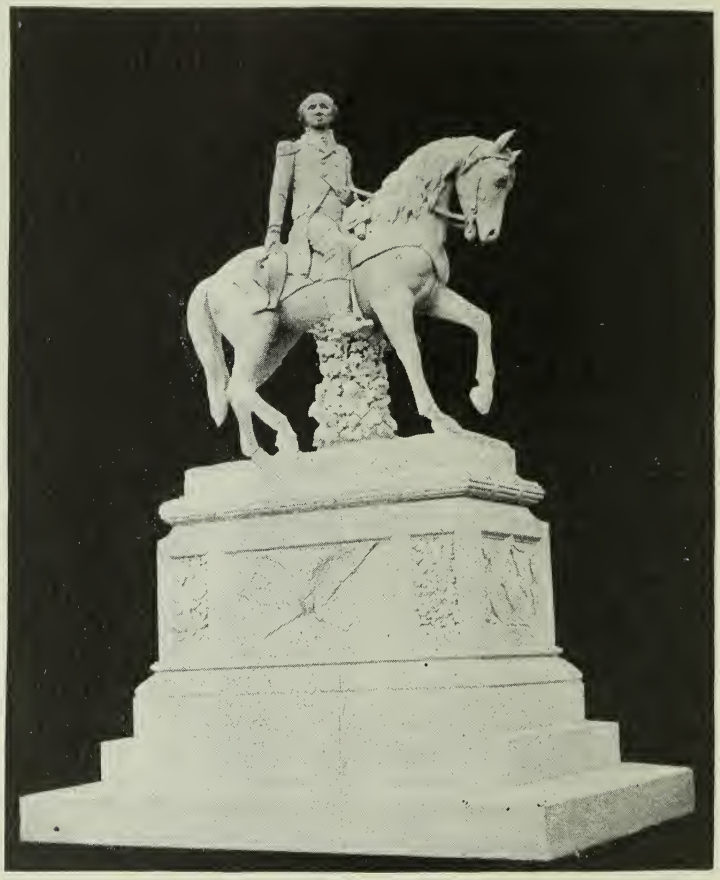
Happily the dispute was at length finally settled by new charters from the King fixing the river Pawcatuck as the boundary line in unmistakable terms.

The town records of Westerly give a "List of the Free Inhabetants of the Towne of Westerle, May 18, 1669," [the month and year of its incorporation]:*

Among these names we find the ancestors of some of the most prominent citizens of the city of Westerly of to-day.

We have not space to dwell upon the part Westerly took in King Philip's War; nor to describe the execution of the last Narragansett sachem, Canonchet, which took place here; nor to pause over the stirring times of the French and Indian Wars, to tell how Block Island was plundered by the French in 1690, or how in 1710 Westerly sent twenty of her sons to help capture Port Royal, or how Watch Hill was manned as a point of "lookout" during these wars; nor to more than allude to Governor Samuel Ward, who settled in Westerly at the age of twenty, and there rose to fame and honor, recognized throughout the colonies.

* "John Crandall, Edward Larkin, Stephen Wilcox, John Lewis, James Cross, Jonathan Armstrong, John Maxson, Jeffree Champion, Sen., John Fairfield, Daniel Cromb, Nickolas Cottrell, Shubael Painter, Tobias Saunders, Robert Burdick, John Randall, John Matkoon, John Sharp, Daniel Stanton, James Babcock, Sen.. Thomas Painter, James Babcock, Jun., John Babcock, Job Babcock, Josiah Clark."



GRANITE EQUESTRIAN STATUE.

Westerly most gallantly performed her duty in the Revolution, during which time the signal station upon Watch Hill was once more established and manned by the "Coast Guard" on the lookout for British brigs and privateers.

The contribution of Westerly toward the religious history of Rhode Island and New England would require a long chapter by itself. The principal early churches in the order of their foundation, were as follows: First Sabbatarian Church, organized 1708 (but holding meetings soon after 1670); Early Presbyterian Church, 1733; from this last branched off the following: the "Hill Church" and

"Indian Church," 1750; some Separatists, under Mr. Davis, in 1754; and an "Independent New Light Society" the same year; other societies were, the "Wilcox Church," 1765, and the "Gardner Church" in the latter part of the eighteenth century. A Quaker meeting was established in Westerly as early as 1743, which endured long into the nineteenth century and finally expired. Most of the early Westerly churches manifested a decided tendency toward the doctrines of Roger Williams and Sabbatarianism, with a sprinkling of Congregationalism.

It is interesting to note the growth of Westerly. When incorporated in 1669 the town contained thirty families. In 1708 it contained 580 inhabitants. A census in 1730 gave to the combined settlements of Westerly, Charlestown, Richmond and Hopkinton 1,926 inhabitants, of which 250 were Indians. There was later a slower growth, and even a decrease, but this really measured Westerly's sacrifice in the Revolution, and her contribution toward the planting of the wildernesses of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Madam Knight in the journal of her memorable journey from Boston to New York, in 1704, describes the house at which she stopped in Westerly as: "enclosed with Clapboards, laid on lengthways, and so much asunder that the Light came throu' every where; the doore tyed on with a cord in ye place of hinges; The floor the bear earth; no windows but such as the thin covering afforded, nor any furniture but a Bedd with a glass Bottle hanging at ye head on't; an earthen cupp, a small pewter Bason, a Bord with sticks to stand on instead of a table, and a block or two in ye corner instead of chairs."

The contrast between this forlorn description and the present beautiful city of Westerly, with its ten thousand or more inhabitants in comfortable homes surrounded by beautiful lawns, is a striking illustration of the transformation which has come upon the wilderness of America in the last two hundred years. Some of the most comfortable homes in the city are owned by workmen in the shops and granite works, and it is doubtful if another city of the same size can be found where there is such a lack of genuine poverty, with a competency so universally enjoyed even by the artizans. A better understanding of how this happy condition of affairs has been brought about, will be had by a brief review of some of the principal industries of the place.

Most characteristic among these are the granite quarries, conducted by several large companies. Nature has provided magnificent deposits of this rock on "Quarry Hill," the highest elevation of the city, and millions of dollars of capital are employed in quarrying and shaping for market this abundant store. The Smith Granite Works, founded in 1846, of which Orlando R. Smith (son of the founder) is President and Treasurer;

the Rhode Island Granite Works, of which J. B. Batterson, of Hartford, Conn., is President; the Dixon, Vincent Hill, Clarke and Chapman quarries of Westerly; and adjacent Lamphear and other Niantic quarries, give some idea of the extent of this industry, which it is estimated brings in annually to Westerly not less than $1,300,000. Some of the monuments are beautiful as works of art. A beautiful equestrian granite statue of Washington, executed by the Smith Granite Works, stands in Allegheny Park in Allegheny City, Pa. It is the first ever carved out of granite.

An aggregate capital of over $1,500,000 has been invested in woollen mills. The largest of these, established in 1848, is now operated by Hon. H. O. Arnold and his brother. Another is operated by McDaggert Brothers and R. Lindley. Extensive cotton mills are also conducted in the city, and the Knight Cotton Mills at White Rock belong in the industrial picture of Westerly. This thriving little city is the headquarters for the world-renowned Cottrell printing-presses. Here was established in 1855, by C. B. Cottrell, the parent institution, which, with its several branches, controlled by Mr. Cottrell and his sons, turns out about

DIVING TOBOGGAN AT WATCH HILL.

four hundred presses annually, which are shipped to all parts of the world. A new and important industry has been added to the list in the shape of the Clark Thread Mill, which has just begun operations. The reputation of William Clark & Sons as thread manufacturers, extends into almost every corner where the civilized art and accomplishment of sewing is practiced. The machinery in their new factory at Westerly was for the first time set in motion by Mrs. C. B. Cottrell, Jr., at three o'clock on the afternoon of April 14, 1892. Four hundred hands will be employed in the new works, turning out 1,250,000 dozen spools annually.

But a still more remarkable testimony to the prosperity of the city, and frugality and enterprise of its citizens is the fact that Westerly and Pawcatuck sustain no less than eight banking institutions—four National and four Saving Banks some of these carrying capital and deposits running into the millions. The pioneer among these institutions is the Washington National Bank, incorporated in June, 1800, six months after the death of President Washington, and Nationalized in 1865. The Presidency of this bank has been largely in one family, the honor descending from father to son. Its President from 1829 to 1842 was

GRANITE WORKS INTERIOR.

Nathan F. Dixon, who became United States Senator during the administration of William Henry Harrison. Senator Dixon was succeeded in the Presidency of the bank by his son, Nathan F., upon whom Congressional honors were conferred. The present Nathan F. Dixon, son and grandson, respectively, of the two just mentioned, is President of the bank to-day, and like his grandfather in the days of the elder Harrison, holds the honorable position of United States Senator during the administration of the second President Harrison.

BEACH AT WATCH HILL.

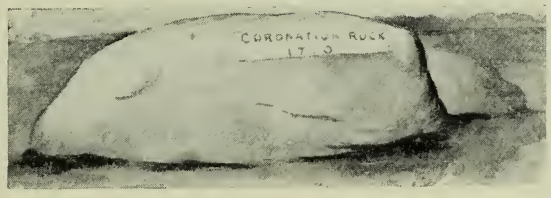
The Phœnix National Bank has a history almost as venerable. It was incorporated in 1818, and Nationalized in 1865. In looking over its lists of officers we notice the same circumstance mentioned in the case of the other institution. Browse Babcock was the original President of the Phœnix, and his descendants have been its Presidents ever since, down to the present incumbent, Edwin Babcock. J. B. Foster is cashier, and similarly the cashiership of the bank has been held in the Foster family since 1836. The cashiership also in the case of the Washington Bank above mentioned was held by Thomas Perry in 1805, passed to his son, Charles Perry, in 1826, and to his grandson, Charles Perry, Jr., in 1881. The Niantic National Bank was incorporated in 1854 and Nationalized in 1865; the Pawcatuck National, incorporated in 1865; the Westerly Savings Bank dates from 1854, the Niantic and Mechanics Savings Banks from 1870, and the Peoples Savings Bank of Pawcatuck from

1885. The depositors in these institutions number over 7,000—considerable more than half the total population of Westerly. This tells the story of the universal prosperity, and the beautiful homes of the workingmen which constitute such a remarkable feature of this delightful place.

The newspapers of Westerly are the "Narragansett Weekly," owned and conducted by George H. Utter, author of several books, and his son, George B. Utter, the present Secretary of State for Rhode Island. It also boasts the only daily paper between Westerly and Providence—the "Daily Tribune." The city affords, moreover, the best educational advantages, has an excellent circulating library, attractive churches, unusually good hotels and a theatre and other places of amusement. In the summer Westerly becomes one of the most beautiful and inviting spots in New England, and is filled with visitors, since in addition to its own charms, the celebrated Watch Hill is only a few miles distant.

From a lookout station of the Indians and early settlers, picturesque Watch Hill has been converted into one of the most delightful watering places on the Atlantic seaboard, and is entirely given over to summer cottages, and great, roomy hotels. From the point where stands the lighthouse, the beach on either side stretches out in magnificent curves like the outspread wings of some mighty bird. It is not too much to say that these beaches are not surpassed anywhere on the Atlantic coast.

W. R. McGarry,



HISTORICAL NOTES.

Revival of the Historical Spirit in the South.

Much has been said and written of the revival of the material prosperity of the Southern States: Striking as this has been, advances have also been made in other and intellectual lines—and one of the most significant is the awakening of the historical spirit throughout the South. The signs of this are frequent, and so far as it is possible to read them, not superficial. The movement seems to be on a real foundation and to begin at the bottom, where all genuine and enduring growth must start.

The public press of the South, have, in a very spirited manner, taken their part in stimulating and sustaining this awakened interest in historical matters, and in some cases have been the real leaders.

Virginia, as might have been expected from a State rich to such an unusual degree in most interesting history and tradition, has shown the most vigorous and unmistakable signs of this awakening. But following closely comes the Carolinas, North and South, and Tennessee—all these have felt the influence of the same impulse, and are seeking to stimulate the same historical spirit; gathering and sifting materials, and wisely concentrating their attention for the moment on what is local. Natural leaders have been found, chiefly in connection with the colleges, and the historical spirit in the younger generation is being stimulated and directed by such men as Prof. Henneman, of Hampden-Sidney, Va.; Prof. Trent of Sewanee, Tenn.; Prof. Weeks, of Trinity, N. C., and others. Such planting of seed as is now being done cannot fail of a rich harvest in the near future.

It is difficult to really appreciate how far-reaching may be the effect of interesting these younger minds in historical study—both as an instrumentality in the broadest education, and as a practical training in the interest of historical literature. It is not alone education and literature that are to be benefited—but back of it all and underneath it all, will be silently growing up that broad spirit of patriotism that believes in the undivided nation—welded the more indissolubly now, because broken

once. We believe no "bloody chasm" can ever again divide the nation when history is taught from its philosophic, as well as its dramatic side, in the colleges and preparatory schools of the country.

* * *

As indicated in Virginia by Professor Henneman.

Prof. John B. Henneman, of Hampden-Sidney College (Va.), recently read a paper before the University of Virginia, in which he took up the importance of the study of American history in the colleges and higher schools. His arguments and illustrations had the intention of bringing this subject practically before his immediate audience with the purpose of leading them to apply the spirit of historical research to the study of Virginia history and traditions.

But the reasons and methods so admirably set forth and enforced by Prof. Henneman, apply with equal cogency to the college student in Maine and California, as well as in Virginia. The practical and convincing methods by which he sought to permanently enlist the interest and enthusiasm of college students in the study of American history—and preeminently that which is local—are best shown by the following extracts:

"Allow me to indicate what I have been endeavoring to accomplish under my own very restricted conditions. I have been attempting to get my pupils and others interested in the collection of material scattered all throughout the State and the South—in Virginian historical and literary traditions. To insure their co-operation and attention, I have organized them for the nonce into a Hampden-Sidney Historical Society to pry into and glean all the details they may be able to find respecting their local history. It has been an almost entirely neglected field in our educational institutions, so far as any systematic work has been attempted. The subject, further, appeals to the patriotism, the college enthusiasm, the local feelings of the student. It is in consonance with the great interest manifested everywhere in the study of American history and institutions. The study of the history of Virginia, too, has great importance in itself, being second to that of no State in value, and surpassing most. Above all, the inductive methods of philosophic research are clearly exemplified and practised: how to use books, examine libraries, gather details, compile notes, sift material, and draw conclusions.

"No scrap of information is too insignificant for these purposes, for preservation in local libraries. Every shred of the intellectual and social life is worth saving. No fact and circumstance is too slight to be cast aside. In every county, in each community, may be found and sketched certain traditions and local colorings

—the elements (often neglected and usually overlooked) in which consist the real being of the State, and whereby a true picture of the life of the people, of their culture, their habit of thought, their latent power and inherent force, may be obtained. From a close study of old newspaper advertisements alone, the economical and social life of the past may be almost re-constructed.

"There is hardly need here for suggesting the number of monographs concerning Virginia life and history that might easily be written. It is virtually an untouched field, so limitless are its resources. Men have labored for the State and seem in danger of being forgotten, whose memory, had they lived in other sections, might have been kept green, through memoirs and biographies dedicated to their lives and deeds. To write the history of Virginia's judges and attorney-generals, great lawyers, and great teachers of the law, would be as magnificent an undertaking as that noble work, Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England.

"If I may be allowed to pass a criticism upon Dr. Thomas Nelson Page's recent article in the December *Lippincott*, on literature in the South since the war, I should say it is not conceived upon a sufficiently broad basis, but is taken up altogether too much with considerations of his own department, viz. *fiction*. The South has a past, and it is natural that her writers linger with tender and loving remembrance upon its glories and its beauties. It is the *romantic* element present in fiction—just as in the conditions which produced Scott's Border Romances. This is one phase, and it is finding beautiful and worthy expression; the expression of purity, tenderness, and nobility; of ideals lost but still cherished. But it is only one phase in the complexity of Virginian intellectual activity. I believe that the extension of *research* means an increase in interest all along the line, in every department of intellectual work."

* * *

And in North Carolina by Professor Weeks.

Professor S. B. Weeks of Trinity College, in an appeal which was primarily made in connection with the college library, writes in the following inspiriting and vigorous manner. There is here the same unmistakable note of the awakening interest in historical research.

"In North Carolina to-day we are entering on a new era. Nowhere is this revival more manifest than at Trinity College, which, as is well known, has been re-organized and revolutionized within the last few years. We have set out to do greater things than have ever been dreamed of in North Carolina before. Our library has had some share in this radiant awak-

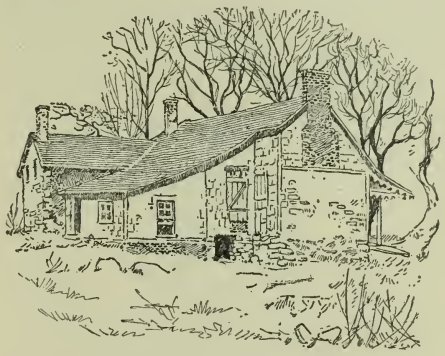
ening. We wish it to profit more. We need especially books on history and most of all do we need the materials for history. Our students at present are cramped and harassed by a lack of such materials. We wish to devote ourselves to original work in the field of Southern history.

"We recognize our golden opportunity and wish to enter this great field before the ground has been taken up by others; but to do this work we must have a library strong in *historical materials.* Much of this material cannot be purchased in the book-markets. It can only be picked up here and there in the hands of private families. This material is abundant, and is frequently in the way of the present owners, who would be glad to part with it did they but know that it would be put to service. We need missionaries to go from house to house for us, in a search for these scattered but precious documents and papers. We need missionaries filled with the glowing enthusiasm that pervaded the minds and souls of the men of the Renaissance when they travelled, on foot for the most part, from city to city, and from monastery to monastery, in search of the lost writings of the ancients."

* * *

The Old Fox Corners Inn.

The old places about which cluster historic interest are rapidly passing away, particularly in the more populous centers. For the most part it is the march of material progress that seals their doom, but now and then it is some other agency, like fire, which has recently reduced to ashes the old Fox Corners Inn.



This ancient tavern was built about the time of the conquest of New Amsterdam by the English forces, when the old Dutch town was re-baptized as the City of New York. It was the sort of place one reads about in historical novels like Cooper's, and in the many stories, true and imaginative, that deal with those struggling colonial days.

Like many old places in the heart of New York City, or in the rapidly growing districts to the northward, little was apparently known of its real history, and that little by only a few, who mixed fact, tradition and pure romance in most unhistoric fashion. With the news of its burning people began to remember, and thus many interesting things have been brought to light.

It is located quite out of what now are the usual lines of travel, on the old West Farms road, near where the Westchester road crosses. Along the West Farms road runs a low stone fence, ancient and moss grown, and really more a stay for the higher ground behind it than a fence. Through this are several gaps in which gates once hung, wide enough to admit several British soldiers on horseback and abreast. Back in the field on a rocky summit are the ruins and all that is now left of this old Inn. It is easy to make out that it was once a two-story house, of ancient architecture, with curiously sloping roofs. The bricks are thin and flat, and were imported from Holland before bricks were made in this country.

This old tavern was said to have been built about 1661 and was opened to travellers for nearly one hundred and fifty years before the present century began. The name Fox Corners Inn was given to it during the Revolutionary era. It was the headquarters for Col. Oliver Delancey when he commanded the British forces in Westchester and guarded New York against Washington. He was a great fox hunter and used to invite his fellow British officers to come over from Long Island and join his hunts. They would set forth in the early morning with much flashing of scarlet coats, and winding of horns, and loud, gay calls of the hounds from lips long silent now. After the war the sport continued for a time. There were great gatherings of farmers in homespun, riding on plough horses, and leaving their wives and daughters at the Inn to bake, and fry, and boil, and set the table for the returning, hungry hunters.

In its two hundred and thirty years much life flowed in and out of this old Inn and its walls must have been familiar with many strange sights and sounds. It was one of the centres of the old-fashioned life of the Colonial Revolutionary periods. There are few places now left that were so full of both romance and history as this old Fox Corners Inn, and as they go, one by one, we say good-bye to them with lasting regret.

* * *

The New England Town Meeting.

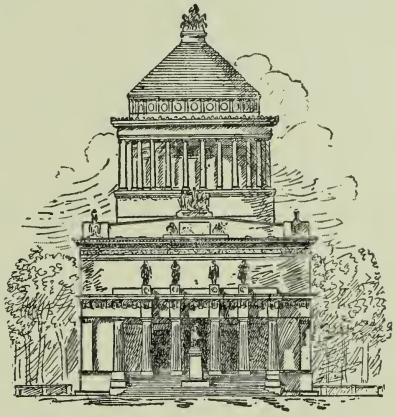
The New England town-meeting was the training-school for the Statesmanship that created our Federal Republic. These town-meetings were the cradles of liberty. They were the life-blood of the patriots that came prominently forward to lead the struggle on a larger scale. These leaders who issued from New England knew what sort of popular support was behind them in every boldest utterance—in every daring revolutionary act. And we say this not as a self-satisfied New Englander, who can see no credit in the actions of any others of the origi-

nal "Thirteen"; but as a New Yorker who is "put out" with some New England historians for suppressing too often what these other colonies did and dared. For whatever of boldness and patriotism was accomplished by other colonies, the great and solid service to patriotism (to patriotic political principles especially) rendered by the New England town, must ever stand conspicuous. Hence we are sure that the record of what one such town did, as presented in this number of the magazine, will be read with interest and profit. One such town is typical of all the rest. What Dedham did, and thought, and talked, other towns "of that ilk" did, and thought, and talked; till the unanimity of the several bits of popular gathering, assumed the mighty volume of one loud, penetrating, overwhelming *Vox Populi*, wherein the *Vox Dei* was not difficult to distinguish.

* * *

Laying the Corner Stone of the Grant Monument.

On the 27th of April, whose favoring sunshine was a most auspicious omen, was laid the corner stone of the Grant Memorial. The man to whom, next to Lincoln, the nation of to-day owed the most, was honored with imposing civic ceremonies and with eloquent words that, in their unaffected simplicity and almost homely sincerity, were in unique harmony with the people's estimate of the Silent Man of American history. Civic pride has moved slowly in building this Memorial, but more for want of the right leadership than on account of any real lack of appreciation of the man who stands for so much in our history, and our national pride.



It may be true that Grant did not need a monument to preserve his fame—that could not well die, but the American people needed it, as a visible testimonial teaching us of this generation, and more significantly still, our children and childrens' children, what part this great, modest soldier took in maintaining the unity of the nation. Standing in conspicuous beauty on the banks of our noblest river, and within our greatest city, this memorial will ever remain to perpetuate that feeling of patriotism which once founded and then preserved the nation, and upon

which its integrity must rest in the long future. Mr. Depew, in an oration which was instinct with true feeling for the occasion and the man, finely illustrated the reason for building so imposing a monument to honor a soldier of such notable modesty, when he said: "To lie in the churchyard where slept his father and mother would have been more in accord with his mind. But he appreciated that his countrymen had a claim upon his memory and the lessons of his life and fame. He knew that where he was buried, there they would build a shrine for the study and inspiration of coming generations."

The idea was also very strikingly developed in this most admirable oration, that a Westminster Abbey or a Pantheon is an impossibility in this Western Republic. We have here no centre which is the real starting-point of great intellectual and political movements representing, in even a remote way, what Paris is to France, or London to the British Empire. We have had none since Boston set in motion the patriotic forces that resulted in our national independence. Our nationality as a creating sentiment has grown with the spreading out of the nation in new States, and refuses longer to be localized. To use Mr. Depew's inspiring words: "The altars upon which the fires of patriotism are ever burning, are North, South, East and West. Every State cherishes the remains of its citizens, whose illustrious achievements are the glory of the country and the pride of their commonwealth; whose works and lives are ever living lessons of love and devotion to the flag and Constitution of the United States." And how vividly the thought is brought out, as we remember that Washington sleeps at Mt. Vernon, Jefferson at Monticello, Lincoln at Springfield, Sherman at St. Louis, and Grant at New York.

THE ORIGINATOR OF GREENBACK CURRENCY.

COLONEL EDMUND DICK TAYLOR.

In the pioneer era of its history, the State of Illinois was prolific of interesting historical characters; of men who braved perils and endured hardships in laying the foundations of a great commonwealth; of strong, courageous, self-reliant and resourceful men; of broad-minded, far-seeing and sagacious men, and of men who seemed to be peculiarly adapted to the conditions of frontier life.

Col. Edmund Dick Taylor—whose death in Chicago December 5, 1891, attracted for the time being the attention of the press of the country, and through which prominent mention was made of some of his most notable achievements—was one of the last survivors of the pioneer era, and among all those whose names will always be identified with the formative period of the State's history, there was no more interesting, no more picturesque character.

Although not much in public life—at least not many years in official life—he was instrumental in bringing before the public some of the men who became in later years, arbiters of a nation's destinies and whose achievements gave them a place among the most conspicuous characters of American history. Contemplating his career one must regard him as a kind of modern king maker. A man of rare discernment, he recognized the elements of greatness in men like Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln, while they were still struggling in obscurity, and to him both are indebted largely for the fame which they subsequently achieved.

Politically, he affiliated with Douglas and shaped the influences and operated the agencies which carried him into public life. To Lincoln he was antagonistic politically, prior to the war period, but took a keen interest in seeing the great emancipator start on his career—was always his warm personal friend and adviser, and, not infrequently, his active coadjutor in campaigns where only state or local issues were involved. With all the men who have been prominent in public life in Illinois, he was more or less intimately acquainted and associated. The first governor of the territory of Illinois was Ninian Edwards, an appointee of President Madison, who held the office from 1809 to 1818, and was governor of the State after its admis-

sion to the Union. Beginning with Governor Edwards, Col. Taylor enjoyed the acquaintance and friendship of all his successors down to Governor Fifer, the present incumbent of the office. He was more or less intimately acquainted with every president of the United States, from President Andrew Jackson, down to President Benjamin Harrison, and he had met nearly all the famous old-time Whig, Democratic and Republican statesmen who came into prominence within the thirty years preceding the war period, as well as those who were most conspicuously identified with the suppression of the rebellion.

Having lived through a period which gave to our national history its most thrilling, its most tragic, and its most eventful chapters; having been familiar to a great extent with the causes which operated to promote political discord; having been in position to understand the passions which swayed the minds of political leaders, and having known personally the actors in the great national drama which culminated in establishing the sovereignty of the general government of the United States, Col. "Dick" Taylor, as he was generally known throughout the West, could not have been other than a most attractive character in the later years of his life. Then, when one considers the fact that, in addition to having had these experiences and associations, he had the figure and manners of the old-school Southern gentleman, with just a touch of western brusqueness, and that "holding his life an open book" he was always ready to turn page after page for the information and entertainment of those who sought his company, it is easy to understand that he occupied so unique a position among historical personages, as to make the story of his life one of rare interest.

Edmund Dick Taylor was born in Fairfax Court House, Virginia, Oct. 18, 1802. He was the son of Giles Taylor, a Virginia planter, who was brother to Col. Richard Taylor, the father of General Zachary Taylor, twelfth president of the United States. While still an infant, Taylor's father removed from Virginia to Christian County, Kentucky, where he lived until 1814, when he became one of the pioneer settlers of Shawneetown, Ills. Giles Taylor died soon afterward, leaving his family with limited means of support, by reason of his having made some unfortunate investments. The son was thrown practically upon his own resources at twelve or thirteen years of age, and the necessity for engaging in some employment which would contribute to his own support and that of the family, cut short his early education and sent him out into the world to seek knowledge in the great school of experience. That he was an apt pupil was demonstrated by the fact that while still a mere boy, he began managing business ventures of

considerable magnitude, and in the conduct of these affairs was able to command the confidence and capital of some of the leading men of Shawneetown. Early in life he demonstrated his capacity for operating on a large scale as an Indian and frontier trader. His first venture of this kind was set on foot with a capital of two hundred and fifty dollars. He interested with him a wealthy salt manufacturer of Shawneetown, who furnished additional capital to the amount of eight thousand dollars and together they loaded a flat boat with goods of various kinds, with which he started down the Ohio River. Disposing of these goods among the Indians of the Arkansas country, he returned to St. Louis with furs and peltry which brought him, in that market, thirty-two thousand dollars. His share of the profits of this trading expedition gave him a comfortable start in life, and he soon afterward removed to Springfield, Illinois, where he engaged in the mercantile business with Col. John Taylor, the first sheriff of Sangamon County. Col. John Taylor was also from Kentucky, having removed from Crab Orchard to Edwardsville, Illinois, and later settled on a tract of land which now constitutes a considerable portion of the city of Springfield. He was a distinguished pioneer citizen, who laid out the towns of Taylorsville and Petersburg, Illinois, and filled among other important positions, that of Receiver of the Land Office at Springfield, by appointment of President Andrew Jackson.

In 1829, E. D. Taylor, married Margaret, one of the four daughters of Col. John Taylor, and established his home in Springfield. Prior to his marriage, however, he had been attracted to the Galena lead-mining district, and had left his business at Springfield in charge of his partner, while he "took a turn at mining." In this he was quite as successful as he had been in Indian trading. The first claim he located—which he named in honor of General Jackson—proved to be a paying mine, and after realizing a handsome sum from the output, he sold the property to General Henry Dodge, and returned to Springfield to resume merchandising.

When the Black Hawk War broke out in 1831, he was appointed by Governor Duncan to a colonelcy, and served with Jefferson Davis, General George Jones, General Henry Dodge, and other notable men who participated in the frontier warfare of that period. In 1832 he was elected to the lower branch of the State Legislature, and after serving a term in the House of Representatives, he ran for the Senate, and was elected, defeating the famous Methodist revivalist, Peter Cartwright. One of the questions being agitated at that time was the removal of the State Capitol from Vandalia to Springfield, and Colonel Taylor promised his constituents, that, if elected, he would put through a bill providing for the removal. To

accomplish this he joined forces with Abraham Lincoln, then a member of the House of Representatives, and to the efforts of these two men, Springfield is mainly indebted for the enactment of the law which made that city the capital of Illinois.

Col. Taylor first became acquainted with Lincoln when the latter was doing business as a country storekeeper in a log cabin, in the town of New Salem. A short acquaintance convinced him that Lincoln was a man of more than ordinary ability, and he advised him to study law. Lincoln's answer to this proposition was that he could not afford to purchase the books necessary for a proper course of study, and to relieve him of this embarrassment, Taylor secured for him a nominal connection with the law office of Judge Stephen Logan, one of the most noted members of the Illinois bar, which gave him the privilege of using the Judge's law library. It was this action of Col. Taylor which started Lincoln on the road to fame as lawyer and statesman.

He became acquainted with Stephen A. Douglas when the latter was teaching school in southern Illinois, and took the same interest in advising him to prosecute his law studies that he took in assisting and advising Lincoln. He was older than either of these men, was a prosperous man of affairs, had begun to wield an important influence as a public man, and his friendship was unquestionably of inestimable advantage to them. It is not probable that it ever occurred to him in those days that he was "coaching" two future candidates for the presidency of the United States, but he nevertheless showed rare discernment in going out of his way to put two struggling young men in the way of reaching positions of such remarkable eminence in after years.

In 1835 Col. Taylor was appointed Receiver of Public Moneys at Chicago, and at once removed to what had been known up to that time only as a frontier trading-post. Upon being sworn into office, he was required to give bonds in the sum of thirty thousand dollars, that amount being deemed sufficient to secure all the money likely to come into his hands, at any time, at the new Land Office, To the surprise and astonishment of the authorities at Washington, however, he realized from the first sale of lands after the office was opened—at prices ranging from one dollar and twenty-five to one dollar and fifty cents per acre—four hundred and thirty-two thousand dollars. This money he sent by boat to the sub-treasury at Detroit, and forwarded his report to Washington. President Jackson was amazed at the results of the sale and wanted to know "where on earth all that money came from." Col. Taylor's reply was that it had been received from every civilized nation on the globe, and upon the occasion of his next visit to Washington, he was given a public

banquet, at which high government officials testified to their appreciation of his remarkable success in conducting a government land sale.

While holding the office of Receiver of Public Moneys in Chicago, he also took an active interest in business enterprises, establishing the first wholesale dry-goods store in the city which so suddenly sprang into existence.

He was one of the commissioners appointed to receive subscriptions for the pioneer railroad of Northern Illinois, and at a later date materially aided the Michigan Central Railroad Company in the work of pushing the Chicago end of its line to completion. After remaining some years in Chicago, he removed to Michigan City, Indiana, where he engaged in banking, building up one of the famous financial institutions of the West. As a banker, his rare financial ability became more than ever apparent, and he was frequently called upon to aid other monetary institutions in extricating themselves from embarrassments. At one time, a noted pioneer bank of Milwaukee, being hard pressed for funds on account of a "run" which had been systematically planned to bring about its overthrow, appealed to Col. Taylor for assistance. Without the least hesitation he despatched fifty thousand dollars, on a lake vessel, to Milwaukee, and thereby saved his friends from bankruptcy. While living in Indiana, he was as conspicuously identified with politics and public affairs as he had previously been in Illinois. In 1850 he was elected a delegate to the convention which framed the present constitution of of that State, and served as a member of that body with Thos. A. Hendricks, Wm. H. English, W. S. Holman, General A. P. Hovey and other men of national prominence. He left Michigan City with a large fortune, which he had accumulated through his banking and other operations, and again located in Chicago, where he had extensive realty interests.

In Illinois he again assumed his old position as one of the recognized leaders of the Democratic party, and the staunch friend and supporter of his former protege, Stephen A. Douglas. On one occasion only, prior to the war, did he waver in his allegiance to the Democratic organization, and that was in 1856, when he supported Col. Wm. H. Bissell, for governor, on account of a state issue involved in the canvass, concerning which he was in hearty sympathy with the Republican nominee. On this occasion he stumped the State with Lincoln, and won a gold watch from General John A. Logan, as the result of a wager on Bissell's election.

In 1860 he stumped the State against Lincoln, but when the rebellion was precipitated by the result of the election, his patriotism was aroused, and he unhesitatingly gave to the policy of the administration his unqualified support and en-

dorsement. That Lincoln had great confidence in the wisdom and sagacity of his old friend, is unquestionably true, and that he was summoned to Washington for consultation concerning the impending financial crisis in 1862, is affirmed by those who should know whereof they speak. That at this consultation he suggested and persistently advocated the issue of the "Greenback" currency, and that the President endorsed the suggestion seems to be so credibly proven as to entitle him to the distinction of being recognized as "The Father of the Greenback." During the war he contributed liberally of his large means to aid in its prosecution. He spent nearly all his time during the four eventful years of its duration, either in Washington or "at the front," and he was frequently the bearer of important messages which passed between the President and Generals Grant and Sherman, and other leaders of the Union armies.

Not only were the services which have been mentioned, and those rendered in furnishing clothing and supplies to the troops sent out from Illinois in the early part of the war, such as to command the high regard of all those who esteem true patriotism, but the influence which he wielded in bringing to the support of Lincoln's administration the masses of the Democratic party in Illinois, was of incalculable benefit to the Union cause.

After the war, although he retained his connection with the Democratic party to the end of his life, he took a less active interest in politics. His attention was given chiefly to various business enterprises. At LaSalle he opened the first coal mines operated in Northern Illinois, and was the pioneer in developing the vast mineral wealth of this region.

The Chicago fire of 1871 affected his fortune most disastrously, sweeping away in fact the greater part of it. From 1876, up to the time of his death, he spent most of his time at Mendota, Illinois, but looked upon Chicago as his home—the great city which had grown up on land which he sold at government prices in 1835.

Col. Taylor died in Chicago at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. I. W. Rogers, and the funeral which took place was attended by prominent citizens of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and other western States. One of the most distinguished of those present was his life-long friend, General George W. Jones, one of the first United States Senators from Iowa, who delivered a brief, but touching eulogy over the remains of the noted pioneer.

Col. Taylor's wife, with whom he had lived nearly sixty-two years, two sons and two daughters are the surviving members of one of the most notable pioneer families of Illinois.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

THE SOUTHERN SOCIETY OF NEW YORK. III.

THE full force and significance of the Southern Society of New York, is only understood by a consideration of the number of prominent and representative men of the metropolis who constitute its membership. Its first president, Mr. Algernon S. Sullivan, for example, was a man of the highest type, combining great ability and unquestioned integrity with splendid social qualities, and was in an unusual degree, truly representative of the organization. Mr. Sullivan's remarks at the First Annual Banquet of the Society, upon the anniversary of Washington's birthday, February 22, 1892, were a perfect formulation of the spirit and animus of the young Society, and have been fully justified in its later growth. Said Mr. Sullivan:

"As we ask our compatriots to unite with us in appropriate tributes, we signify the spirit which animates the Society. It is fellowship in thought and sympathy with all others in New York who would make this 'City of Cities' a shrine for the excellent in all things. Will they honor the nation's heroes, 'our loftier brothers'—we will honor them too. Have they projects, by popular education, to develope the mind and refine the character—we will support them. Will they make efforts to purify politics and the public service—we will unite in those efforts. Have they enterprises to enlarge commerce and the industrial arts—we also will engage with them. Do they undertake plans to ameliorate the pains and cares of humanity—we will cooperate. Will they bind respect for law and order, and all the obligations of good citizenship about their necks—we ask leave to enlist with them in the ranks. Do they hold the sentiment that in our country each section exists for all sections and every section for each—we respond with a deep sense of its obligation on ourselves. Would they care for and uphold those of our fellow citizens, without distinction of race, whose lot is affected by any burdens of the past—the members of this Society represent those who have feeling and purpose to follow duty along that upward path. Will they stand by an in-

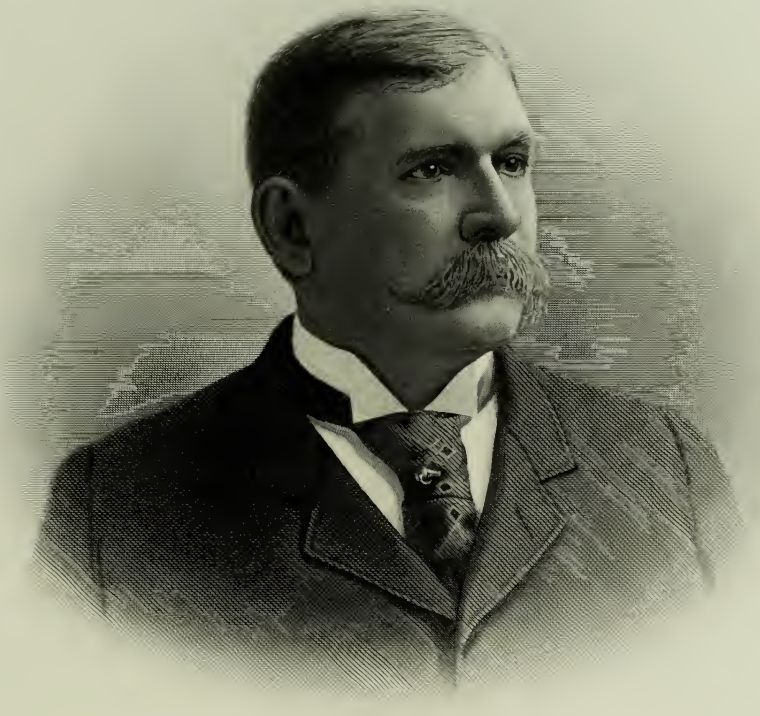
dissoluble Union of indestructible States, in a spirit of justice and friendship, in the spirit of Washington—they will ever find in this Society a faithful, a courageous, and an honorable ally."

If these words will be taken, in their full and entire meaning, to describe the Southern Society and outline its objects, a true sense of its significance is possible. While its members are Southern men, or children of Southerners, and quite a proportion of them formerly Confederate soldiers—yet they are all to-day citizens of a great northern metropolis, a part of its life, its bone and sinew, contributors to its growth and prosperity, fully identified with its interests and institutions, with homes planted in its midst, and children growing up to breath its atmosphere and accept its future as theirs by birth-right. To employ a figure, they stand in the unique position of a Southern tree which has been permanently transplanted to northern soil, to bear the fruit of Union, fraternity, peace and concord forevermore—a guarantee of the future greatness of one indivisible nation.

The large membership of the Southern Society represents every occupation and kind of enterprise, almost, and the members occupy the first rank in their various professions. This is well illustrated in the cases of the three eminent physicians—prominent members of the Society—brief sketches of whom are given in this number. Two of these, Dr. G. T. Harrison, and Dr. J. Harvie Dew, were soldiers in the Confederate Army, being mere boys at the outbreak of the Rebellion, and all three of them are descendants of illustrious Southern ancestors. The intimate relation which a physician sustains to the life and society of the community in which he dwells, makes him necessarily an integral part of that community, and no more fitting exemplification of the beneficial effects of the infusion of Southern blood in New York City could be cited than is furnished by the story of their careers.

DR. GEORGE T. HARRISON.

The subject of this sketch, George Tucker Harrison, is peculiarly identified with an institution, founded by Thomas Jefferson, which for nearly a century has been the pride of the entire South — the University of Virginia. It may be said that Mr. Harrison was fairly born in the University, July 23, 1835; both his father, Gessner Harrison, and his grandfather on his mother's side, George Tucker, holding professorships in the institution at the time. Both of these men were possessed of remarkable



George Tucker Harrison

abilities, attained national reputations, were known to scholars in Europe, and were especially esteemed and honored thoughout the South.

Gessner Harrison, in turn, was the son of an illustrious father, — Dr. Peachy Harrison, an eminent Virginia physician of great scholarly attainments who was a member of the famous Virginia Convention of 1829–30, and later of the Virginia Senate. Born in 1807, Gessner Harrison graduated from the University of Virginia in Greek and medicine in 1828, and immediately, at the unprecedented age of twenty-one, was appointed professor of ancient languages in the institution, serving through a long term of thirty-one years, and also for a long period as Chairman of the Faculty. He was an enthusiast in the study of the languages, a pioneer in the development of comparative etymology at a time when this important branch was first engaging the attention of German professors, and author of a remarkable Latin grammar, an exhaustive and original work on "The Greek Prepositions" and a "Geography of Ancient Italy and Southern Greece." He had been for years collecting materials for more ambitious works, but his plans in this direction were interrupted by his sudden death in the prime of life. As to the part he played in general toward the upbuilding of the University and the elevation of education, we have this testimony of Dr. John A. Broadus: "It is marvellous to our older men, when they remember how generally and in how high a degree the standard of education was raised in Virginia and in the South between 1830 and 1860. Let it never be forgotten that the University of Virginia did this; and there is no invidious comparison in saying that, far beyond any other man, it was done by the University Professor of Ancient Languages."

George Tucker, the grandfather, as has been said, was also a man of great force of character and diverse talents. He was professor of moral philosophy from the inception of the University till his resignation in 1845. Before his appointment to this position he had published a volume of essays "characterized by the purity and elegance of style, and by the force and clearness of thought, which mark all his writings." While professor he published the well-known "Life of Jefferson," in two volumes, and several works on political economy, among them his "Progress of the United States in Fifty Years," a pioneer but extended treatise of deductions from the census reports. After his resignation, at the age of eighty, he published a "History of the United States," in four volumes, which is "believed to be unequalled as a reliable and instructive account of the formation and early working of the government of the United States."

Like his father before him, George

Tucker Harrison graduated from the University of Virginia, taking the degree of M. A. in 1854. Two years later he graduated from the medical department of the same institution. He spent about nine months, following his graduation, in St. Joseph's Hospital, Philadelphia, and then settled in St. Louis, where he practised his profession till the certainty of secession suddenly recalled him to Virginia. Upon the outbreak of hostilities he offered his services to his State. He was appointed assistant-surgeon at first, but very soon made surgeon. He was present, under Beauregard, at the first battle of Bull Run, and continued in the service till the close of the war.

A commission to which he was appointed in 1864, when the cause of the Confederacy was nearing its end, illustrates the pathetic necessity to which General Lee was brought to recruit his dwindled army. The commission consisted of three surgeons, appointed by the surgeon-general of the confederate army at the instance of the Secretary of War. Dr. Harrison from Longstreet's Corps, Dr. Robert T. Coleman from Ewell's, and Dr. J. F. Miller from A. P. Hill's, were the men chosen, Dr. Coleman being president of the commission. The duties of the commission, performed during the winter and spring of 1864, required the inspection of the confederate hospitals, and the sending to the front of "every man who could bear a musket." Many were the men, suffering from minor or imaginary ailments, for whom the commission prescribed "a change of scene, air and incident," as they felicitously phrased it. Yet the task for the most part was affecting. The exigencies of the confederate situation and the peremptory orders of the commission, required a close discrimination, and it was a most painful duty to force men recently convalescent, to trudge in squads of fifty or a hundred back to their commands.

A characteristic incident occured in this connection. Dr. Coleman having known young Harrison when the latter was a fun-loving boy, could only think of him as still a youngster. Accordingly, when Harrison's name was sent to him as one of the commission, he dispatched a note to General Lee requesting the substitution of some other man. Lee sent a prompt reply, dryly informing Coleman that he would find Harrison the right man for the place. After the valuable service of Dr. Harrison on the commission had fully justified the General's firmness in his selection, Dr. Coleman generously told the story himself.

Dr. Harrison was married in October, following the close of the war, and in 1868 he came to New York City. The great northern metropolis afforded the most adequate field of labor for a man of ambition and high aspirations; yet the young physician did not fail to realize that amid so

great competition only superior abilities and indomitable energies and will could gain a foothold for a southerner. But being known to the eminent surgeon, Dr. Emmet, he fortunately secured a position upon the house staff of the Women's Hospital, and served the regular term in that capacity. A short time subsequently he was appointed assistant-surgeon to the same hospital under Dr. Emmet, serving for a period of fifteen years. When his term of regular service in the hospital had closed, he began the general practice of his profession on his own account, making a specialty of gynæcology and obstetrics, along which lines he is considered one of the ablest physicians in the city. While enjoying a very lucrative practice, he is known as a careful and conscientious practitioner, who is more devoted to medicine for the the sake of the science than for purely personal reasons.

In 1890 he was president of the New York County Medical Association, declining a re-nomination on account of a lack of time to devote to the duties of the position.

In 1890, by invitation of the Faculty of the University of Virginia, Dr. Harrison delivered a medical address on the University Life and Work of Dr. James L. Cabell, his old teacher, who died in August, 1889, at the age of seventy-six. This remarkable man had held the chair of anatomy and surgery, changed to physiology and surgery in the University of Virginia, for fifty-two years, besides rendering distinguished services to the United States Government as a member of the American Public Health Association, and as president of the National Board of Health, created by special act of Congress in 1879. After the valuable work done in this capacity in checking the yellow fever epidemic in the Mississippi valley and along the Gulf coast, Dr. Cabell in 1881 was named by the President of the United States as senior delegate and presiding officer of an International Sanitary Conference.

The tone and sentiment of Dr. Harrison's published address in memory of Dr. Cabell, shows the former to stand with his famous teacher in appreciation of the grave responsibility which the practice of medicine involves, and the value of faith in God as well as in science, in contrast to materialistic speculations, and the consequent dulling of the sense of moral obligation.

Dr. Harrison has a pleasant home on West Twenty-third street, and a family of three daughters and one son, Gessner, named for his grandfather, who is a graduate of medicine of two years' standing, and a member of the staff of the Charity Hospital of New York. He is one of the representative men of the Southern Society, representing the South not alone by virtue of his illustrious ancestry, but by his own characteristic abilities, large hospitality, and broad-minded patriotic sentiments.

DR. J. HARVIE DEW.

No result of the Civil War has been more significant or interesting than the tides of emigration which it set in motion from the North and South toward the opposite sections. Northern farmers have purchased Southern farms, and Northern capitalists have extensively engaged in mining and manufacturing in the South. Southern men, on the other hand, have invaded our Northern cities and made substantial conquests in professional pursuits, as well as in the management of great commercial and financial enterprises. There is something instructive, as well as interesting, in the career of a young Confederate soldier, who, finding his cause defeated in the trial of armed forces, lays down his gun, proceeds to the very heart of the North — the great metropolis where the battle of life is fiercest — and there, by his inherent abilities, pluck and energy, reaches the rank of a representative man among the multitude of his profession. Such is the career of Dr. J. Harvie Dew of New York, already referred to, the story of whose life we are about to consider more in detail.

Dr. Dew is descended from Thomas Dew, one of the Speakers of the House of Burgesses in the old colonial days of Virginia, and one of the commissioners appointed to settle the boundary disputes between Virginia and the neighboring colonies of the Carolinas. His grandfather, also named Thomas, was a captain of militia during the war of 1812. His father, Benjamin F. Dew, was a man of sterling worth, who graduated from William and Mary College, taking the degrees, successively, of B. A., M. A. and B. L. He was admitted to the bar and began the practice of law, but abandoned that profession for the more enjoyable and profitable farm-life of a Virginia gentleman. One of his estates was Malvern Hill where the famous battle of that name was fought during the Civil War. The character of Benjamin F. Dew cannot be better described than in the words of the late Hon. D. C. De Jarnette of Virginia, who wrote concerning him: "I have never known a more cultivated and intelligent gentleman. His rare integrity and high culture, united with his genial and courteous manners, won the love and admiration of all who knew him." The same traits here ascribed to the father, are marked characteristics of his two sons, Dr. Dew of New York, and Judge John G. Dew of Virginia. His mother was Mary Susan Garnett, daughter of Col. Reuben M. Garnett,

T. Harrie Dees M.D.

of King and Queen County, Virginia.

Dr. Dew's uncle, Professor Thomas R. Dew, was a distinguished educator in the South, during the second quarter of the present century, who at the time of his untimely death, having only attained to the age of forty-four, had already acquired a national reputation. After graduating from William and Mary College, he was made professor in that institution at the early age age of twenty-three, the duties of instructor in history, political economy, political law and metaphysics, devolving upon him. Unquestionably, he was the pioneer in America in the philosophical method of studying history. Speaking of the period in which Mr. Dew lived, Prof. Herbert R. Adams, of John Hopkins University, declares: "Professor Dew gave the most thorough and comprehensive course on history of which the writer has found any record," and he further characterizes him as "a teacher whose doctrines entered into the political life of the Southern people." Independent of his work in immediate connection with William and Mary College (he was the president of that institution from 1836 until his death in 1846), his published "Lectures on the Restrictive System," his essays on "Slavery" and the "French Revolution," his articles on "The Distinguishing Characteristics of the Sexes" and his "Digest of the Laws, Customs, Manners and Institutions of the Ancient and Modern Nations," were works of great importance and wide-spread influence at the time of their production. His "Restrictive System" is credited with having brought about the tariff compromise of 1832, and John Quincy Adams declared that his treatise on "Slavery" marked a new era in the history of the country.

Born October 18, 1843, on his father's estate in King and Queen County, Virginia, Dr. J. Harvie Dew is now in the prime of life. Upon the outbreak of the Civil War, at the age of eighteen, he enlisted in the Ninth Virginia Cavalry, and continued in active service till the close of the contest, under the leadership of the famous "Jeb" Stuart and his successors.

This branch of the service was dashing and exciting, and its experiences especially qualified Dr. Dew for his unique bit of history on "The Yankee and Rebel Yells," which has just appeared in the April number of the "Century Magazine." Volumes have been written upon the principal engagements and various military manœuvres of the war, the discussions proceeding from every possible standpoint; but the literature of the great conflict has probably received no contribution more appropriate, and certainly none more striking or universally interesting, than this entertaining exposition and philosophy of the characteristic "yells" of the opposing armies. These war-cries

were the outgrowth and expression of the different customs and conditions in the North and South, and exercised their due influence in the struggle, as Dr. Dew affirms; and it was important that someone should interpret their significance for the future historian. Dr. Dew has performed this task with signal ability, clothing his unique subject with especial interest by his admirable literary style.

After the close of the war, Dr. Dew studied medicine at the University of Virginia, graduating in 1867. The following year he came to New York City, a field which offered the greatest opportunities to his ambition, but at the same time presented equally formidable obstacles to a young man who had only his own energies and abilities to assist him. He served a term in the great Charity Hospital of New York, and thereafter commenced the general practice of his profession. The struggle was severe at first, but gradually he built up a constituency, until he now enjoys a very extensive and lucrative practice.

In 1872 he was appointed professor of anatomy, physiology and hygiene in the New York Evening High School. He held this position nine years, lecturing five times each week, but the demands of a constantly increasing private practice compelled him to resign in 1881. His remarkable success as a lecturer before the High School pupils was largely due to a rare faculty for presenting scientific knowledge in popular shape, making it readily understood by the dullest, and intensely interesting to the more intelligent student. The constant exercise of this talent has also been an important factor in his success as a general practitioner; for nothing adds so much to the confidence of a patient as a lucid and precise explanation of the nature and treatment of his disease.

Thus his practical experience acquired at Charity Hospital, together with his years of special study in preparation of his lectures, have eminently qualified him for his professional work. While giving his attention to the general practice of medicine, he is especially fond of obstetrics, and eminently successful in that department. Indeed, for years he has made this a special study, and has accumulated a mass of materials on the subject, consisting largely of original notes of his own observations and experiences, which when given to the world, will doubtless constitute a valuable and practical contribution towards the advancement of that division of medical practice.

In 1885 Dr. Dew was married to Miss Bessie Martin, of Memphis, Tennessee, a lady of much personal beauty and pre-eminent social graces. Their hospitable home is the center of a delightful society, and it need not be said that the influence of this

J. Montfort Ashley M.D.

charming lady has been of the greatest assistance to her husband in his professional life.

Dr. Dew is a fellow of the Academy of Medicine and a member of many medical associations. Still in the prime of life, it is evident that the period of his greatest usefulness has only just begun, both in the line of his profession, and in the prosecution of literary pursuits, for which he has shown himself eminently qualified, and which it is hoped he will not, in the future, neglect. Dr. Dew displays the great versatility of talent which characterizes so many of his Southern countrymen. The Southern Society of New York is singularly rich in such examples.

DR. JAMES MONTFORT SCHLEY.

Dr. James Montfort Schley, born at Savannah, Georgia, April 1, 1852, was the son of Dr. James Montfort Schley, a homœopathic physician of acknowledged ability and high standing in the South, and Marianne (Sullivan) Schley, formerly of Boston. On both sides of his family Dr. Schley is descended from notable ancestors. His grandfather was Judge John Schley of Augusta, Ga., one of five brothers born in Baltimore. Judge Schley married a Virginia lady, Mary de Montfort, of Huguenot descent, and practiced law in Georgia, presiding on the Bench during the last sixteen years of his life, until his death in 1846. Dr. Schley's mother was a daughter of Hon. William Sullivan of Boston, a granddaughter of Governor James Sullivan of Massachusetts, and grand niece of General John Sullivan of Revolutionary fame.

The education of Dr. Schley was carefully provided for by his father and mother. They employed a governess and tutor at their home in Savannah during his early years; and when his strong predilections for a medical career forced them to consent to his becoming a physician, it was decided that he should finish his education in Europe. In accordance with this plan he was placed by his mother in 1865 in the school of Dr. Steele on the Isle of Man. Subsequently he was removed to the Lycée in Versailles, and was at length sent to the private school of Dr. Kornemann, and there, prepared for the Gymnasium at Weimar, Germany. During his course at Weimar he lived in the home and was under the special care of Prof. Buscher, and he

owes much to the constant vigilance and guidance of that scholar. He remained at Weimar until his graduation from the Gymnasium in 1870, then returned to America and studied medicine, and received his degree and diploma at Savannah in 1872.

The young physician was not old enough to begin practice, and his father desired him to enjoy the advantage of further study. Accordingly he returned to Europe as a student; but with the privilege of a doctor, and entered the famous school of medicine at Vienna. After spending two years at this institution, he also attended the famous homœopathic school at Buda-Pesth in Hungary. With this thorough study of the two great systems of medical science at two of the most renowned institutions of the representative systems, he returned to this country, decided in the adoption of Homœopathic principles and practice.

Soon after his return his father died, and on October 6, 1874, he was married to Margaret Thompson Spaulding, daughter of Henry F. Spaulding, a prominent banker and financier of New York City. He began at once to practice in New York, making his present residence, No. 1 East Forty-Second Street, his home. He has a family of four children, two sons and two daughters.

Dr. Schley has been prominently identified with the progress of the homeœopathic school in New York He became a member of the New York County Homœopathic Medical Society in 1874, and has served as president of that organization. In 1875 he was made a member of the American Institute of Homœopathy, and in 1880 of the Homœopathic Medical Society of the State of New York. He was elected honorary member of the Albany County Homœopathic Medical Society in 1890. He has also held the following positions in connection with his profession: President of the New York Jahr Club; Professor of Physical Diagnosis in the New York Homœopathic Medical College and Hospital for women; Surgeon to the Homœopathic Ophthalmic Hospital; Member of the Medical Staff of the Hahnemann Hospital; Consulting Physician to the Western Dispensary; Professor of Clinical Medicine at the New York Homœopathic Hospital and College, Member of the New York Homœopathic Sanitarium Association, etc.

As a member of the committee of the State Homœopathic Medical Society on medical legislation, Dr. Schley has taken an active part and done vigorous work in the interest of homœopathy. During the past few years a severe contest has been in progress between the leaders of the Allopathic and the Homœopathic Schools of New York to secure desirable legislation on the subject of State medical examining and licens-

ing boards. The Allopathic school contends for a single State board; the Homœopathic school for separate boards, for each of the three recognized schools of medicine.

From the Homœopathic standpoint the question resolves itself into the following shape: "The forms of bills presented by the Allopathic school were so constructed that the representatives of that school would acquire legal power by which they would be able to completely control and monopolize the right of medical licensure. The forms of the bills proposed by the Homœopathic school were so as to extend to the representatives of each of the recognized schools of medicine full jurisdiction over their own students.

"The liberal provisions of the Homœopathic school was incorporated on the ground that the right of medical licensure, being a civil privilege, could not be exclusively exercised and controlled by the Allopathic, without detriment to the Homœopathic and Eclectic schools. Hence, all these schools have equal civil privileges, and all should be held equally responsible for the proper exercise of the privileges."

With the conviction that his case is just, Dr. Schley, as has been said, has exercised a most earnest zeal and activity in disseminating information among members of the State legislature from New York City and elsewhere, in the interest of the Homœopathic bills as opposed to the measures proposed at Albany by the Allopathic leaders. In these efforts he has earned the gratitude of the Homœopathic school of medicine in this country.

Dr. Schley is a close student, and a careful and accurate observer. He has completed the records of many clinical cases of the deepest interest. These papers have been read before numerous medical associations with which he is in fellowship, and have been published in various medical journals. Their author is one of the most able of the representatives of the South in New York City, and an honorable member of the Southern Society. He combines the hospitality, geniality and good-will of the typical Southerner, with the polish and quiet demeanor which his scholarly habits and European education have naturally conferred upon him.

THEODORE JOHNSON.

GENESIS OF THE NAME AND FAMILY OF COLE.

One of the interesting special lines of historical research is connected with tracing the genesis of a family name. That of Cole is one of the most interesting. It represents several nationalities and the ramifications from its various branches have been so numerous, and the dispersion through the United States so general, that, collectively, its numbers are much larger than would be supposed.

The name is found in ancient Britain, in Holland, France, probably Scotland, and in Germany, and anciently has no little prestige. The family in this country are chiefly descended from the English line. The Holland branch comes next. In the Dutch language the name is spelled Kool—the transition coming easily, K being the English C and the "o o" changed to long "o." The Irish branch is an offshoot from the English family, its origin dating back to the reign of James I.

English literature discloses some mythological significance. In one analysis we find Cole to be identical with Co-el or Co-ell—signifying Heavenly or the House of the Deity; for the place of worship was often identical with the person to whom the worship was directed. In a long dissertation containing much ingenious speculation, Jacob Bryant of Cypenham, derives Coilus from Coel. The old Latin form Coelus, meant "sacred or Heavenly person."

The learned Camden maintains that Cole is ethnologically from Nicholas; and Lower, an English writer in his essay on Nomenclature adopts this statement. James Edwin Cole, a member of the English branch, treating of the same subject, asserts that the name is probably a contraction of agricola—a tiller of the soil—as Cola appears in the Doomsday Survey as the holder of land in various countries in the reign of Edward the Confessor. Other writers affirm boldly that the family name is derived from Coel, one of the Kings of ancient Britain, founder of Colechester, and a descendant of the renowned Caractacus. History also mentions a Justice Cole who lived in the reign of King Alfred, and a valiant soldier Cola, who defeated Sweyne, the savage chieftain of the Danes at Pinhoe in 1001.

In a deed made by King William, the Conqueror, in the year 1070, A. D., special mention is made of "Cole

and Arderne and all the Barons in Hampshire, and Wiltshire" etc. "Baron Cole soon after this time," says James Edwin Cole, "accompanied the bold Martin de Tours, or Turribus, on his marauding expedition into Cemaes, South Wales, and became the ancestor of the Welsh family of Coles." (1) William Cole and Ysabella, his wife, are named in the Assize Roll of the county of Cornwall, in the third year of the reign of King John, 1201, A. D. In 1214, A. D., we find mention of Roger Cole who granted to Edith, late wife of Ralph Burdeville, a "capital messuage" and lands in Hoke in the county of Devon. (2) Roger Cole, the son and heir of William Cole, lived in Chumleigh, at Coleton. In the reign of Henry III. he held lands in the county of Cornwall, and was summoned by the King to do military service in person with horses and arms beyond the seas. In 1301, A. D., he took part in the war against the Scots. (3) Roger Cole, his son and heir, lived in the reign of Edward II. His son and heir (4) "Sir John Cole, Knight of Mythway in the parish of Brixham, was knighted in 'Fraunce' before the castles of Ardres by the Erl of Buckingham, Thomas of Woodstock, Lord Deputy for the King."

Sir John Cole married Anne, daughter and heiress to Sir Nicholas Badnegan, Knt., by whom he had issue, (6) Sir William Cole, called Sir William Cole of Tamar, Knt., by Dela-pola. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Beaupell Knt., and was the father of (7) Sir John Cole, "who was in the Retynew" as the old record puts it "of the Duke of Gloucester at the Battell of Agincourt on Friday, XXV day of October, 1415, A. D."

(15) Sir William Cole, fifteenth in descent from the (1) William Cole first mentioned, is the baronial ancestor of the Irish line of the family of Cole. He was the only son of Emanuel Cole, and early in the reign of James I. fixed his residence in the county of Fermanagh, Ireland. September 10, 1607, he was made Captain of the long-boats and barges at Ballyshannon and Lough Earne by patent pursuant to privy signet, with the fee of 3 s. 4 d. a day for himself, and 8d. a piece for ten men.

November 16, 1611, he became an "undertaker" in the Northern Plantation, and had an assignment of a small proportion of Drumskeagh, containing one thousand acres of escheated lands in the county of Fermanagh, at the crown rent of £8; eighty acres whereof were assigned for the town of Enniskillen. In 1617 he was knighted by Lord Deputy St. John, and June 15, 1618, received the grant of a pension of 6 s. English a day.

In the Parliment of 1639, he represented the county of Enniskillen. He was the first to discover the general purpose of the Irish papists under Sir Lord Mcguire, Sir Phelim Roe O'Neil

and others, to take up arms for the purpose of murdering the Lords, Justices and the Protestants of Ireland, and received an appointment under the privy signet dated by the King at Edingburg as colonel of a regiment of five hundred foot for the suppression of the rebels. He was a valiant soldier and served the king faithfully in this war.

Sir Willliam Cole was twice married. His first wife was Susanna, daughter and heiress to John Croft. His second wife was Catherine, the eldest daughter of Sir Lawrence Parsons of Birr, in Kings County, Second Baron of the Exchequer. He left two sons, Michael his heir, ancestor of the earls of Enniskillen, and Sir John Cole, bart. Sir John Cole took a very active part with his father in the relief of Enniskillen. He was instrumental in promoting the restoration of King Charles II. and for these services was created baronet by patent dated June 23, 1660. He died about the year 1691. The Hon. Lowry Egerton Cole, Viscount, born in 1845, is the twenty-first in descent from (1) William Cole, and sixth from (15) Sir William, Knight of Enniskillen.

The family of Coles were among the earliest colonists who sought fortune and home in the new world of America. They first settled at Jamestown about the year 1616, and shortly afterward at Boston and other points in Massachusetts.

J. R. Cole.

Note: Some of these early families were: The Kool family of New Amsterdam—the Hartford family—the Henry Cole and Plymouth branches—the Salem, Bridgewater and Freetown, (Mass.) families—the Scotch Plains Coles—the Maine family—the Easthman family—the Charleston families of Isaac and Rice Cole—and the Cowles family.

THE PHYSICIAN-POET—ABRAHAM COLES.

Abraham Coles, M. D., Ph. D., LL. D., son of Dennis and Catherine (Van Deursen) Coles, was born December 26, 1813, at Scotch Plains,* New Jersey. His father was then living on the ancestral farm, which he had inherited, its title-deed antedating the Revolution. He was a man

* The ancestor of the Cole family of Scotch Plains, New Jersey, is known in the New Jersey records as James Cole, senior. He is mentioned in the East New Jersey Records in the granting of March, 1687. [1688 O. S.] of a warrant for survey of lands in which his name is spelled Coole. His name was spelled Cole, subsequently in the old Elizabeth town purchase. Tradition says that James Cole, Senior, came from Scotland in the Caledonia sometime prior to the last voyage of that ill-fated vessel which was about 1715, as manifested by the dates. It is probable that he came about 1684, as the settlement at the Blue Hills by colonists from Scotland was made at that time.

A. Wm. Coles

of sterling integrity, sound judgment and rare literary taste. He had been for a number of years, (after an apprenticeship with Shepard Kollock of Revolutionary fame), a printer and editor in Newburg, N. Y., of a newspaper—"The Recorder of the Times." Bound volumes of this paper were preserved and treasured by his son Abraham, in whom he early cultivated his fondness for study and for literature.

As a youth, Dr. Coles manifested a diligent interest in the acquisition of knowledge. Dr. J. W. Craig, of Plainfield, once told me that he well remembered his assiduity as a boy, as, from day to day, he saw him coming all the way from Scotch Plains to Plainfield in order to have the advantage of a better school than he could attend at home. Yet his parents do not seem to have looked forward to his special preparation for a professional life, as we find him for two years in a dry goods store, and as he never entered any college for academic studies. All this time, his love of learning must have led him to private study, for, at the age of seventeen, he assisted Rev. Mr. Bond, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Plainfield, in his school, as teacher of Latin and mathematics.

At eighteen years of age, he had resolved to study law, and entered the office of Chief Justice Joseph C. Hornblower, at Newark. He seems soon to have discovered that he could find a wider field for usefulness in the practice of medicine than of law, for, in less than a year, he left the office to study for the medical profession. His resolution to make himself acquainted with law was, however, never shaken. Throughout his long life, his fondness for the law and his knowledge thereof was manifested on many occasions.

Having attended lectures at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, and at Jefferson College, Philadelphia, he graduated at the latter in 1835. Returning to his home, he made a profession of his Christian faith, uniting with the Scotch Plains Baptist Church, under the pastorate of the Rev. John Rogers. In 1836 he settled for the practice of the medical profession, in Newark, N. J., and united, by letter, with the First Baptist Church.

Those who knew him in early professional life can well recognize how, with his modesty, diffidence and reserve, he should thus far not have revealed the amount of knowledge he had acquired. Yet those who met him were impressed with his commanding personality, his urbane and quiet dignity, and somehow felt themselves in the presence of a superior nature. Besides thorough preparation in his profession, he evidently had spent much of his time in the study of the classics, and had acquired such accurate knowledge as is possessed by those only who have by

personal effort worked their way into the genius and technicalities of a dead language.

In 1842 he married Caroline E., a beautiful and accomplished daughter of Jonathan C., and Maria (Smith) Ackerman, of New Brunswick, N. J. She was very saintly and lovely in character, and much beloved by those who knew her. She died in 1845, leaving a son and a daughter who were henceforth the only companions of his domestic circle. His great loss and his new responsibilities seem to have still more inclined him to devotion to his professional and scholastic studies. In 1848 he went abroad, spending most of his time in hospitals, and in the society of the most eminent physicians and surgeons of Europe. He was in Paris during the Revolution of June, 1848, which gave him special opportunities for surgical study. When the writer entered his office in 1849, he was regarded as the most accomplished practitioner of Newark, and as eminent both for his professional and literary acquirements. He had already found his practice sufficient to admit a partner, which he did all the more readily because seeking to secure more time for literary study, and the indulgence of his taste both in art and literature. He had been favored in and out of his profession with such pecuniary success—resulting mostly from judicious investments in real estate—as enabled him to continue in practice chiefly for the love of his calling. He was fond of clinical exactness, was often called upon in consultation, especially in surgical cases, and had that conscientious regard for the welfare of his patients which led him carefully to study and observe, so as to be skillful in his treatment and devotedly attentive to those in his charge. In 1854 he again visited Europe. After an absence of seventeen months, during which he made the continental languages a study, he returned to his practice in Newark. He then devoted himself with increased knowledge and earnestness to professional work, and for many years, with another assistant, continued in the active practice of his profession.

In 1862, under the direction of an eminent English landscape gardener, he began the laying out and beautifying of seventeen acres of the ancestral farm at Scotch Plains, selecting for his plantings the choicest varieties of foreign and domestic trees, plants and shrubs. In one portion of this park, he located a reproduction of the famous labyrinth at Hampton Court, near London. In another part, he enclosed a large paddock for a herd of deer of his own raising. He built, subsequently, a house of brick and stone and native woods, in harmony with the grounds. In this he resided—a most genial and entertaining host—with his son, Dr. J. Ackerman Coles,*

*Jonathan Ackerman Coles, only son of Abraham and Caroline (Ackerman) Coles,

and his daughter, Emilie S. Coles, who is a successful writer in prose and verse, and an esteemed contributor to various periodicals. His large library with its lofty roof was the special admiration of his many guests. Among the imported copies of antiques on the lawn is one of Æsculapius, and in the entrance hall of the mansion is Horatio Stone's marble bust of Harvey.

On the highest point of his mountain-land opposite his home, he erected a handsome rustic tower, two stories high, of which he makes mention in the following lines:

The breezy summit of the neighboring Mount
Blows bugle-summons, calling to the Muse
To climb and meditate the prospect. Pulse
Quickens, blood gallops in the veins, and
throbs
Impatient, knowing what awaits. O come!
Delay not! Hasten! Leave the Plain, or lead
Or follow! 'Gainst the steep opposing slope
Plant eager feet, and, at each upward step,
Look back to see how the horizon widens!
High
And higher yet keep climbing, till you reach
The Tower above the tree-top lifted, so the
eye
Shall leap all barriers to the farthest blue!
The Height is holy, and not far from God!

While retiring from the more active duties of a general practice, he was for many years daily at his Newark office; and also, as a favor, allowed many of those who lived near his country home, "Deerhurst," to avail themselves of his advice. In fact, it cannot be said that he relinquished practice at all, or allowed his increasing literary distinction and his business duties to interfere with his devotion to his chosen pursuit. He was

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was born in Newark, N. J., May 6, 1843. Having received thorough preparatory instruction he entered Columbia College and was graduated in 1864, receiving in course his degree of A. M. During his senior year he distinguished himself by winning the "Philolexian Prize for Best Essay," the judges being Prof. Charles Davies, C. M. Nairne and Wm. C. Peck. After graduation he entered, as a student of medicine, the office of Prof. T. G. Thomas, and in 1868 was graduated with honor from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York City. At the college commencement in 1867, he was awarded the Harzen Prize Medal for the best written report of clinical instruction given in the medical and surgical wards of the New York Hospital.

Beginning the practice of his profession in the City of New York, he became a member of the N. Y. County Medical Society and the N. Y. Academy of Medicine. The years 1877 and 1878 he spent in Europe, frequenting the medical schools and hospitals of London, Paris, Heidelberg, Berlin, and Vienna. After visiting all the principal countries of Europe and the East, he returned, and, becoming associated with his father as partner, has continued the practice of medicine and surgery since 1879, his time being divided between Deerhurst, at Scotch Plains, and his office in the Old Homestead on Market street, Newark, N. J. In the intervals of practice, he has written more or less for the press on various subjects, and, of late, has been engaged in the preparation and editing of new editions of his father's writings, some of which have hitherto been unpublished. The above facts are furnished by Hon. Frederick W. Ricord, Librarian of the New Jersey Historical Society.

DEERHURST.

eminently a physician, amid all other eminence. He delighted in his profession, both as a science and as an art. He felt his calling to be a sacred one. It was a part of his ministry for the Master whom he loved to serve. He lived to assuage pain, and to be courageous in relieving sickness and postponing death; rejoicing in the good he was thus enabled to do for humanity and for God.

How loyal he was to his profession, amid the greater glow of literary fame and the temptations of wealthy ease, let "The Microcosm" testify. This poetic address of his, as President of the Medical Society of New Jersey in 1866, should be read and re-read by every physician as an inspiration to accurate knowledge, to close analysis, to professional enthusiasm, and to adoring love. It leaves a poor excuse for any of us, if we are not inspired by the theme of our studies, and the object of our life-service. It does not ignore that which is material and world-wise, but it crowns it with that which is spiritual and eternal. It shows how we have a mission to fulfill; and how integral and essential Christianity is to those who live to minister to their fellowmen in sickness and in death. As he expresses it in his note as to Vesalius: "The Divine Redeemer, the Incarnate Word, Maker of all things, Lord of life, is Lord also of the Sciences."

In the Physician's edition of "The Microcosm," as published by the Appletons, he introduces several illus-

trations. One is the portrait of Vesalius devoutly engaged in dissection, which he inserts as illustrative of these lines:

Dear God! this BODY, which, with wondrous art
Thou hast contrived, and finished part by part,
Itself a universe, a lesser all,
The greater cosmos crowded in the small—
I kneel before it, as a thing divine;
For such as this, did actually enshrine
Thy gracious Godhead once, when Thou didst make
Thyself incarnate, for my sinful sake.
Thou who hast done so very much for me,
O let me do some humble thing for Thee!
I would to every Organ give a tongue,
That Thy high praises may be fitly sung;
Appropriate ministries assign to each,
The least make vocal, eloquent to teach.

Another is Rembrandt's well-known "Lesson in Anatomy," which he inserts with the description, beginning thus:

The subject MUSCLES—girded to fulfil
The lightning mandates of the sovereign Will—
Th' abounding means of motion, wherein lurk
Man's infinite capacity for work.

A third is "Harvey Demonstrating to Charles I, his theory of the Circulation of the Blood":

Make room, my HEART! that pour'st thyself abroad,
Deep, central, awful mystery of God!

Well may he be called the Physician-Poet! He received the degree of A. M. from Rutger's College. In 1860 he received the degree of Ph. D. from Lewisburg University, and that of LL. D. in 1871 from The College of New Jersey, Princeton.

Dr. Coles had reached such a vigorous old age as still to promise many years of life. In the early spring (1891), he had the prevailing influenza, which left him with a cough, and some mild symptoms which puzzled him, as they have so many others, but which seemed to give no occasion for alarm. As a recreation, he proposed a trip to California with his son and daughter and a sister-in-law. They left home April 14th, but the trip was a disappointing one, and he grew weaker instead of stronger. After a week's stay at the beautiful Hotel del Monte, California, where he received every possible courtesy and attention, heart complication suddenly set in as a sequel to "La Grippe." He was confined to his room but two days. He calmly realized the serious nature of his symptoms. With great peace he bade adieu to his loved ones, reminded them to repeat, each morning, the Lord's Prayer, and to aid the objects dearest to his heart; then, with words of Christian faith and love, passed away, (May 3d, 1891), to be, as one of his own hymns so well expresses it—

Ever, my Lord, with Thee,
Ever with Thee!
Through all eternity
Thy face to see!
I only ask to be
Ever my Lord, with Thee,
Ever with Thee!

The funeral of Dr. Coles took place

at the First Baptist Peddie Memorial Church, Newark, N. J., May 29th, and was largely attended by his medical and literary friends, and those in other walks of life who had known him in the various relations he had sustained. The appropriate rendering of four of his hymns added solemnity to the occasion, and emphasis to the many tributes to his earnest Christian life. His remains were interred in Willow Grove Cemetery, New Brunswick, N. J., beside those of his wife.

The death of Dr. Coles was extensively noticed and commented upon, at the time by the press, religious and secular; and many letters of sympathy, mingled with expressions of respect and regard for the departed, were received by the members of his family.

The following extract is from an editorial which appeared in the "Newark Daily Advertiser:"

"The sudden death of Dr. Abraham Coles, will cause a deep feeling of sadness, not only among the medical profession, of which he was a distinguished member, but among the generation which loved and appreciated his rare virtues and sterling qualities of mind and heart. He sprang from fine old New Jersey stock, and inherited the literary, artistic and scientific tastes which he afterwards developed with conscientious and painstaking culture. He was a man of strong religious faith, positive political convictions, and inflexible purity of character. He had walked the hospitals of Paris, where he became an accomplished surgeon; and he practiced his profession with marked success. At the same time he devoted a large share of his energies to classical studies, and attracted the attention of literary men on both sides of the ocean by his careful translations of the famous old lyrics, 'Dies Iræ' and 'Stabat Mater,' which were published in book form, with illustrations which he selected from the best works of the old masters. He was also the author of many poems and reviews, and articles on various subjects of popular interest. As one of the founders of the old Newark Library, and the New Jersey Historical Society, and on account of his active efforts in the promotion of the religious, educational and scientific development of this city, his memory will be cherished with lasting affection and respect."

The New York *Tribune* said:

"Dr. Abraham Coles was widely known as a scholar, author and linguist. He was born at Scotch Plains, N. J., and spent the last years of his life there on his beautiful place, which was much resorted to by literary and professional people. For more than fifty years he pursued his literary studies and work and became proficient in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Sanskrit and the modern languages."

The following striking tribute is from the Rt. Rev. John Williams, D. D. LL. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut.

"I honored and reverenced Dr. Abraham Coles. I always read his delightful writings with pleasure and profit. There was an aroma of purity and godly grace about them that was particularly attractive. The world is richer for such a life, and poorer for his loss."

The Rt. Rev. Phillips Brooks, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts, writes:

"All that concerns Dr. Abraham Coles is of great interest to me, for I have long known his work and valued it."

This sketch would be incomplete without some fuller allusion to his literary labors, and to the marked

LABYRINTH AT DEERHURST.

traits of his character. Soon after he settled in Newark, he became a contributor to the Newark Daily *Advertiser*, and early showed an interest in education, in a public library, in temperance movements, and in all objects looking to the welfare of society. Rarely attending any public meetings, he gave expression to his views in an occasional address, and in the columns of the daily journals.

In poetry and prose, his literary taste and learning soon came to be recognized, and he had a local reputation long before he was more generally known.* It was, perhaps, his first translation of "Dies Iræ" (1847), that arrested the attention of linguists and scholars throughout the world. It was a difficult task to undertake, as there were several versifications of it by authors of classical note and learning. As he followed it, from time to time, with sixteen other versions, it was seen what opulence of resource was at his command.

Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff, in his recent work, "Literature and Poetry," referring to these says, "A physician, Abraham Coles, has made (of the 'Dies Iræ') seventeen versions in all, which show a rare fertility and versatility, and illustrate the possibilities of versification without altering the sense."

His translations of various other Latin hymns, as contained in his volume, "Latin Hymns with Original

* The catalogues of many of the libraries of Europe, especially those of Oxford and Cambridge, England, show the possession of one or more of the published works of Dr. Abraham Coles.

Translations," will ever be the admiration of scholars. "The Evangel" and "The Light of the World" give the Gospel story of our Lord in verse, with notes full of devotion and learning. His great love to Christ was his crowning excellence.

The Right Honorable John Bright, M. P., in a letter to Dr. Coles says:

132 Picadilly, LONDON, April 30, 1885.

"When I began to read your volume on 'The Life and Teachings of Christ in Verse,' I thought you had attempted to gild the refined gold, and would fail—as I proceeded in my reading that idea gradually disappeared, and I discovered that you had brought the refined gold together in a manner convenient and useful and deeply interesting. I have read the volume with all its notes, many of which seem to me of great value. I could envy you the learning and the industry that have enabled you produce this remarkable work. I hope it may have many readers in all countries where our language is spoken."

John G. Whittier says: "Dr. Coles is a born hymn writer. He has left us, as a legacy of inestimable worth, some of the sweetest of Christian hymns. His 'All the Days' and his 'Ever with Thee' are immortal songs. It is better to have written them than the stateliest of epics. No man living or dead has so rendered the text and the spirit of the old and wonderful Latin hymns."

While these studies show his profound learning in the Greek and Latin languages, it is only when we look to the studies of his last years, in "A New Rendering of the Hebrew Psalms into English Verse," that we come to know of his knowledge of Oriental languages; of the vast realms of scholarship he had explored. But his stately and commanding prose has almost been obscured by his poetry. The marvel of all his books is in their introductions and notes. Whole folios of recondite learning are opened up in modest foot-notes, and the reader knows he is in company with one who has been delving and digging in the richest mines of unexplored knowledge. His sharp, quick sentences of introduction and the grasp which he shows of his theme, are at once an admiration and a surprise.

His style has individuality as much as that of Dr. Johnson or of Thomas Carlyle. There is no conformity to the style of any favorite author, or to the modes of thought of any formal logician, but a forging of weighty words, wrought out from the depths of great inner feelings and conceptions.* Others will more fully analyze these mementoes of his great-

* Dr. Coles has left, in manuscript, Translations of the whole of Bernard of Clairvaux's "Address to the Various Members of Christ's Body Hanging on the Cross," consisting of three hundred and seventy lines; the whole of Hildebert's "Address to the Three Persons of the Most Holy Trinity"; the first book of Vida's "Christiad"; several additional Latin hymns; selections from the Greek and Latin classics; and other writings in poetry and prose on literary, medical, and scientific subjects. In his introduction to "The Evangel," Dr. Coles says: "The author has sought to cast down and tread under foot all egotisms, vanities and low ambitions; and if

ness, but we who are physicians, may well linger in admiration, and rejoice that one of our profession should have so adorned a literature already rich in contributions from those educated in medical science, and proficient in medical art.

But the crown of all was his wonderful character. He did everything with conscientious precision and thoroughness; he was always after the depth of things. How he would sometimes work over the wording of a line, and then over a note that brought out his fullest meaning. So, too, he worked in his profession.

Bishop John H. Vincent, D. D. LL. D., Chancellor of the Chautauqua University, says: "Dr. Abraham Coles was a magnificent man, physically, intellectually and spiritually; he was one among ten thousand. Who can doubt the great doctrine of immortality in the presence of such a life."

His respectful bearing toward all had its seat in a profound reverence. He was reverent of humanity because of his intense reverence for God and all his works. He studied nature and the Bible and the inner consciousness of the spiritual life with the same majestic, adoring insight. He was not religious by an effort. "I have" says Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, "always considered it a great privilege to enjoy the friendship of so pure and lofty a spirit; a man who seemed to breathe holiness as his native atmosphere, and to carry its influence into his daily life."

Had he not been poet, he would have been painter, or musical composer, because in no other way could his enthusiasm have found symmetrical expression. When he issued a book its typographical execution must be complete. He visited the great picture galleries of Europe, and at large expense selected the choicest specimens of ancient art to illustrate his themes. These gave expression to his character not less than to his taste.

When he wrote hymns it was because the inner music of his soul had to be set to metrical expression. He was a genius, but it was chiefly character and life that flowed out through his writings. He became familiar with little children easier than with all others, because in them he saw more of nature, and more of faith, hope and charity. He believed in his profession, because in it he realized the possibilities of high science and applied art for the uses of humanity, and so could be co-worker with the Great Physician, who went about doing good. His memory is

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in his weakness and unworthiness he has done anything to make the adorable Redeemer the object of a warmer love and a firmer trust; to draw closer the bands of a common brotherhood in an undivided fellowship of Christian love; to make the Bible seem a dearer and a diviner book—its pages more luminous, its promises more precious, the heaven it reveals more certain—he would prize it infinitely more than the greatest epic success."

cherished because we cherish skill, character, usefulness, and rejoice in having such a model. Such lives do not die, but live as incentives for those of all the ages. We cannot reach his fame, but we can imitate his devotion to knowledge, his reverence for life and goodness, his desire for usefulness, his holy faith, his humble affection for the good, the beautiful, the true.

EZRA M. HUNT,

CHICAGO PIONEERS.

NATHAN MEARS.

In 1836, about the time that Michigan was admitted into the Union as a State, Nathan Mears, then a young man twenty years of age, became a resident of the frontier hamlet of Paw Paw, situated in the midst of a region of country which had just begun to experience the vivifying effects of immigration from the Eastern States. He was of New England birth and parentage, and it is hardly necessary to say more to convey the idea that he had received proper educational and industrial training, and was therefore well prepared to enter upon a successful business career, in a country of wonderful resources, and entering upon an era of phenomenal development.

Born in Billerica, Massachusetts, Dec. 30, 1815, Mr. Mears was the son of Nathan Mears, a descendant of Robert Mears, who settled in Billerica sometime prior to 1726, when his name first appears in the public records of that town. His mother's maiden name was Lucy Livingston, and she was a daughter of Nathaniel Livingston, and descendant of John Livingston—or Levestone—a Scotchman who settled in Massachusetts some time before 1677.

Nathan Mears, Sr., was a merchant of North Billerica, a land-owner and man of affairs, who died in 1828 leaving what was looked upon in those days as a considerable fortune. For eight years prior to his death he had held the office of selectman in Billerica, and was one of the most esteemed citizens of that somewhat famous old town.

His death left his children orphans, his wife having died two years earlier. Nathan Mears, the son, was twelve years of age at the time of his father's death, and soon thereafter, under the care of a duly appointed guardian, went to the academy at Billerica. His education was completed at Westford, and when between sixteen and seventeen years of age, he began his business career as a clerk in one of the stores of Lowell. A

Nathan Mears

few months later he went to Boston, where he became a clerk in the wholesale and retail dry goods store of Nichols & Leeds on Hanover street, remaining there three years. At the end of that time he emigrated with his two brothers to Michigan, and began life as one of the pioneers of Paw Paw. This frontier village, or settlement,—it could hardly be called a village,—was one hundred and sixty miles west of Detroit, on the stage line which then constituted the overland connection between Detroit and Chicago. The country little resembled that in which he had been brought up. It was sparsely settled and the Indians still constituted the larger portion of the population; nevertheless the young immigrants from Massachusetts thought they saw a good opening for trade, and they started a general merchandising establishment, where they sold everything the settlers wanted to buy, and bought everything they had to sell. In 1839 Mr. Mears purchased the interests of his two brothers in the store and continued the business alone until 1849. Battle Creek, Michigan, was a not very distant town, to which the young merchant made somewhat frequent visits, and there he formed the acquaintance of Miss Ann Elizabeth Gilbert, a young lady who had been born in Salem, New York, and, brought up in the city of Rochester, emigrating from there to Michigan with her parents. In 1840 Mr. Mears and Miss Gilbert were married and established their home in Paw Paw, where they continued to reside until 1850.

While Mr. Mears did a thriving business at Paw Paw, he did not find himself accumulating a fortune rapidly. Hard times followed the financial disturbances of 1837. The currency of that period,—as all Western pioneers remember,—was unstable, and conducting any kind of business according to the approved methods of older communities was almost an impossibility. Bartering methods were in vogue all over the West, and the country merchant in the course of a year's trade accumulated more or less of all kinds of movable property. In this way Mr. Mears became interested to some extent in enterprises other than merchandising—among other things, in packing pork and shipping flour, sending to the Eastern markets the first shipments of these products from Van Buren County.

In 1849 he sold his store at Paw Paw, and the following spring removed to Chicago, where he asociated himself with his brother, Charles Mears, in the lumber business, under the firm name of Charles Mears & Co. It was this move which "led on to fortune." All over the West cities were springing into existence, and the material for building these cities was to be supplied largely by the pine forests of Michigan, with Chicago as a distributing point. The business which Mr. Mears and his

brother began in a comparatively small way, soon expanded to considerable proportions, and to keep pace with the demand for more extensive operations and increased capital, they associated with them Eli Bates, and at a later date John Baldwin, who came from their native town in Massachusetts. In 1859 the brothers divided their interests, Nathan Mears becoming the head of the firm of Mears, Bates & Co. James C. Brooks and George H. Ambrose became interested with them at a later date and this firm became one of the best known among those engaged in the lumber business in the West.

In 1865 they became interested in the manufacture of lumber, as part owners of a large mill at Oconto, Michigan, and later organized the Oconto Lumber Co., of which Mr. Mears became vice-president. This company at once began acquiring large bodies of land, upon which to draw for supplies of timber, and now owns something like one hundred thousand acres, from which millions of feet of lumber have been sent into the markets, fifty millions having been manufactured within the past year. In addition to establishing planing mills at Oconto, from which dressed lumber is shipped direct to all markets, this company also operates now another mill at Nahma, Michigan.

While largely interested in the manufacture of lumber, and in timberlands acquired in connection therewith, the firm of Mears, Bates & Co. continued to carry on an extensive wholesale and retail business in Chicago,—handling, on an average, from twenty to fifty million feet of lumber each year,—until 1881, when Mr. Bates died. Mr. Mears's son, Charles H. Mears, then became associated with him, and became the head of the firm upon his father's retirement a year or two since.

For nearly forty years Mr. Mears has been one of the active, energetic, and sagacious business men of Chicago. Coming to the city with limited means,—scarcely more than a few hundred dollars,—he has accumulated a large fortune, and is recognized as one of the leading promoters of a great Western industry. Never a speculator in Western lands, he has engaged for forty years, in supplying, as far as he could, the demand for one of the principal products of the northwest, and to this business he has given a skillful and intelligent direction which has been productive of splendid results. Prompt and energetic action have been at all times a distinguishing characteristic of his business career. When he received a telegram,—at one time—informing him that the mills at Oconto had been destroyed by fire, and asking him to come up and see what should be done, he telegraphed back to the resident manager that he didn't care to look at the ruins and instructed him to clear away the debris and get ready to re-build. Again when twelve

million feet of lumber was lost by this firm through the Chicago fire of October, 1871, he chartered vessels and had five million feet brought to the yards before navigation closed.

As a citizen of Chicago he has always been highly esteemed. A Unitarian in his religious belief he was one of those most active in building up Unity Church, of which Rev. Robert Collyer, the famous divine, was so long a pastor. It was largely through his influence that Mr. Collyer became identified with the church and a warm friendship has existed between them for many years.

A republican in politics, he was most actively interested with the patriotic citizens of Chicago in their efforts to aid in the suppression of the Rebellion from 1861 to 1865. After the capture of Fort Donelson, when a large number of Federal gunboats and transports were sent back to Cairo for repairs, the citizens of Chicago raised a fund of twelve hundred dollars, and sent Mr. Mears with a force of one hundred and twenty ship carpenters and calkers, to aid in making the repairs, in order that there might be as little delay as possible in following up the advantage gained. These men he landed at Cairo, procured for them quarters and subsistence under great difficulties, turned them over to the government authorities, and returned to Chicago to hand over to the donors all but a very small portion of the money contributed to expedite the movement.

While giving to his business interests the care and attention necessary to success, Mr. Mears has found time for extensive travel, both in the United States and abroad. In 1876, accompanied by Mrs. Mears, he traveled leisurely through Europe, taking time for intelligent observation, and endeavoring to visit all points of general interest.

They made a tour of the English lakes and visited the principal cities in Germany and Austria, the lakes and mountains of Switzerland, Holland and the far-famed Rhine. Returning to Paris they set out again in less traveled paths, visiting Italy and the Italian lakes, Constantine and Algiers, and making an extended tour of Spain on their way back to Paris and London. To this trip Mr. and Mrs. Mears gave more time than American tourists usually do, who visit the world's most famous places.

In 1890 Mr. and Mrs. Mears celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their marriage, and the following, clipped from an account of that event, will give some idea of the environment of their later years, and of the regard entertained for them by their friends and associates:

"To Mr. and Mrs. Mears there came last evening every evidence of human love, of lasting friendship, of times' favors, and of fortune's blessings. For fifty years they have walked side by side through the long pathway of life, finding blessings in their own companionship and victory

in their own devotion. Perhaps a few roses from the life of Mr. and Mrs. Mears were missing last evening, but the vacancy was hardly discernible, for they stood among hundreds of living roses, among fond friends, among loving relatives, among devoted children, among beauty-touched grandchildren." There came to them on that occasion letters of congratulation from friends in all parts of the country and other tokens of kindest remembrance. Among the latter was one which brought up a reminiscence of the war period. It was from Mr. Mears's son-in-law and was accompanied by a letter which read as follows:

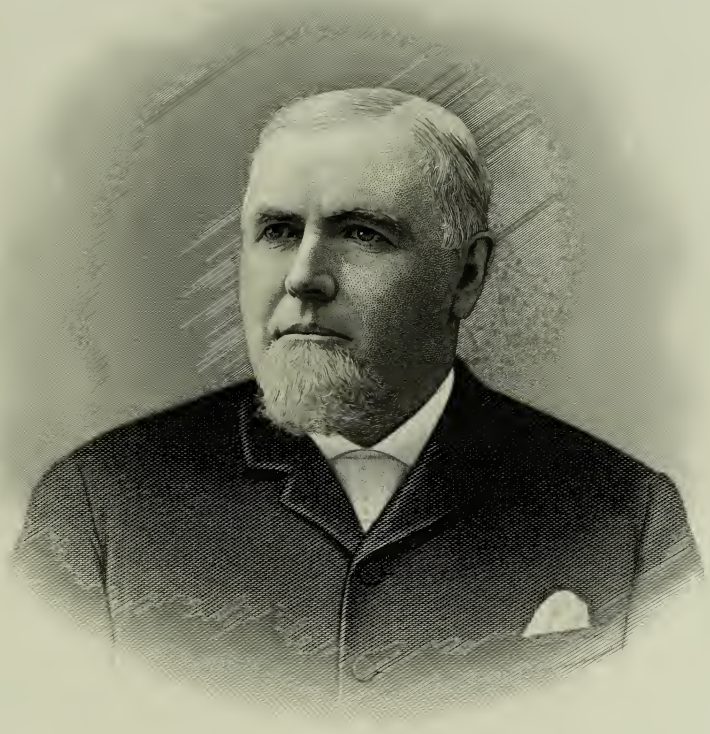
"Mr. Nathan Mears. Dear Old Man: Sunday the 21st of April, 1861, while at dinner with some young friends at your house, you handed me a twenty dollar gold coin, saying: 'Jona. take this along, and if you can make no better use of it break it up and shoot it at the darned Rebels.' I had enlisted in Barker's Chicago Dragoons two days before. As we had plenty of ammunition I kept the coin. Knowing your fondness for hard money, and the color being right, I thought I would, on this happy occasion, hand it back to you as a memento of your younger patriotic days. Sincerely yours, J. Slade."

In addition to the son mentioned as his successor in business Mr. Mears's family consists of two daughters—Mrs. Jonathan Slade and Mrs. James R. McKay—each the wife of a prominent citizen of Chicago.

HENRY F. LEWIS.

Henry Francis Lewis who died in Chicago, February 27, 1892, and who had been identified with the city long enough to be regarded as one of the pioneers among its successful business men, was a worthy representative of the New England element which has contributed so largely to the thrift, the industry, and the prosperity of the Western States. He was one of the large number of native New Englanders, who came to what was then the "far west," during the decade immediately preceding the breaking out of the Civil war, to become in a great measure, the leaders in developing the resources and building up the commerce of Chicago and its tributary country.

A comparatively small number of these men have figured conspicuously in public life—because as a rule, they seem to have had little taste for politics, with its invariable tendency to demoralize the business interests of those engaged in seeking political preferment—but in the commercial activities of Chicago, their careers



S. F. Lewis

have been notably interesting. The possessors of greatest wealth in Chicago to-day are men of New England origin, who came to the city between 1850 and 1860, and their fortunes are almost without exception of their own creation, within the thirty or forty years since their coming west. Very few of them appear to have come west as capitalists, or even with sufficient means to engage in business on their own account, and their economic training, industry and great capacity for labor have been their real capital.

Henry F. Lewis belonged to this class of quiet and unostentatious but thorough-going and eminently successful men of affairs. He was born in Sterling, Connecticut, December 4, 1832, and brought up on a farm. His father, Jareb Lewis, was of Welsh parentage, his paternal ancestor having immigrated to this country and settled in New England. His mother was Olive (Tucker) Lewis, whose ancestors were among the early colonists of New England.

Jareb Lewis, in addition to being a farmer, was interested to some extent in the manufacture of charcoal—and the son, Henry, divided his time in early boyhood between the country schools, the farm and the charcoal furnaces. He acquired an excellent business education, through making good use of the time which could be spared from his industrial pursuits, first in the common schools, and later at the noted Plainfield Academy, in which no small number of eminent men have received instruction.

When about twenty years of age, desiring to learn the trade of machinist, he went to Paterson, N. J., where he was employed for a year or more in the famous locomotive works of that city. He was not satisfied to remain there, however, two brothers having preceded him to Illinois, from whom he had flattering reports of the opportunities for building up fortunes, which the west afforded. In 1853 he determined to come to Chicago, and arrived here with such limited means that it became necessary for him to engage, at once, in remunerative employment. He accordingly accepted a position as fireman on the locomotive of a construction train, on what is now the Chicago and Alton railroad then just being completed, and, the knowledge which he had gained in the locomotive works at Paterson, serving him to good purpose, he was soon promoted to engineer.

After having been engaged some time in this employment, he became associated with his two brothers in Chicago in the real estate business. Their operations in realty consisted largely in the sale of western farm lands in Illinois, Missouri and Wisconsin, to the immigrants then flocking into Chicago. In carrying on this business it was necessary that one of the members of the firm should give attention to the location of settlers, the selection of lands

suitable to meet the demands of home seekers, the establishment of boundaries, etc. Having acquired during his school days some knowledge of surveying, and being also a good judge of lands, Mr. Lewis was well equipped for looking after this branch of the business, and it fell to him to travel extensively through what was then unimproved and undeveloped portions of the country. Many of his trips had to be made on foot, and attended by no small amount of discomfort, and not a few hardships. Their business, however, proved remunerative, and while his share of the profits was not large, it was sufficient to give him a start in a business which he was quick to perceive afforded great opportunities for building up fortunes.

When the Chicago Board of Trade —which had been organized some years prior to his coming west—began to exercise an important influence in gathering and marketing the products of the millions of acres of fertile lands brought under cultivation in the west, Mr. Lewis in Sept. 1861, connected himself with the Board, and launched out into the grain trade. He proceeded, in the fall of that year, to establish warehouses at Lincoln, Elkhart and Atlanta, on the line of the Chicago & Alton Railroad, and soon became an extensive shipper of all kinds of grain. To this business he gave pretty much all his time and attention until 1871, when he sold his membership in the Board and retired, with a comfortable fortune.

As a member of the Board of Trade, he belonged to the school of traders, who deal in actual commodities, and always condemned purely speculative trading. What he sold he was always ready to deliver, and when he bought grain, he expected to receive what he contracted for. Anything else was, in his opinion, a species of gambling discreditable to the men engaged in it, and to the organization which had been called into existence for the purpose of promoting the sale of farm products.

After his retirement from the grain trade, he gave his attention to looking after his realty interests—which had become extensive, and at a later date to the care and conservation of the large estates of his two brothers, who died in Chicago. One of these brothers, Allen C. Lewis, acting in accordance with the wishes of the other brother, John Lewis,—the bulk of whose property had been devised to him—left a large bequest for the purpose of founding the "Lewis Polytechnic Institute," and as one of the trustees of the estate, Henry F. Lewis, gave much time and study to forwarding this project.

Married in 1875 to Miss Ada Fellows of Wauregan, Connecticut, daughter of Rev. Silenus Fellows, for many years pastor of the Congregational Church of that town, he established his home in Chicago, living quietly in the city a portion of each

year, and spending the remainder of his time with his family in the neighborhood of his wife's early home in New York State.

As a business man he was conspicuous among his associates, not only for his success, but for his probity, fairness and honorable methods. In everything he was eminently practical, and this was as much manifest in his charitable and benevolent work as in his business undertakings. Having made his way through the world by dint of his own efforts, he had always a kindly sympathy for those whom he found starting out in life as he had started, and interested himself particularly in advancing men who were struggling to obtain a foothold in the business world. Reserved in his disposition and manners, he was at the same time warm-hearted and genial, and drew around him a circle of devoted and loving friends. Next to his home he was devoted to the church with which he affiliated, and its interests. He was a member of the New England Congregational Church in Chicago, of which he was one of the most substantial supporters. In the Home Mission work of the church he took an especial interest. Young men who were gathered into the church through this agency were objects of his special care and solicitude as long as he sustained to them the relation of teacher in the mission school, and they were not lost sight of by him outside of the schools. He not only advised them as to the affairs of every day life, but gave them substantial encouragement, and in this way helped to make of them good and useful citizens.

J. P. Bishop.

RECENT HISTORICAL PULICATIONS.

"CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, HIS LIFE AND WORK," by Charles Kendall Adams, LL. D., President of Cornell University. New York, Dodd, Mead and Co., 1892 ("Makers of America" Series).

It is eminently fit that the work on Columbus should head the list of a series on the Makers of America. For although as John Fiske avers, the discovery of America would soon have inevitably come to the foreground in the evolution of history, and although as President Adams rightly observes that in 1500 the accidental discovery of the coast of Brazil by the Portuguese Admiral, Pedro Cabral, would have given a New Hemisphere to the world, if it had not been given eight years earlier—yet after all Columbus did discover America for all practical purposes in 1492, and this afforded all the rest of the Makers of America their chance to distinguish themselves, and to form the subjects of this interesting and bright series of books.

In the compass of a little volume quickly read and easily handled, Pres. Adams has presented a view of Columbus, that is exceedingly satisfactory in the way of fulness. We are rapidly carried along, but we feel that we are carried over the entire field, and are not allowed to miss any important or significant details. The division is an easy and logical one, readily retained in the mind, a skeleton to be filled up by the rapid narrative before us, or by the reading of more elaborate works. Chap. I. tells us of "Early Years," next comes one on "Attempts to Secure Assistance." This gradually brings us to the great event of Columbus' life, and his career as affected thereby, which vastly important period is treated and grouped about his four voyages. A last chapter brings before us the final scene, and a judicious summary of his character. It must be said that Pres. Adams carefully weighs the acts of Columbus, without an undue anxiety to attack the estimate which the pages of Irving awaken within the reader; nor disposed to maintain that estimate intact. With all due allowances there are some things that Columbus did which were unmitigatedly mean and eminently unwise. But these do not impair his character as a discoverer, or as one of the great men of history.

THE STORY OF CHICAGO. By Joseph Kirkland. Chicago. Dibble Publishing Company. 1892.

This account of a city, in some respects the most remarkable in America, is in a style breezy and entertaining—appropriate to the subject. Mr. Kirkland is well known as the author of Zury, The McVeys, Captain of Company K—novels of western and army life of unique interest. He writes the story

of Chicago in the frankest spirit, describing those traits and characteristics of the western metropolis which would not everywhere be thought complimentary, but doing it in the spirit of the proud son, not afraid of criticism, and knowing that the city itself has a career so wonderful that it can well afford to have its history simply told.

Mr. Kirkland does not shudder at the derivation of the city's name from the Indian wild garlick or onion; but accepting the designation boldly moralizes: "The word denotes something 'strong,' whether like a giant or like a leek. Giants have their faults and onions have their virtues. . . . A little bulb, strong, hardy, and wholesome, sustaining the famishing wanderer: A great metropolis, powerful, kindly and gay, feeding the hungry world—let who will rail at either. Chicago should forestall criticism by adopting the Chi-ca-gou, from root to flower, as her civic emblem. '*Gare a qui touche.*' Touch it who dare."

This book of nearly five hundred pages, and with as many illustrations, begins at the very first of the French explorations in Louisiana and traces the not unromantic, and certainly phenomenal and unparalleled rise of this great, busy, booming western mart. All the earlier history is dwelt upon at length. The story of the great fire is told anew, with unsuspected freshness. The breeze of the prairies is in all the paragraphs of this delightful Story of Chicago, and it is so interesting that we hope to recur to it again with extended quotations and comments.

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Historical Society (Los Angeles) of Southern California, held an interesting meeting on April 27th. The object of this meeting was to further plans for preserving and checking the rapid decay of the valued historical landmarks of California, particularly the old Missions. The meeting was presided over by C. P. Dorland and Rev. Father Adam, who is deeply interested in this work, gave a description of his first visit to the mission at San Juan Capistrano and sketched its history from the date of its completion in 1806 to the present day.

An Historical Society has recently (April 23d), been organized in Pomfret, (Conn.) Articles of Association were adopted and the following officers elected: President, Horace Sabin, Vice-President, E. P. Hayward; Secretary, Frederick Mathewson.

The seventeenth anniversary of the organization of the Maine Historical Society which was appropriately observed at Portland on Monday evening, April 11th, was a notable gathering in its historical significance and distinguished personnel. The Society, founded two years after Maine became a State, has had a most conspicuous record, and its influence in the right interpretation of the early colonization of Maine and the subsequent notable events in its history, have commanded the attention of historians and publicists. Among its officers, members, and special workers, have been a long line of eminent names who have done distinguished service in the cause of historic investigation. The twenty-three volumes of its collections, proceedings and historic documents, are a rich legacy to coming generations; and the magnificent library, embracing more than ten thousand volumes and thirteen thousand pamphlets, is a monument of ever increasing value.

The Massachusetts Historical Society,

(Boston), held a meeting on April 12th, with the president, Dr. Ellis, in the chair. The president presented in the name of E. F. Waters, a manuscript diary kept by Rev. Eli Forbes, D. D., of North Brookfield, during the year 1762, including an account of a visit to the Tuscarora Indians. A copy of the diary kept during a part of the siege of Boston by Rev. Benjamin Boardman, chaplain of the Second Connecticut Regiment was also presented. This diary adds appreciably to our knowledge of the camp life around Boston.

Dr. S. A. Green presented an original letter from John Tulley, a well-known maker of almanacs in this country, to his publisher, Benjamin Harris, written in 1694. Tully was one of the first to begin the new year with January, instead of March, as was then the common practice; and it was not until half a century later that the new style was legally adopted in place of the old style, by act of parliament. Rev. E. G. Porter gave a very interesting account of the voyage of the ship Columbia, and the discovery and naming of the Columbia River, which is just now the occasion of the first centennial anniversary in Oregon.

The Dedham Historical Society (Mass.) held a regular meeting on May 2d, at which Mr. A. A. Lovell presented a paper concerning the first reading of the Declaration of Independence in Massachusetts.

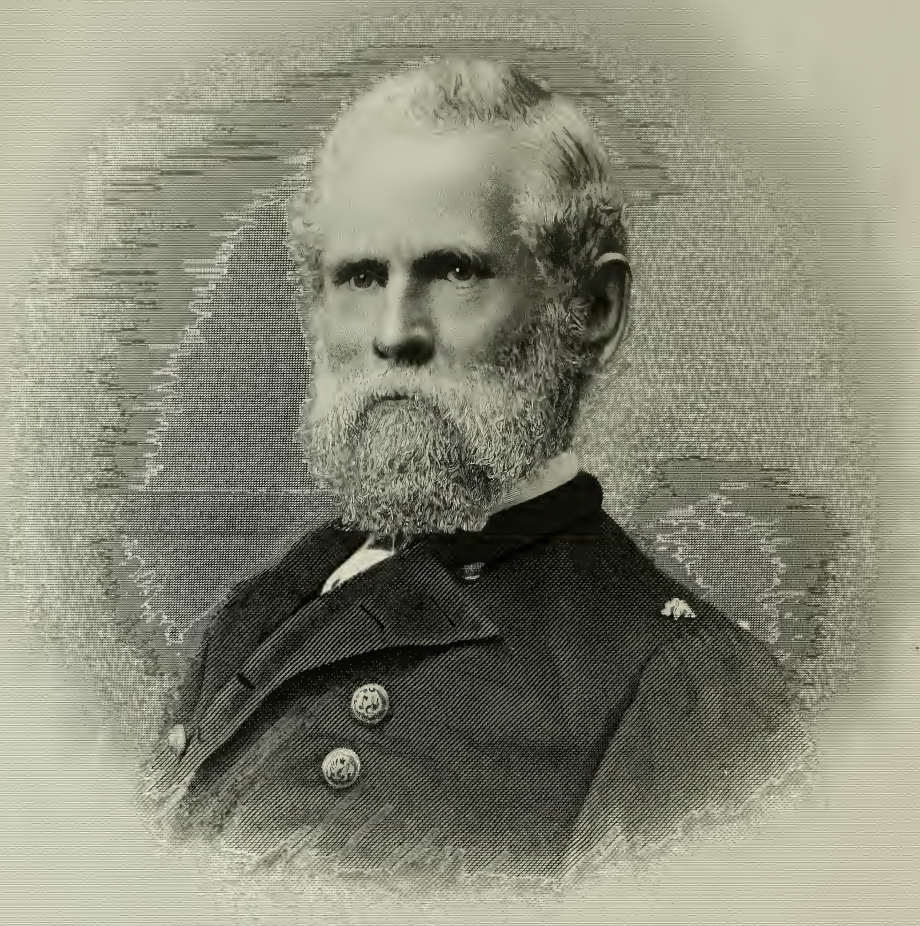
The regular quarterly meeting of the Harford Historical Society was held in Bel Air, Md., on April 23d. A third installment of the Chew papers, which were in the possession of Dr. Forwood have been arranged by Mr. Silver, the secretary.

Dr. Geo. W. Archer presented a valuable collection of original Revolutionary papers, which were discovered by the late Judge Bateman in a mass of old papers which had been gathered from the closets and corners of the Court House to be taken away and burned. Dr. Archer, in presenting these relics, read an interesting paper, descriptive of their contents and of the times with which they form a connecting link. Also extracts from the "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Revolutionary Committee of Harford County in 1774, '5, '6, and '7," which he made in 1889 from a complete copy made many years ago by Mrs. Sophia McHenry from the original, now lost.

Rev. Dr. John G. Morris read an interesting address before the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, April 11th, descriptive of a trip he made several years ago with George Bancroft, the historian, to Braddock's battlefield.

The Historical Society of Rhode Island, (Providence), on May 4th, listened to a paper by William D. Ely, on the subject, "A Keyhole for Roger Williams' Key; or A Study of a Portion of the Earth and the Fruits Thereof." Members of the Society were puzzled to know what the paper was to be about, and in consequence a large attendance was present to hear and understand. The real subject was found to be "Beans." Roger Williams wrote a chapter on the products of the new world on his visit to England in 1643, and it has been generally supposed that he omitted to mention "beans" while elsewhere he refers to them as one of the articles of food of the Indians. Mr. Ely contends that the last words in Roger Williams list which reads "barns and old barns" is a typographical error, and should read, "beans and old beans."

At the last meeting of the Exeeutive Committee of the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, gifts of a large number of books were reported, also an autograph letter of General George Washington, dated Philadelphia, Feb. 27th, 1797, addressed to George W. P. Curtis, then a student at Princeton, from Colonel T. M. R. Tallcott.



The Century Publishing & Engraving Co. Chicago

L. L. Webster.
Brig. Gen.

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. XVI. JULY, 1892. *No. 3.*

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR EDMUND ANDROS 1674–1683.*

THE new régime in New York, under Edmund Andros, her first Governor after the retrocession by the Dutch, dates from the year 1674. Andros was a public officer of ability; and, while pure in life and of spotless integrity, has been known in history for an imperious and despotic disposition. He was born in London, England, on the 6th of December, 1637, and married in 1671 Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Craven and a sister of Sir William Craven of Appletrenick in Yorkshire, and of Combe Abbey in Warwickshire. His family for many years had held a distinguished position in the Island of Guernsey. His father was an officer in the royal household; and the son, as a reward for his family's fidelity to the house of Stuart, was made a gentleman-in-ordinary to Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, and had been brought up at Court, in which he had become a favorite of the king, Charles II., and his brother the Duke of York. At an early age he chose the profession of a soldier, in which capacity he served in the regiment of foot sent to America in 1666, and in 1672 was commander of the forces in Barbadoes. The same year he was made a major in the dragoon regiment of Prince Rupert—the first regiment in the English army to be armed with the bayonet—and two years later, on the death of his father, he became Seigneur of the Fiefs of Sausmarez and succeeded him in the office of Bailiff of Guernsey, the reversion of which had been granted him by His Majesty in his father's lifetime. He was, withal, a thorough linguist, especially versed in the French and Dutch languages, to which qualifications he added one of

*From "The Memorial History of New York."

supreme importance to his rising fortunes—that of being an accomplished courtier and warmly attached to the royal family.

It is, therefore, not strange that upon the retrocession of the Island of Manhattan by the Dutch, the Duke of York should have selected his young friend, who already had the reputation of being skilled in Ameri-

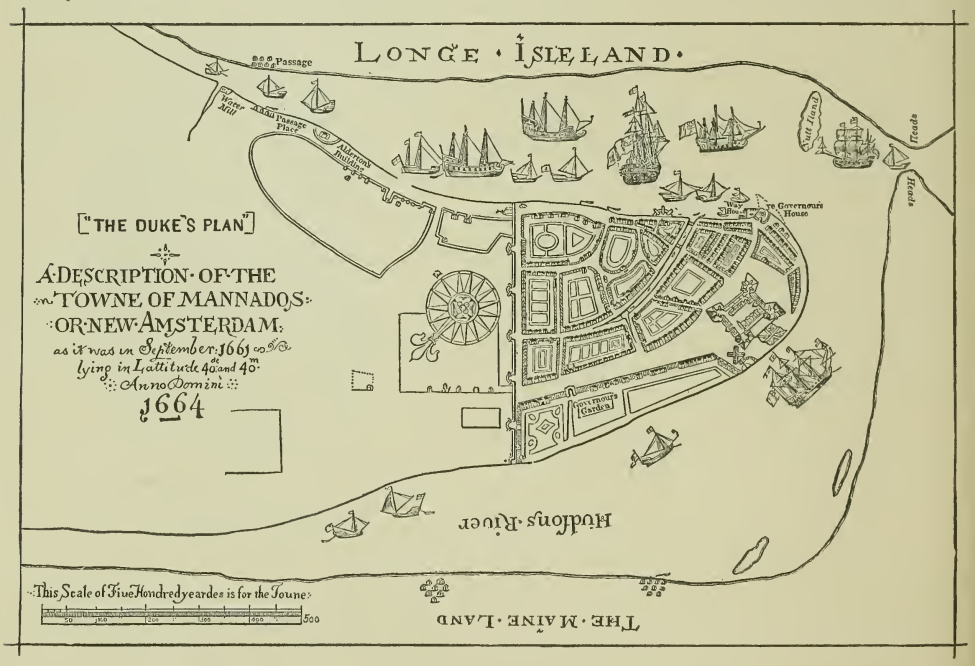
can affairs, to represent him in the territory which had again been granted him by his royal brother, Charles II. Accordingly, as soon as the treaty which gave the Dutch possessions in America to the English had been signed, on the 9th of February, 1674, and ratified at The Hague a few weeks later, Andros and his retinue set sail in the frigates Diamond and Castle, and anchored off Staten Island, October 22d of the same year. As soon as their arrival was known in the city, the Dutch Governor, Anthony Colve, having first taken the advice of his Council, asked of Andros to be allowed eight days in which to make arrangements for formally delivering up to him the insignia of his office. Meanwhile Cornelius Steenwyck, Johannes Van Brugh, and William Beekman were sent as a committee on board the Diamond for the purpose of obtaining certain privileges for the Dutch inhabitants of New Amsterdam. The new Governor received the delegation with courtesy and hospitality. He insisted upon their remaining to dine with him on board the vessel; treated them, as the old chronicle expresses it, "to ye best of victuals and drink," and dismissed the committee with the assurance that "every Dutch citizen should participate in all the liberties and privileges accorded to English subjects." In order, likewise, that there should be no misunderstanding regarding the matter, Andros, the next day, issued from his vessel a proclamation in which it was distinctly stated "that all former grants, privileges or concessions heretofore granted, and also all legal and judicial proceedings, during the late Dutch Government, are hereby confirmed, and the possessors by virtue thereof shall remain in quiet possession of their rights." These "privileges" related chiefly to the settlement of debts during the Dutch administration, the maintenance of

owners in the possession of their property, and the retention of Dutch forms and ceremonies. The promises which Andros then gave that these privileges should be continued were afterwards fulfilled to the letter.

At length, on the 9th of November, Governor Colve, having completed the preliminaries for delivering, in a formal manner, the keys of the city to the representative of the Crown of England, called together at the City Hall all the officers of the municipal government and, having officially released them from their oaths to the States-General and the Prince of Orange, informed them that on the following day, he should deliver the fort and the province to the newly appointed Governor and Commander-in-chief. Accordingly at the time set (the 10th of November, 1674), Andros, accompanied by his wife, landed, and amid much ceremony received the welcome of the Dutch ex-Governor, who, still further to show his good will and sincerity in the matter, presented him with his own coach and three richly caparisoned horses. The colors of England were then, amid salvos of artillery, run up on the flagstaff of Fort William Henry—the name of which was at once changed to Fort James—and the Dutch city of New Orange once more received at the same time, the name of New York, a name which it has ever since retained.

Before entering upon a history of the administration of Governor Andros, it may be desirable to acquaint the reader with the limits of New York at the time the Dutch surrendered it to the English. As a guide we will take a map of the "Towne of Mannados or New Amsterdam, as it was in September, 1661," a copy of which now lies before the writer. This is, so far as known, the only plan of the city executed in the early Dutch times, and was found in 1863 in the British Museum. The town windmill stood on a bluff, within the present Battery, opposite Greenwich street. On Water, between Whitehall and Moore streets, was the "Government House," built by Director Stuyvesant of stone, and the best edifice in the town. When Governor Dongan became its owner he changed its name from the "Government House" to "Whitehall," and hence the name of the street. It was surrounded by a large enclosure, one side of which, with the garden, was washed by the river. A little dock for pleasure boats ran into the stream at this point. Here also was located the Governor's house, between which and the canal in Broad street was the present Pearl street (so called from having been originally paved with oyster shells), then the great center of trade, and known as the "Waterside" and sometimes as the "Strand." A very short distance off and parallel with Pearl, ran the "Brugh straat" (the present Bridge street), so named from the fact of its leading to the bridge across the canal in Broad

street. This canal was but a narrow stream running towards Wall street for a quarter of a mile. Both sides were dyked with posts at the distance of twelve feet from the houses. This canal originally went up to "Verlet-tenberg Hill" (the present Exchange Place). This was the head of tide-water; and here the country people



from Brooklyn, Gowanus, and Bergen brought their marketing to the center of the city.

The city wall was a row of palisades, with embankments nine feet high and four wide, on which several cannon were mounted. Two large stone "points" or bastions were afterwards added, one on the corner of Broadway and Wall, and the other on the northwest corner of Wall and William streets. These completely commanded the whole front of the city wall. Two main roads led from the fort at the Battery towards the northern part of the Island. One of these, afterwards the "Boston" or the "Old Post Road," followed Broad-

way to the Park, and then extended through Chatham, Duane, William, and Pearl streets to the Bowery. Along the Bowery road lay "Steenwyck's" and "Herrman's" orchards with the well-know Stuyvesant's "Bouwery" (farm), whence the name. Still further towards the north, near Thirty-sixth street and Fourth

Avenue, rose the "Incleberg" or Beacon Hill, the Murray Hill of later times. From this latter point there was a commanding view of the whole island.

The instructions which were given to Andros to guide him in his new government were, considering the times, of a liberal character. Indeed, in the charter from the king, in all matters regarding justice, revenue, and legislation, the Governor was left responsible only to his own conscience and the interest of his employer. Endeavoring to carry out the spirit of these instructions, and desirous also of establishing himself on a popular basis with the people, one of the first acts of Andros was to appoint a native Hollander—Nicholas de Meyer —Mayor of the city. This selection was an admirable one. De Meyer was an enterprising trader, and withal a most respectable burgher. His wife was a daughter of Hendrick Van Dyck—likewise an old and respected citizen; and although the duties of his office could not have been particularly onerous at a time when only three hundred and one names were recorded upon the list of taxpayers, yet what little he did was done honestly and well.

Notwithstanding, however, the efforts on the part of Andros to conciliate, the sentiments of the sturdy religionists of New England were not without influence on their neighbors, the Dutch; many of whom were relations of those who had sheltered the Puritans in Holland, and were consequently imbued with the constitutional principles of the States-General. They were, therefore, in no mood to yield what they considered their fundamental rights without a struggle; and Andros had scarcely become fairly seated in the gubernatorial chair, when the citizens of New York petitioned the king through the Duke of York for an Assembly of Representatives. The duke received this petition as might, from his character, have been expected. He was a strange mixture of wickedness and goodness. He was in fact, as Bancroft has well described him, "a libertine without love, a devotee without spirituality, an advocate of toleration without a sense of the natural right to freedom of conscience—in him the muscular force prevailed over the intellectual. He floated between the sensuality of indulgence and the sensuality of superstition, hazarding heaven for an ugly mistress; and to the great delight of abbots and nuns, winning it back again by pricking his flesh with sharp points of iron and eating no meat on Sundays." Charles, influenced by his brother James, who regarded popular bodies as most dangerous, refused the prayer of the petitioners with the question—"What do they want with Assemblies? They have the Court of Quarter Sessions presided over by the Governor; or, if this is not enough, they can appeal to me!" Such was the English spirit of oppression a century before

it was resisted at Golden and Bunker Hills. On hearing of this reply of Charles to the petitioners, Sir William Berkeley, then Governor of Virginia, "thanked God that there were neither free schools nor printing-presses in the Colony," fervently adding, "God keep us from both!"

Andros, however, was not, in this matter, in sympathy either with Berkeley or with his royal master. Indeed, it is a most singular fact that the position of Andros in this matter has, up to the present day, been entirely misunderstood. It has always been assumed both by contemporary and later writers that Andros, if indeed he did not advise Charles II. to this course, at least fully approved of it. The direct contrary, however, was the case. Andros not only approved of this petition, thinking it most reasonable, but advised the king to grant it. His advice in this matter was not taken—the only concession he could obtain from the king being to the effect that if he could produce any further arguments in support of an Assembly he would give them careful consideration.

Hardly, however, had the petitioners for an Assembly received their answer, when another question arose, having its origin in an order issued by the Governor, compelling every citizen to take the usual oath of fidelity—the 13th day of March, 1675, being designated for this purpose. To this order several of the leading men of the city demurred, requesting, as a preliminary condition to their taking the oath, that Andros should confirm the pledge of Governor Nicolls "that the capitulation of August, 1664, was not in the least broken or intended to be broken by any words or expressions in the said oath." But Andros, not yet feeling secure in his government, and sincerely believing that the reasons thus set forth were but a pretense for sedition and rebellion, flatly refused their request, and demanded that they should immediately take the required oath. For reply, the committee, utterly ignoring this refusal, drew up a petition praying the Governor to exempt them from taking an unconditional oath of allegiance to Charles Stuart, and requesting permission to dispose of their estates and remove with their families, out of the colony. All of them were Dutch citizens of repute, and some of whose descendants are prominent even at the present day. The only answer vouchsafed to the petition was the prompt arrest and imprisonment of the signers on the charge of "endeavoring to foment Rebellion."

Among the instructions given by the Duke of York to Andros on his leaving England was one that he should watch closely the proceedings of the colony of Connecticut, and, if necessary, make a demand on the Governor of that province for all the land on the west side of the Connecticut River as being comprised within the patent granted to him by

his brother Charles in 1664. Scarcely, therefore, had Andros become fairly settled in his government, when he sent Captain Salisbury to England to obtain more definite directions for adjusting the boundaries between the two colonies. Meanwhile the duke, having consulted the Crown lawyers, was not inclined to act hastily and in reply told Andros that, provided the people of Connecticut did not settle within twenty miles east of the Hudson River, he wished him to hold the matter for the present in abeyance—though at the same time he wrote most emphatically that it must not be supposed for a moment, that he intended to relinquish his rights in the matter. Andros, however, before the duke's answer arrived, had, late in the spring of 1675, written to Governor Winthrop claiming for his master the country west of the Hudson—at the same time sending copies of the king's patent to the duke and his own commission by way of enforcing his demands. This correspondence producing no effect, Andros, in July, suddenly appeared with an armed force off Saybrook Point for the purpose of annexing the colony to the Government of the Duke of York. His intention was to occupy the deserted fort at that place, and eventually to build a new one on the same site. To his surprise and chagrin, however, on his arrival he found it occupied by two companies of foot under Captain Thomas Bull of Hartford, on their way to put down a local Indian insurrection. The king's flag, raised by the Hartford captain, was also flying over the fort. Accordingly Andros, not daring to fire on the flag, sailed back to New York; but not before he had highly complimented "Bull" upon his spirit and bearing, remarking, "It is a pity your horns are not tipped with silver!"

Andros from the time of his first landing, seems to have devoted no small portion of his personal attention to the needs of New York, then in a very inchoate state. At the time of its reconquest by the English, the city presented an extremely dilapidated appearance. The fort had fallen completely into decay; all the guns were off their carriages; the public buildings as well as the large stone Dutch church which stood within the fort enclosure, were all out of repair, and not one of the three windmills was in operation; and, accustomed as Andros had been to the excellent municipal regulations of London (though, of course, primitive as compared with the London of the present day), he was, as appears from his letters to the Duke of York, greatly struck with its deplorable condition. Nor did Andros strive to be popular alone. Aware that no government can be either stable or prosperous unless its foundations rest on private virtue, immediately upon his arrival he established, through his Council, ordinances for regulating public morals. Profanity

and drunkenness were strictly forbidden; and all persons by proclamation were seriously enjoined to abstain from "fighting, calumny, and all other immoralities," as the guilty would be punished and "made a terror to evil doers."

The improvement of the municipal government next called for attention. The books of record and official papers belonging to the city were taken away and deposited in their proper place in the Secretary's office at the City Hall. The militia of the city were formed into companies of one hundred men each; and, although but indifferently provided with firearms, and these of all sizes and patterns, they were drilled and rendered excellent marksmen by continual practice in firing at a mark. The city gates were ordered to be closed at 9 o'clock in the evening, and to be opened at daylight. The citizens were required to keep a vigilant watch at night by turns, and were fined for absence or neglect of duty. Each resident was obliged to keep a musket or firelock in thorough repair in his house, together with at least six charges of powder and ball, and to appear with his arms in good condition before the captain's colors at the first tap of the drum. All peddling was forbidden, except by freemen and burghers, who were required to to take out a license. So excellently also were the poor-laws carried out, that Andros was enabled to write the Duke of York on the 16th of April, 1678: "There are no beggars in the city, but all the poor are cared for."

During his administration, moreover, a number of handsome and substantial buildings were erected; and all those who owned vacant lots were not only required, but compelled to improve them under penalty of having them sold at public auction. With an eye, also, to the sanitary condition of the city, he had an ordinance passed that the streets should be kept clean; it being made obligatory on each citizen not only to keep the space before his own dwelling neat, but to put out before his door, on certain days of the week, the garbage and refuse of his premises, which were to be carried away in certain designated carts. At a very early day the tanneries in Broad street had been declared a nuisance, and their owners ordered to remove them beyond the city limits, but up to the time of Andros's arrival this order had not been complied with. Now, however, the canal in Broad street was filled in and the tan-vats removed to the lower part of Maiden Lane, then a marshy valley. Four of these tanners (shoemakers by trade) purchased at the same time a tract of land bounded by Broadway, Ann, William and Gold streets, and again began business. This region was thenceforth known as the "Shoemaker's Land," a name which it retained so late as 1696 when it was divided in town-lots. The tanners were next driven from this locality

into what is even now known as the "Swamp."

Perceiving, moreover, that a market was a great necessity, he established in 1675, by the aid of his Council, a market-house which was erected under his personal supervision, at the place in Broad street where the bridge had formerly stood. What Andros, by erecting a market-house actually accomplished, was to introduce a regular and systematic sale of produce. Saturday of each week was made the regular market day; and fairs for the sale of cattle, grain, and country produce were held on the first Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of November at Brooklyn, the market-house, and the plaza before the fort.

He urged, as an encouragement to merchants and strangers, that a new wharf should immediately be built, and recommended that it should reach from the "rocks opposite Mr. Delavall's house to the City Hall, having a convenient space for the largest ships to ride at anchor." These suggestions were at once adopted; and so expeditiously was the work pushed that by the end of

CITY HALL AND GREAT DOCK, 1679.

the year (1675) the wharf was finished. The stockades, forming the northern boundary of the city and running from the East to the North rivers along the line of the present Wall street, were repaired and the fort put in a thorough state of defense.

Indeed, a careful scrutiny of the MSS. Records still preserved in the Secretary of State's office at Albany shows that of all the New York governors, both before and after the American Revolution, not one has taken such a purely personal supervision of everything which looked to the improvement of the city as Governor Andros. To accomplish this end during his administration was the ambition of the Governor, and in its prosecution no detail, even the minutest, was overlooked. He constituted himself, for instance, what would now be called an "inspector of streets;" and, while acting in this self-imposed capacity, some of the entries jotted down in his diary on his return from his walks through the city are quite amusing—thus: "The wall defective between Mr. Balthazar and 'Mother' Daniels, and another at the other side of the corner. . . . A house of Dirck Smith like to fall, and nobody lives in it. The next has no chimney. . . . A parcel of rotten old houses next towards the fortification must come down." And on another day he, the chief executive of the great Province of New York, is seen selecting in person the timber suitable for the stockades, and, with a little rule of his own, measuring some particular piece of wood to see if it would answer for one of the posts which were required to be twelve feet long by nine inches square. In short, two years after his arrival, the city had undergone an entire and radical change for the better.

Efforts were made to do away, as far as possible, with the evils resulting from the liquor traffic. Already the sale of liquor, considering the population, had reached enormous proportions; and a map of the city, made out at this time for the Governor, and embodying, by a curious coincidence, the same idea as the one carried out, some years since by a prominent New York journal, showed that nearly one-quarter of the town "had become houses for the sale of brandy, tobacco or beer!" An ordinance was accordingly passed forbidding the licensing of any taverns except by the unanimous consent both of the Governor and his Council. But notwithstanding all these ordinances, the Indians, as we are told by the MSS. Records in Albany, were "daily seen running about drunk through the Manhattans." New York, now the metropolitan city, witnesses every day and night numbers of intoxicated savages in her streets; and it would seem that our legislators had not wisdom or strength enough to frame and execute laws either to subdue or prevent this great public evil.

The trade of the colony also received careful attention. Stringent

laws against selling, under severe penalties, strong drink and powder and ball to the Indians of Long Island and the Upper Hudson were enacted; the prices of grain were established, and the exportation of bread-stuffs, when there was a scarcity in the home market prohibited. At first, Andros allowed vessels of all nationalities free access to the Indian tribes of the Hudson even beyond Albany; but this liberality having called forth a severe reprimand from the Duke of York, all foreigners and even the people of New England were henceforth forbidden to go up the Hudson as far as either Esopus or Albany.

The attention of the Governor was next directed to reforming the currency, which had become much debased, and the fluctuating nature of which had always been greatly detrimental to trade. Although wampum had always been almost the exclusive circulating medium of New Netherland, still beaver remained the standard of value. During the years 1651–2, Director Stuyvesant had endeavored to introduce a specie currency, and had applied to Holland for twenty-five thousand guilders in Dutch shillings and fourpenny pieces, but the West India Company there had disapproved of his project. The people were thus entirely dependent on wampum, as the people of the United States were on greenbacks a few years after the Civil War; and the value of wages, property, in fact of every commodity, was in consequence seriously disturbed. So it is in our day and ever will be, with an irredeemable currency, whether of clam-shells, thin paper, or anything else not equal to specie. At first, as has been stated on a preceding page, wampum passed at the rate of four black beads for one stiver; next, it was lowered to six; again, in 1657, to eight; and then it was ordered to be considered a legal tender for gold

G. BEECKMAN, MAYOR.

and silver. But Stuyvesant wisely objected to this, as it would bring the value of property to naught. In the year 1658, the white wampum was next reduced from twelve to sixteen, and the black from eight to ten for a stiver. What was the result? The holder was obliged to give more wampum for any article he purchased of a trader, who, in return, allowed

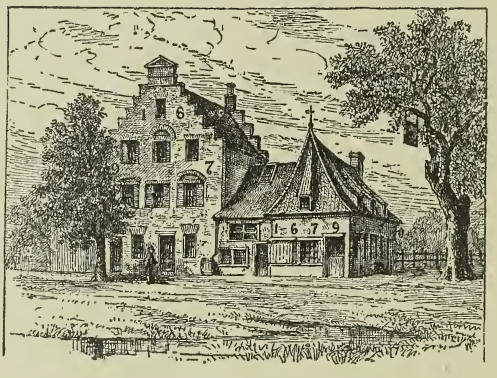
the natives a larger quantity of it for their beavers and skins; and, to use the plain record of the day, "little or no benefit accrued." Nominally prices advanced, when beavers which had been sold for twelve or fourteen guilders rose to twenty-two and twenty-four, bread from fourteen to twenty-two stivers (eight-pound loaves), beef nine to ten stivers per pound, shoes from three and a half guilders to twelve a pair, and wrought-iron from eighteen to twenty stivers the pound. Meanwhile, beavers (the real standard of value) and specie remained of equal value; but the difference between these and wampum was fifty per cent. The effect on wages was almost ruinous. An old record says: "The poor farmer, laborer, and public officer, being paid in zeawan (*sewaut*), are almost reduced to the necessity of living on alms." Those in the employ of the Dutch Company asked that their salaries might be paid in beavers, but this was refused. This depreciation of the currency, and the consequent disturbance of prices, caused much popular clamor, and various expedients were adopted by Stuyvesant to amend the unfortunate state of things. The directors of the West India Company would have the colonists consider wampum as "bullion," but would at the same, with singular inconsistency, receive only beavers in payment of duties and taxes. Something of the same theory in our custom-house payments was adopted for the year succeeding the Civil War. At length, Director Stuyvesant raised the value of specie (or beaver-skins, as having the same mercantile value) in the country twenty to twenty-five per cent. "to prevent its exportation." Finally, however, the price of beaver in 1663 fell from eight guilders (specie) to four and a half; white wampum from eight to sixteen, and black from four to eight for a stiver. This, then, was the state of the public finances when the English came for the second time into possession of New Netherland. Some people even now are met with who fear a similar financial crash sooner or later in our enlightened land, with its hundreds of millions in paper-money obligations and promises — and this, too, notwithstanding the unlimited resources of the Government. The same thing, also, happened during and after the close of our Revolutionary struggle, when ten thousand dollars of paper currency (although bearing the Government promise to redeem) were paid for a single meal!

The problem which Andros was now called upon to solve was, in what manner the debased currency could be brought up to a definite standard of value. Yet Andros,— so little were the principles of political economy understood at that day,— notwithstanding the experience and lamentable failure of Stuyvesant, undertook to solve it on precisely the same principles acted on by some

financiers, not only of our Revolutionary period, but of the present day, viz.: by an arbitrary order of Council declaring that certain quantities of wampum should be apprized and taken by all traders at a certain valuation. This standard was that three stivers of wampum should be taken at one penny silver, New England money, and that a beaverskin should be taken at the same rate it was before its depreciation. Andros, however, succeeded no better than had Stuyvesant; and for years afterward the currency of New York remained in a most deplorable state — greatly to the chagrin of the grasping Duke of York, who, in letters to Andros, continually complained — even to the extent of severe reprimands — that by the time the wampum had been exchanged for the genuine gold of the realm, his returns were greatly decreased.

Nor, while thus attending to the political, financial and social prosperity of affairs within the city, did Andros neglect to provide against dangers which seriously threatened it from without. For several years previous to his taking the reins of government, the necessity of conciliating the Iroquois—the most powerful Indian confederacy at that time in America — had received little or no attention either from the people of New York or their Government. The first two English Covernors of the colony, or rather the lieutenants of the Duke of York — viz.: Colonels Nicolls and Lovelace — bestowed but inconsiderable attention upon the Five Nations, not seeming to appreciate either the importance of their trade or of their friendship. Still, the mortal hatred they had borne for the French — ever since the invasion of their territory by Champlain in 1609 — inclined them rather to prefer the friendship of the English. But the Duke of York, in his affection for the Church of Rome, shutting his eyes to what unquestionably should have been the true policy of the English toward the Indians, had conceived the idea of handing the confederates over to the Holy See, as converts to its forms, if not to its faith. Hence the efforts to mediate the peace between the Iroquois and the French in 1667, which were followed by invitations to the Jesuit missionaries from the English to settle among the confederates, and by persuasions to the latter to receive them. The Mohawks — smarting under the remembrance of the expedition of Champlain — were either too wise or too bitter in spirit toward the French to listen to the proposal. But not so with the other nations of the alliance; and the Oneidas, Onondages, Cayugas, and Senecas opened their country to the strangers in holy garb, causing infinite mischief in after years. The hollow peace of 1667 continued several years, during which time both the English and the French prosecuted their trade with the Indians to a great and a profitable

extent: The French, especially, evinced a degree of energy and a spirit of enterprise almost unexampled in the history of colonization, planting their trading-posts, under the lead of the adventurous La Salle, at all the commanding points of the Great Lakes, and across the country of the Illinois to the Mississippi; and stealing the hearts of the Indians by means of the missionaries of the Order of Jesus, whom they sprinkled among the principal nations of the country at that time explored. By numbered ten times more than they did half a century afterward; and the Governor saw the importance of their trade as a wall of separation between the English colonies and the French. This fact Andros at once perceived from his own observation, even if he had not been — as was the case — continually reminded of it by the letters from the Duke of York. He saw, also, that the French were intercepting the trade of the English upon the lakes, and that the priests had succeeded in seducing numbers



OLD NEW YORK HOUSES.

these bold advances deep into the interior, and the energy which everywhere characterized their movements, the French acquired a decided advantage over the English colonists in the fur-trade, which it was evidently their design exclusively to engross; while the direct tendency of the Duke of York's policy, originating in blindness and bigotry, was to produce precisely the same result. In fighting men, the Five Nations at this time of the Mohawks and the Connecticut River Indians away from their own country, and planting their colonies upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the neighborhood of Montreal, through whose agency an illicit trade had been established with the City of Albany, by reason of which Montreal, instead of Albany, was becoming the principal depot of the Indian trade. He saw, in a word, that the followers of Ignatius Loyola were

rapidly alienating the affections of the Five Nations from the English and transferring them to the French; and that unless this policy was changed the influence of the English over them would, at no distant day, be at an end. Nor had the priests confined their efforts simply to moral suasion; but, as though aiming to separate the confederates from the English, at a blow, and by a gulf so wide and deep as to be impassable, they had instigated them to commit positive hostilities not only upon the frontier settlements of Maryland and Virginia, but upon the City of New York itself. All these things Andros conjectured; and had he lived until the present day he would have seen that his "conjectures" were certainties, since documents lately discovered among the French Archives show conclusively that at this very juncture the subjugation of New York — in abrogation of all previous treaties — was seriously determined on by France.

Notwithstanding, however, these cogent reasons for proceeding, without loss of time, into the Indian country, Andros at first hesitated; and, in truth, he was placed in an exceedingly delicate position. While, on the one hand, he fully realized the supreme importance of securing the alliance of the Five Nations, on the other, he was continually receiving letters from the Duke of York, in behalf of French Catholics, commanding him to place no obstacles in the way of the French, who, as he well knew, were already beginning to invade the country of the Iroquois. While thus hesitating, he received an urgent letter from his vacillating master ordering him to proceed with all despatch to the country of the Five Nations and settle an "affair of so great importance to the service, inasmuch as the enmity of the Mohawks would be ruinous to the entire Province." Accordingly, Andros, not knowing but that the next mail would bring different instructions, set off immediately for the country of the Iroquois. Before leaving, however, he made the city secure from the south by treaties with several southern tribes; at the same time guarding against Indian attacks from the east by forwarding to Connecticut and Rhode Island munitions of war to be used in putting down an Indian insurrection in those colonies under King Philip. Having completed these arrangements for the security of the city during his absence, Andros went up the Hudson River to Esopus and thence to Albany and Schenectady. Tarrying a little time at each of those settlements, he finally penetrated the primeval wilderness of the Mohawk Valley as far as the site of the present city of Utica. Here he received delegations from the Onondagas and Senecas, the most westerly of the Five Nations — representatives of the latter tribe coming even so far as from the shores of Lake Erie to be present on this occasion. Everything was done to

make the occasion imposing and of deep solemnity. As soon as all the sachems were seated, Andros lighted the great calumet of peace, which had descended to the Senecas through a long line of chieftains, and, having taken a whiff from its hieroglyphic stem, handed it to each warrior in turn. Then, amid the profound silence of his hearers, he stood up, and, having "opened the door and made the road clear and smooth" by a richly ornamented belt of wampum, thanked them for their "disapprobation of those [referring to the French] who had lately endeavored to obstruct the good work of peace." Several days were thus occupied in ceremonial speeches and interchanges of good feeeling, and the conference closed with results of the most satisfactory character — the Five Nations not only reiterating their former vows of allegiance, but renewing their alliance with the English and exchanging, as a seal to their promises, several strings of wampum.

It was on this occasion that Andros received from the Five Nations the name of "Corlaer," out of respect to the memory of their "good friend," Arendt Van Corlaer — a man of large benevolence and of unsullied honor, who, as commissioner of Rensselaerwyck (Albany), had for many years dealt with the Indians with perfect fairness up to his tragic death by drowning in Lake Champlain in 1667. This name, for a century afterwards, was given by the Five Nations to the governors of New York.

On his return Andros stopped at Albany and organized the first "Board of Commissioners of Indian Affairs" — the favorable results of which action were clearly visible for a century afterwards. Robert Livingston, a shrewd Scotchman — at that time town clerk of Albany, and destined in after years to become

prominent in colonial affairs—was appointed by Andros, secretary of the board. Livington was the son of a nonconformist Scotch preacher. At the age of nineteen, a bright lad, he had emigrated from Scotland to Boston, and thence drifted to Albany, where his marriage with a Schuyler—the widow of Domine Van Rensselaer

— had closely identified him with the Dutch. Hence his appointment, which gave rise to no race jealousy. was an excellent one, and at once occasioned universal satisfaction. In this appointment, Andros, as in other instances of a similar nature, showed his perspicacity and knowledge of men, by thus surrounding himself with the best talent. Indeed, this was an element of his greatness; for, unquestionably, Andros, measured by the standards of his day, was a great man, possessing the faculty of employing material exactly suited to his purposes — thus, also, proving at the same time the Duke of York's wisdom in selecting him as his lieutenant in America.

In the autumn of 1677, Andros received permission from the Duke of York to visit England on private business. In granting this request, the latter took occasion to say that his permission was given "cheerfully" in token of his approbation of the able manner in which he had conducted the late Indian negotiations. Accordingly, on the 16th of November, 1677, Andros visited Governor Carteret in Elizabethtown, N. J., to bid him good-by,— their families having always been intimate,—and having spent the night with him, on the following day he went on board the vessel, lying off Staten Island, which was to convey him to England. In the quaint language of Andros himself, "I went down in ye Bay, neare Sandy-Point [Sandy-Hook], whence I sayled." In his absence, Brockholls, the Lieutenant-governor, exercised the functions of governor, Secretary Nicolls was placed next in authority, with the understanding that the mayor was to be consulted should questions of moment arise; and to Mrs. Andros was given a power of attorney "to manage her husband's private affairs" a trust which she performed with ability.

The reception accorded to Andros by the king and his brother James was most flattering. Immediately upon his arrival he was summoned before the king and council and requested to give an account of the commerce of the port of New York, the interior trade of the province, and the state of affairs in general. In response to this, Andros read a carefully prepared report of the receipts from the revenue, the number of bushels of wheat exported, the value of the furs bought of the Indians, the several incomes of each particular merchant in the colony,— presenting, in fact, a complete résumé of the financial condition of the entire province. In the course of the interview, he told the king, duke, and council very plainly that if, in the future, the revenues of the colony of New York were to be increased, a much more liberal policy must be pursued than had hitherto prevailed. Especially, also, did he urge upon them the immense advantages to be gained by a reciprocity of products between the different colonies. In-

deed, his views on this subject — as may be gleaned from a perusal of the official report of his interview — were of a most enlightened and far-sighted kind — much too liberal to be appreciated by his narrow-minded master. But, of course, it was not for him to dictate, or even to advise; and, with a compliment upon his zeal, he was dismissed, with a request to appear in the royal closet the following day. At the hour appointed he again presented himself; but his suggestions of the day before were completely ignored. The king and the duke, however, were pleased to say that, in appreciation of the wise manner in which he had administered the government, the honor of knighthood would be conferred upon him. Thereupon he retired; and a few days afterwards — his patent of knighthood having been made out — he returned to New York in the summer of 1678, as Sir Edmund Andros.

The chief characteristic of the Duke of York, next to his bigotry, was an intense love of money for its own sake. This trait caused him to be continually on his guard lest he should lose any portion of his revenues. During the visit of Andros, the duke had had several private interviews with him, the burden of which invariably was the necessity of increasing the amount of the excise; and that his instructions in this regard might the more effectually be carried out, Andros, on his return to his government, was invested with extraordinary powers, and created vice-admiral of all the duke's territory in America. Consequently, nearly the first official act of Andros, on his return, was to enforce stringently one of the duke's orders, viz.: that all vessels bringing cargoes within his original territory should enter at the New York custom house. The enforcement of this order at once brought him into direct personal collision with Governor Philip Carteret of New Jersey.

To understand fully the merits of this controversy and the position of Andros in the premises, it should be stated that some years previously (1665) two royal favorites, Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret — the latter, at that time, vice-chamberlain of the royal household — had received from the Duke of York, under a patent from Charles, a grant of land comprising all the territory lying between the Delaware and Hudson rivers, which, in recognition of the bravery displayed by Carteret in the defense of the Island of Jersey, he named in the charter New Jersey. No sooner was Sir George Carteret in possession of this grant than, ignoring Berkeley entirely, he lost no time in sending over on the same ship that conveyed Andros to his Government, his brother Captain Philip Carteret as Governor of his newly acquired territory. Hence it was that when the Duke of York, not recognizing his previous grant to Sir George, unjustly commanded Andros

to seize upon all vessels that paid duties at Elizabethtown, N. J., and not at New York, the latter, having no discretion in the matter, was forced to obey without reference to his own private feelings. "So far as George Carteret is concerned," writes at this time the duke's secretary to Andros, "I do not find that the Duke is at all inclined to let go any part of his prerogative, which you and your predecessor have constantly asserted in his behalf;" and, in order still further to impress upon Andros the importance of carrying out this order, he continues in the same letter, "We should exercise [*i. e.*, regarding the custom house duties and Governor Carteret] the just authority his Royal Highness hath. . . . for favors now may, if conferred, redound too much to the prejudice of your Colony."

Accordingly, in the early spring of 1680, Andros seized upon every vessel bound for the port of Elizabethtown and exacted the custom house duties. At the same time he wrote to Governor Carteret and notified him of his intention to build a fort at Sandy Hook, "though," continues the letter, "having a due regard to all the rights and properties of the soil, I shall be ready to pay any one interested in Sandy-Point [Hook] the full amount of his claim." In his reply, Governor Carteret, resting his claim to the governorship of New Jersey upon the duke's grant to his brother, very naturally indignantly refused to acknowledge the right of the Governor of New York either to collect duties on goods intended to be landed within his jurisdiction, or to erect a fortification on land belonging to the territory of New Jersey. At the same time, by way of upholding the position thus taken by their Governor, an act was passed by the Assembly of East Jersey to "indemnify any ship which might be seized by the Government of New York for entering and clearing at Elizabethtown." It was, however, evidently the principle of the matter and not the amount of duties which lay at the root of this trouble, since, in 1754, nearly eighty years afterwards, the custom house entries at the port of New York, for the week ending January 27 were: "Inward Entries, None; Outward Entries, Sloop Swallow, Jacob Baffline, Master, for North Carolina."

This defiance of the East Jersey Assembly was met by Andros with a proclamation requiring "Captain Philip Carteret, with all other pretended Magistrates civil or military authorized by him, to forbear and not presume further to assume or exercise distinct or any jurisdiction over his Majesty's subjects, within any of the bounds of his Majesty's Patent to his Royal Highness the Duke of York. The proclamation, which was made in the open fields at Elizabethtown, before a large concourse of people, closed with a demand for the surrender of the person of Captain Philip Carteret.

At this stage of the controversy, Carteret appealed to the king — at the same time saying plainly, in a letter to Andros, that if any force were used the people of the colony of New Jersey would defend themselves and their families even to the shedding of blood. Yet, at the same time, he greatly deprecated any resort to force, and closed by entreating him to forbear his threats or any other acts of hostility until his Majesty's pleasure could be known.

The official conduct of Governor Andros at this juncture evidently clashed with his personal wishes and the good feeling which had always obtained between his own family and that of his neighbor and kinsman at Elizabethtown. As before stated, Andros and Carteret, with their wives, had long been socially very intimate, attending the same church in New York, and frequetly dining at each other's table. Carteret had been the companion and fellow-voyager of Andros when the latter first came to New York,— and close companionship on a long sea voyage is, as is well known, a great factor in cementing friendship,— and Andros, it will be recalled, had spent the night with him previous to his departure for England two years before. Even the various official letters which had passed between them had been almost invariably signed by each "Your affectionate Friend." Consequently, before proceeding to extremities, Andros, having determined to try the effect of persuasion, visited Carteret at his home in Elizabethtown. After dinner, a discussion, which at first was friendly, but afterwards became more and more heated and acrimonious, was carried on between the two governors. Each insisted on the justice of his claim; and each produced documents, consisting of conflicting patents, to support it. Finally the conference closed, no satisfactory agreement having been arrived at, and yet, as Mrs. Lamb, in her "History of New York City" justly says, both were sincerely actuated by the honest motive of obedience to their respective superiors. On leaving, Sir Edmund with his retinue was escorted to his boats by Governor Carteret and a body of men-at-arms, the latter of whom fired a volley in honor of the departing Governor, an evidence of a friendly feeling between them thus far at least.

Three weeks later, on the last day of April, Andros, despairing of Carteret's yielding to his authority, issued a warrant for his friend's arrest. Governor Carteret in a letter to his brother, Sir George, states that the orders of Andros to the party of soldiers sent to arrest him were to "fetch him away dead or alive;" but this letter was written amid great excitement and while Carteret was smarting under the personal indignity to which he had been subjected, and therefore it probably does not represent the matter correctly. The humane character of Andros certainly

does not bear out this statement. But that the order was executed with unnecessary not to say extreme harshness, admits of no doubt; for the fact remains that, at the dead of night, the doors of Carteret's house were broken open by the soldiers, and he himself dragged with such cruelty from his bed that, to use Carteret's own langnage in describing this outrage in a letter to a friend in England, "I was so disabled by the bruises and the hurts I then received, that I fear I shall never be the same man again." Half naked, he was carried to New York, where, after receiving some clothes, he was thrown in prison under a special warrant from Andros issued the following day.

On his trial which was before a special Court of Assize and presided over by Andros in person, Carteret defended himself with consummate ability. He justified his conduct as governor of New Jersey as being strictly legal by virtue both of his power derived from the king, and also by letters (produced in court) received from his Majesty and directed to him as "Governor of New Jersey"—at the same time submitting to the jury his royal commission and instructions. The jury, after a perusal of these latter documents, promptreturned a verdict of "not guilty." The Court, however, would not allow him to leave the court-room until he had given bonds that in case he should return to New Jersey, he would not assume "any authority or jurisdiction there, either civil or military." Carteret received the verdict apparently with no elation or triumph; but he at once took measures to lay the matter before the king, and in an exceedingly temperate manner —considering the indignities to which he had been subjected—he requested of his Majesty that a decision should be given settling for the future the exact boundaries between the provinces of New York and New Jersey.

Thus ended this celebrated controversy, to which more space has been given than might appear necessary, from the fact that it constitutes the only real basis of the charges against Governor Andros of exercising his powers in the colony of New York tyrannically. Yet even this conduct of Sir Edmund, as we have endeavored to show, was entirely against his own personal feelings, and in strict conformity to the commands of his Royal Highness James. In fact, as Andros himself afterwards said in speaking of this unfortunate occurrence, and which was evidently a "sore subject" with him, "to have acted otherwise, without the duke's order, would have been as much as my head was worth;" and those who know the despotic character of the Duke of York must admit that Andros spoke the truth.

Meanwhile, the representations of Governor Carteret to the court were not without effect; in addition

to which, certain envious traders, taking advantage of the duke's well-known greed, complained to him that Andros gave to the Dutch the preference in trade; while simultaneously, rumors set on foot by the same persons reached his ears, that his revenues might be largely increased under a different governor. This, in itself, was sufficiently alarming to the duke, whose purse was so sensitive to any diminution of its contents; and when it was further added that, in defiance of the royal edict against the people of New England trading along the Hudson, Andros still allowed the "Bostonians" to carry on the trade for beaver not only as far as Albany, but even to the remote castles of the Five Nations, his anxiety—not to say rage—knew no bounds. The duke at once carried his complaints to his brother, the king; and the result of these untruthful and malicious representations was the sudden recall of Andros, who in a letter from Windsor, under date of May 24, 1680, was directed to turn over his government to Lieutenant-Governor Brockholls and report to the king and council prepared to render an account of his stewardship. At the same time, however, the letter ended with this saving clause, viz.: that by his coming to England an opportunity would be given him to reply to his accusers, "who if unanswered," as his "loving friend, James," wrote, "might leave some blemish upon you, although undeserved."

In the examination which followed immediately upon his arrival in England regarding his conduct as governor, Andros left the royal closet not only completely vindicated from all blame, but with a compliment upon the success of his administration—a compliment which was "sealed" by his appointment as "a gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber." To this decision the king was probably led the more readily by the news received at this juncture, that the incompetence of the Lieutenant-Governor, and his disputes with delinquent traders who refused to pay taxes on the specious ground that the duke's custom-duties had expired in November by their three years' limitation, had, since the departure of Andros, involved the colony of New York in the utmost confusion—a confusion, in fact, nearly approaching to anarchy.

With the departure of Governor Andros from New York, his connection with the affairs of that city may be said virtually to have ceased. It is true that in the winter of 1686 he was appointed viceroy for the colonies of New York and New England, consolidated under the name of the "Dominion of New England;" but, with the exception of a formal visit paid to New York in August 1688, to receive the governorship from Governor Dongan, where he was met with

great pomp and ceremony, his visits were merely occasional, and then made only when passing through the city on his way to meet the Five Nations from time to time in council either at Albany or Ticonderoga. His residence during his viceroyalty was principally at Boston, and his time was chiefly taken up in circumventing the Canadian Governor, Denonville, in his efforts to seduce the Iroquois from their allegiance to the British crown. In these negotiations he was entirely successful, and his exertions in this direction made, a century later, the efforts of Sir William Johnson to hold the fickle Six Nations to their loyalty much easier. At the same time, still forced to carry out the mandates of his master—now king by the death of his brother, Charles II.,—his government became so unpopular that, when the news was confirmed in Boston of the deposition of James and the accession of William and Mary, he, together with the members of his council, was seized on the 18th of April, 1689, and imprisoned in the fort until the pleasure of the king could be known. Lady Andros, however, did not live to witness this untoward event, as she died soon after her husband's taking up his residence in Boston. In the following July he was sent to England with a committee of his accusers; but not only was he acquitted without even the form of a trial, but, in 1692, he was appointed by William III. Governor of the colony of Virginia. This latter circumstance would seem to show that the king believed that the responsibility for the arbitrary measures of Andros while Governor of New England—such, for instance, as endeavoring to seize the charter of Connecticut—should be laid upon his royal master, James II., rather than upon his obedient agent.

THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

During Andros's administration of the government of Virginia he distinguished himself by restoring the secretary's office and the records to good order, which before his arrival had been in the greatest confusion. This certainly shows that he evinced an interest in the private property of the people whom he governed, for he thereby had no personal ends to serve. He continued in the governorship of Virginia, winning the esteem and even the affections of the people by his efforts to encourage manufactures and agriculture and, as one of the founders of the College of William and Mary, the cause of education, until the year 1698, when, in consequence of quarrels with the church authorities, he was recalled. During the years 1704–5 he was Governor of the Island of Jersey, and died in London on the 24th of February, 1714, at the age of nearly seventy-seven.

The character of Sir Edmund Andros has not been fairly drawn. Those upon whose opinions his reputation rests were persons living at the same day, and who, influenced by party strife, were not in a position to judge impartially. The time, moreover, when he first took possession of his government was, for his own fame, most inauspicious. Those principles which John Hampden had asserted and poured out his blood to defend in the great ship-money contest with Charles I., and which brought that monarch to the block, were just beginning to strike root in America; and Andros arrived charged with the execution of the odious orders of a most bigoted master, of whom it has been truly said that "he would learn nothing from past experience." "My father lost his head by concessions," he repeated constantly as an answer to every argument for just and liberal dealing, "and I will concede nothing." That Andros himself was personally averse to harsh and arbitrary measures is evident from the efforts he made to prevail upon the king to allow the colony of New York a representative assembly. William of Orange, who was an excellent judge of character, retained his confidence in him to the last. This is shown not only by the successful exertion of his influence to prevent Andros being brought to trial when sent home from Boston in 1689, but by lavishing upon him, nearly to the end of his life, the highest honors in the gift of royalty. Personally his character was of the purest; and his ideas upon education, and on political and domestic economy, were far in advance of his age. His associations from early life with royalty, and his long training in the army, giving him, perhaps, an exaggerated sense of duty in carrying out the orders of his superiors—all contributed to force him into official acts which necessarily made him most unpopular. For these reasons his position in New York was uncomfortable in the highest degree; while his

former profession of arms, in which he had always been accustomed to command and be unhesitatingly obeyed, ill fitted him to brook the rebuffs and the bitter and malignant opposition of the Dutch faction. But one will look in vain for proofs of that personal tyranny of which he has been unjustly accused.

Regarding the character given him by New England historians, it is certain, as Cadwallader Colden writes to his son, "that at the time Sir Edmund Andros governed the people of New England, they were zealous Republicans, bigoted Independents, having banished all others of different religious principles from among them and persecuted some of them to death. They were enthusiastic to a degree, as appears from their public proceedings in witchcraft. To all which is to be added a stiff, formal behaviour different from the rest of mankind. Among such a people it must have been difficult for a gentleman of Sir Edmund's education, and of his principles, both as to religion and politics, to conduct himself so as to please them; for moderation often gives the greatest offence to bigots. If it be considered, likewise, that as Sir Edmund was appointed their Governor in consequence of their having had their charter vacated in the Court of Chancery in England, he, by his coming among them at that time, must be received with great disgust. He must be a very extraordinary man indeed who, in his circumstances, could at all times master his temper among such a people. The Revolution opened a wide door for the citizens of New England to make their complaints and to expose Sir Edmund's character in the strongest colors; yet notwithstanding this, King William and his ministers soon afterward appointed him Governor of Virginia, a more lucrative government than New York and Massachusetts Bay together.

The charges of tyranny which the Dutch and the dishonest English traders whose peculations he had exposed and circumvented zealously circulated even to the foot of the throne itself, will not compare either for harshness or intolerance with the acts of persecution previously practiced by Director Stuyvesant against the Quakers and members of the Church of England both upon Manhattan and Long Islands; and yet, from the peculiar position in which Andros was placed, the least malignent of the epithets bestowed upon him, was, most unjustly, that of "the arbitrary and sycophantic tool of a despotic king."

The administration of Governor Andros, moreover, forms not only a distinct but a memorable epoch in the colonial history of the city of New York. He effected a complete reorganization of the militia; repaired the fort and strengthened the defences of the harbor; increased the trade of the province; beautified the city; largely augmented the revenue from

the excise; and by a personal supervision of municipal affairs, and an untiring industry, gave such a tone to the political and social condition of the people that its effects were apparent for fully a century after the period of his incumbency.

In the case of the Indians he was indefatigable; and the able manner in which he controlled, them and his personal visits to the "Long House" —undertaken under circumstances of great hardship incident to travel in a primeval wilderness—are the more remarkable when it is considered that to assist him by counsel and advice he had no such able lieutenant as Sir William Johnson, as was the case with the governors of New York a century later. Indeed, it may safely be asserted that had it not been for his untiring efforts the Five Nations, under the insidious influence of Canada's astutest colonial Governor, Denonville—aided by the Jesuit fathers—would have been completely won over by the French, and the tomahawk and the firebrand carried down to the very gates of New York!

Edmund Andros, whether compared with those who preceded or those who came after him, may justly be considered the most able and enlightened of New York's colonial governors.

THE EARLY MISSIONS OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

As the time for the Columbian Exposition draws near the historical events to be commemorated become of increasing interest, and the life and times of Christopher Columbus and his contemporaries and successors in discoveries are being widely and critically studied.

With this revival of interest in the events and persons connected with the early history of the Americas is a desire for a more complete statement of the causes which led to their discovery, and the manners and customs which followed the Spanish arms, and afterwards became a part of the laws of the land.

No events in the whole history of the settlement of America are more interesting as historical facts, more romantic in their recital, or more fruitful in their results than the establishment and rule of the missions on the Pacific coast.

The first steps in the settlement of a country, the causes which led to its occupation, its time and manner of settlement, its first government, together with the character of its settlers and their religious institutions, are matters of primary importance in historical research, for without a knowledge of these we fail to understand the origin of the customs, laws and institutions of the country. A full and accurate history of the Spanish conquest of the Californias, the establishment of the missions and the presidios, the wars with the Indians and their enslavement, and the triumph of the church in its mission work has not yet been carefully and exhaustively studied.

While much has been written on this subject, it is so far but the compiling of reports of padres and military chiefs, who gave such facts only as it was to their own interest to present, while entirely omitting or perverting others. There is an unwritten history still fresh in the minds of many people who distinctly remember the mission days, and many of these remembrances are in direct conflict with the best written and most reliable histories on this subject. The time of the settlement of the Californias was during an age of superstition and mysteries. The witchcraft delusion of our forefathers on the Atlantic coast was but the more civilized form of the well-nigh universal belief of that day in demons, necromancy and miracles.

It was not only an age of miracles but the spirit of chivalry was still alive among the Spaniards, and the new world opened to the soldier a field for conquest and glory, and to the priest new dominions of Satan to be brought within the folds of the Church. The accounts of the early expeditions of the Spaniards to the Californias read like the history of the crusades. The object ever uppermost and always spoken of as the reason for those expeditions was the conversion of the natives, and the establishment of the true religion, the acquisition of territory being, as they claimed, a secondary consideration. These cavaliers were engaged in a holy war against the infidel, and while their accounts of their own valor are set forth in glowing descriptions, yet when we see what they actually did, and consider the people with whom they contended, and the great disparity between the weapons of warfare of the conquerors and the conquered, their exploits lose all the glory of honorable conquest, and become a mere Quixotic tale of braggadocio. Keeping ever in mind their desired end, the conversion of the soul, any means was honorable so that object was obtained. In their eyes the end justified the means, and while the padre stood with book and holy cross in hand, the soldier was there also with the sword, and between cross and sword they produced such forcible arguments that the Indians became shining examples of the doctrine of sudden conversion.

A few words by way of contrast between the colonists of the Atlantic coast and the Spaniards of the Pacific will help to point out the different objects in view, and explain somewhat the different character of the institutions established. On the eastern coast the people sought civil and religious liberty from galling oppression at home; on the Pacific, the established Church and the arms of Spain sought to extend their power in the new world, and at the same time gather in the great wealth the country was reported to contain. In the east our forefathers contended with an inhospitable climate and more hostile savages; went into the forest and built homes, founded cities and laid the ground work of the bounteous prosperity of to-day. In the west came the Church with floating banners and soldiers with the panoply of war and the blare of trumpets, into a most congenial climate, among Indian tribes that were weak, effeminate and unwarlike, accustomed to living upon the spontaneous products of a semi-tropical country and unaccustomed to war. The Spaniards built no cities, founded no colleges, established no mechanical industries. The colonists were frugal and thrifty, artisans and mechanics, lovers of liberty and founders of schools; while the Spaniards were lazy, licentious and shiftless. They

were, as well, adventurers; seeking gold and glory among a people helpless and inoffensive. While our forefathers were clearing the forests and subduing the soil, the Spaniards were subduing the spirit of freedom and liberty of inoffensive Indians, and the record of their conquest is one unbroken series of treachery, cruelty, of apprehension, and trafficking in human blood.

The account given by Prescott in the Conquest of Mexico of the treatment of Montezuma, the king, is but one example among thousands of the acts of treachery and death inflicted by the conquerors upon multitudes of less offensive and more helpless natives whose names have not been preserved in history, but have gone down unhonored to oblivion. The power of the Church and State went everywhere hand in hand, the priest having authority to establish missions wherever suitable locations of land and water were to be had for agriculture or stock-raising, and near by would be established the presidio for the soldiers, so that their presence would always be felt among the converts at the mission as well as among the Indians in the mountains; for converts were not controlled by the peaceful influence of christianity, as we know it, but the lash and dungeon and starvation were the effective weapons of their spiritual warfare. The missions of lower California were under the charge and control of the Jesuits, but by royal order from Spain in 1768, they were expelled from the country, and the Franciscan Friars took their places and established all the missions of Upper California. Junipero Serra was the first president and the most successful missionary among them. The objects of the missions were to convert the natives, teach them Christian doctrines and manners of living, and after a few years to change the missions into local churches under a priest, and then the friars moved farther out into the frontier. The presidio was the garrison for the soldier, who was the representative of the government, and held possession of the territory for Spain. The soldiers were to keep the Indians in subjection, to protect the padres, and repel foreigners.

The founding of a mission was usually in the following manner: booths of boughs were built, the ground was sprinkled with holy water, and a huge cross was erected to the ringing of bells, firing of guns, the burning of incense and the prayers of the padres. The cross being consecrated by the sprinkling of holy water, an altar was erected and mass was said, after which they fired a salute to the Virgin, and sang a Te Deum Laudamus; and then the Church was prepared for work, and her doors were opened to the barbarian and unbeliever. This confusion generally drove the Indians into the mountains, where they often remained for weeks, some even refusing to visit the missions

afterwards. The founding of the first mission in California was at Old Town San Diego, Sunday, July 16, 1769, at which time the holy cross was raised and blessed. This may be properly considered as the beginning of the mission history in California; although Junipero Serra had arrived on the first of that month, and a vessel containing supplies had been in the harbor for several weeks, awaiting the arrival of the party of friars, soldiers and Indians, that was coming overland from Lower California. Beside the usual ceremonies attending such an occasion, a special miracle was wrought, at the founding of this, the first mission, for the comfort of the padres and the consternation of the natives. The miracle was an eclipse and an earthquake, both of which greatly terrified the Indians, but neither of which were perceived by the Christians. The padres made presents of beads and ornaments and tried to persuade the Indians to live at the missions, but they naturally seemed to care less for spiritual consolation than for the trinkets. If the gifts were not frequent enough they would beg for them; if this failed they would steal if there was an opportunity, and they pressed their wants with such importunity and impertinence that forbearance at length ceased to be a virtue, and at last the soldiers fired upon them. The Indians in return determined upon a raid for plunder. The result of this raid was the death of three Indians, the wounding of several others, but not before they had fired a volley of arrows that killed a boy, wounded a padre, a blacksmith and a neophyte.

This was a sad beginning for missionary work, and it was many months before the padres could induce the Indians to return to their mission, and it was more than a year before the first convert could be induced to be baptized and unite with the Church. The second mission was established at San Carlos near the bay of Monterey, June 3, 1770, and it was at this place in the following December, that the first convert was baptized in Upper California. Twenty-one missions in all were founded. They were situated near the coast, and a day's journey apart, extending from San Diego on the south to Solano, near San Francisco on the north. Much has been written both for and against the rule of the mission fathers, some claiming that they were kind and lenient with the natives, others that they were cruel and harsh, inflicting severe penalties and committing many barbarous acts. The former opinion is in conformity with the written accounts left by the padres themselves, and the latter is the tradition handed down by the natives, and told by their descendants to this day. Judging by the present disposition of the Indians it would seem that something more than mere argument and miracles would be necessary to persuade a wild and untutored native who had

spent a life-time in this climate to fall in love with hard work, and it is easy to believe that nothing short of enforced servitude would have produced the vast amount of labor performed by the Indians under the mission rule.

A site for a mission having been selected and the presidio being established, the next thing was to procure laborers; men were needed to build houses, plant orchards, construct irrigation ditches, and tend the sheep and cattle; women were needed to wait on the padres, cook, cultivate the garden, learn to sew, weave, make baskets, and in short do all household duties as well as work in the field during the busy season; but where were these laborers to be had. The padre was a priest, the soldier was a gentleman, and as to women they had none. It is uncertain at this late day just how the first laborers were obtained, but as to those at the San Gabriel mission there are two accounts. The one is the written account left by the padres, and the one generally believed, because the other is generally unknown. The other account is oral, being the tradition handed down, and now repeated by the children and grandchildren.

The written account stripped of its surplusage, presents this astonishing picture. The padre having met the Indians at their village, preached a sermon with great demonstration of spirit and of power on the superiority of the ways of the white man, and the need of converting the Indians; then with the chanting of a hymn, the burning of incense, and other religious demonstrations, he unfurled to the eyes of the astonished natives a banner, on one side of which was a picture of the Blessed Virgin, and on the other side an Indian in hell, whereupon the whole multitude were instantaneously and miraculously converted, and upon being baptized were taken to the mission, and became a part of the spiritual charge of the Church. The oral account, as the writer has heard it told, by one of the descendants, divested of its offensive features is as follows: The soldiers having surrounded the Indian village by night, captured all the children, and took them by force to the mission, and baptized them, and then refused to let their mothers see them, unless they too would be baptized and consent to live at the mission; which most of them did, after listening to the cries and pleadings of the children from day to day; then the husbands and fathers were forbidden to see their families unless they would be baptized and join the Church, as the converts must not mingle with the unconverted heathen; so in due time the whole village was at the mission. The written account above referred to says that as the great miracle of converting so many at one time was performed by the Angel Gabriel, the mission was therefore named in his honor, "San Gabriel Archangel."

C. P. Dorland.

A BANQUET TO GENERAL HARRISON IN 1826.

In October, 1826, General William Henry Harrison visited Vincennes, Indiana, the scene of his early glory, and a banquet was tendered him by its citizens. The next day he was in Princeton, twenty-five miles south of Au Poste, and the loyal inhabitants of that town honored him in a similar manner. These facts, as far as we have made research, have never been presented to the general public, save in a very limited manner through the *Western Sun*, a weekly newspaper of that time, published in Vincennes. Incidentally it may be permitted to say here that there is but one file of the *Western Sun* in existence. It is a four-column folio, printed in brevier type. The *Sun's* account of the banquet occupies about two columns of its valuable space, containing a synopsis of General Harrison's, as well as a resumé of Governor Jenning's speeches, and a complete list of all the toasts offered on that august occasion. The banquet was given on Friday, October 27, 1826, and the *Sun* published its account November 4, of the same year. The banquet in Princeton occurred the next day, and the fact was given publicity in the *Sun* on December 2, 1826. In neither of these articles is even a hint dropped as to the purpose of General Harrison's visit to this then western country, and since his biographers, as far as we have investigated, fail to mention his journey to the points named above, it may be presumed that he was in the west for political purposes, as well as to meet and greet old battle-tried friends. Governor Jennings, who had represented the second Indiana Congressional district in Congress, and was at the time canvassing for votes, was with General Harrison, which is a circumstance simple in itself, but tending to show the object of the General's visit. General Harrison was then United States Senator from Ohio, and his public duties demanded his presence in Washington City at the session of Congress beginning in December following, so that his journey west was necessarily of short duration. But his time-tried and devoted friends made it especially interesting to him.

The *Sun's* account of the banquet in Vincennes on Friday, October 27, 1826, begins by stating the object in these words: "To evince their high regard for the character, and grati-

tude for the public services of General William Henry Harrison, the citizens of Vincennes gave him a public dinner at the hotel."

The seventh toast reads thus: "General William Henry Harrison: In the government of our territory, and in the councils of our country, he exhibited the talents of a statesman—Tippecanoe and the Thames witnessed the bravery of the soldier, and the genius of the commander."

The General arose in the acknowledgement of the compliment and very modestly thanked the company present for the flattering sentiment expressed in the toast, and declared that words could not express his feelings. "It was now [we follow the exact style of printing of the *Sun*] twenty-six years since he first arrived in this country, as the chief magistrate of the territory of Indiana. * * * * You have not only (said gen. H.) home testimony to the correctness of my intentions and the purity of my motives; but you have chosen to forget the many errors which I no doubt committed in the arduous civil and military duties which were assigned to me. Before I resume my seat (said gen. H.), permit me to pay a just tribute of respect to the conduct of the citizens of this section of the country in the trying period of Indian hostility, which occurred before the declaration of the last war. It is a fact well known, that fifteen months previous to that event these detached and sparsely populated settlements were surrounded by a superior Indian force of whose determined hostility they had too many evidences to doubt, and with whom they had the daily expectation of being obliged to contend within their own domiciles, for their own, and the lives of their wives and children; under these trying circumstances, and with the perfect knowledge that their only safety consisted in attacking and destroying the constantly increasing hoard of banditti at Tippecanoe, they continued to respect the forms of their government, and wait the arrival of the tardy consent, and scanty succors of the executive of the Union."

His speech was brief, and after the words here presented he offered a toast and sat down to hear the other speeches made on that occasion.

There is no doubt but the citizens of Princeton entertained feelings of flattering confidence and regard for General Harrison. A manuscript has just come to light, prepared by the late Judge Samuel Hall of that city, which gives a full account of the General's visit there. The account, word for word, was published however in the *Western Sun* on December 2, following, but as the *Sun* had no general circulation (simply local) and the matter has escaped the notice of the biographers, the manuscript statements of Judge Hall are here presented to the historical reader for the first time. The speech of General Harrison to the people of Princeton is the only one of which we

have any knowledge, wherein he refuted the base falsehoods of his traducers relative to his management of, and conduct at the battle of Tippecanoe. Judge Hall's account reads as follows:

"PRINCETON, GIBSON COUNTY,
OCTOBER 30th, 1826.

On the 25th of October the citizens of Gibson county, having received information that General William Henry Harrison was at Vincennes (a distance of twenty-five miles from this place), immediately determined to write him to visit them. A committee was appointed to wait on the General and ascertain from him whether he could consistently, with his arrangements, spare the time to pay them a visit, and they addressed General Harrison the following:

'PRINCETON, Oct. 25th, 1826.

'Sir: — The citizens of Gibson county, having learned that you were in their neighborhood, cannot consistently with their feelings let the opportunity pass without expressing their strong desire of again seeing you amongst them. Believe us, sir, when we declare that we cannot recollect the many important services you have rendered this infant country without entertaining the most glowing feelings of gratitude. At a time when we were involved in the greatest difficulties, we always found in you an able defender and an energetic supporter of our rights.

'The undersigned, a committee appointed for that purpose, on behalf of the citizens of Gibson county, most earnestly request you to visit them before you return to Ohio. at such time as will most conveniently suit your arrangements.

'W. Wilson, D. Robb, J. Armstrong, J. I. Neely, J. Evans.

'To General William Henry Harrison, at present at Vincennes.'

"General Harrison, having accepted the invitation on the 25th of October, in company with Governor Jennings, the Hon. Isaac Blackford and others, repaired to Princeton. He was met four miles from town by two companies of infantry, together with a large concourse of citizens (in all about 200) who escorted him to town. Before he dismounted he made the following address to those around him:

No one, fellow-citizens, who has not been placed in a situation similar to that which I now occupy, can appreciate the feelings which I at this moment experience. Any military commander, after a long lapse of years, seeing himself surrounded by a considerable number of his fellow soldiers with whom he has served and suffered and, allow me to say, conquered, must possess great insensibility if his mind does not acknowledge a great degree of satisfaction. But the tie which binds me to you, fellow-citizens, is one of still deeper interest than that which usually connects a General with his army. To the qualities of prompt and cheerful obedience, undeviating confidence, and patient endurance of the greatest suffering, and the most heroic valor on the field, for which I am indebted to you, I add one obligation which no other commander has ever received. Can I ever forget, that at the close

of the campaign of 1811, when my character and conduct were assailed by the grossest calumnies, you not only hurled them back with scorn in the teeth of those who uttered them, but with a generosity of which history affords no example; you not only assigned to your commander a liberal portion of the honors of the victory, but were willing to place on his brows a share of those laurels which you had so dearly won? I have never claimed on that, or any other occasion, any merit but that of having given to American valor an opportunity to display itself. While fortified by your repeated and solemn declarations which have been recorded in the annals of the country, though assailed by the repeated and still continued misrepresentations of designing men, I will say, that to this moment I am conscious only of the commission of a single error, and that of minor importance (relative to a movement of cavalry), either in the position, the place or the conduct of the battle of Tippecanoe; that the designation of the encampment by the enemy is a vile, infamous slander; that the opinion expressed by the numerous and recent visitants to the scene of the action justifies that which has been given by one of the supreme judges of this state, who is now present and who has just returned from an excursion to it: "That it appeared to him to have been formed by nature for a position to be defended against an attack of savages;" and that the plan and conduct of the action, whether good or bad, was my own. If to that plan or that conduct, the heavy loss which threw a gloom over the victory is attributable, the sole blame lies on me. But, gentlemen, the declaration you have made, the splendid reception you have now given me, acquits me of being the author of the mourning in which almost every family of this settlement was once clothed. This is a point upon which you could not, you dare not, flatter me. After such treachery to themselves and the heroic dead, who fell fighting under their immediate orders, my gallant friend, whom I have in my eye, and his worthy associates, could not sleep quietly in their beds; nor should I be more surprised if the ghosts of Warrick and Spencer should now appear to us, than if General Wilson, Colonel Hargrove, and Major Robb, who commanded companies at Tippecanoe and were then present and shaking their gory locks at their old associates, bareing their bleeding bosoms and pointing to me, should exclaim: "'Twas he who did it!"* But I repeat, gentlemen, that I have nothing of the kind with which to reproach myself. The heroes who fell at Tippecanoe experienced the common lot of war, to which we are all equally exposed. Such a victory over such an enemy could not be achieved without great loss. "No lady's hand was in the fight." Kickapoos and Winnebagoos do not sport in battle. But I have detained you too long. I will conclude by saying, that the effects of your valor was not confined to the victory of Tippecanoe. It was acknowledged to have been felt throughout the northwestern war.

"The company then sat down to a dinner provided for the occasion by Messrs. Brown and Daniel. After the cloth was removed the usual number of set toasts were drank, but the length of the addresses will not admit of the insertion of all of them here. Among the rest were the following: 'General William Henry Harrison: 'Tis hard to tarnish pure diamond; his virtues have triumphed over calumny.' Upon this toast being given, General Harrison said that he was too well acquainted with the generous sentiments which are entertained by the citizens of Gibson county to

*The indefiniteness of this passage is probably due to errors in the MSS. of Judge Hall.

be surprised at the compliment which the toast contained. He begged the company to believe that he would endeavor to merit a continuance of their good opinion in the honorable station in which the confidence of the people of Ohio had placed him. As he had nothing to conceal with regard to his opinions and political course, he would state that he was a supporter of the present administration, although he did not vote for Mr. Adams. Mr. Adams, he said, had hitherto pursued the policy which he believed to be well calculated to advance the happiness and prosperity of the Union and which he formerly supposed was universally popular in the western country. General Harrison then went into a short vindication of the internal improvements and tariff system, and concluded by offering the following sentiment: 'The Fourth United States regiment; their valor at Tippecanoe was that of the Tenth Legion of Cæsar, supported by Roman *Velites*.'

"On the following toast being read, 'The Honorable Jonathan Jennings: his distinguished services to the state will not soon be forgotten,'—Governor Jennings arose and said, that in receiving an expression so favorable and unexpected of his past public services, he should be ungrateful were he not to tender to the company his unfeigned thanks. Although he was insensible of desiring so much of their kindness and good opinion, he begged leave to assure the company that their liberality towards him would have its due exertion in his future discharge of public duty as might induce a continuation of their good opinion.

"A great many volunteer toasts were drank. Amongst others was one highly complimentary to the Honorable Isaac Blackford, who offered a few remarks on the occasion and proposed the following sentiment: 'A well-armed and well-disciplined militia, the legitimate defenders of a republican government.'"

And this is the conclusion of Judge Hall's narrative of this historical banquet at Princeton.

It is pertinent to add here that it is not known that General Harrison ever publicly refuted these gross fabrications lodged against him by his traducers, except in the speech presented above. When he arose in the Senate of the United States on a personal privilege, to reply to the charges of John Randolph, of Roanoke, that he was a black-cockade federalist and an advocate of the Alien and Sedition laws, his gracious manhood and instinctive courtesy were above belittling anger and fulsome epithets and elevated the man in public estimation. The same old calumnies about the Tippecanoe campaign in 1811 were revived against him in the canvass of 1840, when he made the successful race for the presidency, but the verdict of the people at the polls stamped the brand of infamy upon them forever.

Soon after the action against the Prophet, resolutions were passed by the legislatures of Kentucky and Indiana, highly complimentary to him and the officers and men under his command. He was highly complimented by President Madison in his message of Dec. 18, 1811. His reputation was most solidly and permanently established now.

In the celebrated and noisy hard-cider and log-cabin campaign of 1840, the first one of this character in America, the patriotic men, women, and children of the Wabash valley perhaps took the lead in these numerous long and loud processions. Everywhere the log-cabin with the coon-skin tacked up near the door and the barrel of hard-cider near by, appeared conspicuously in all the demonstrations. These people loved the valiant and sturdy old commander-in-chief, since the scene of his early glory was in their midst, and they even made a pilgrimage to a three-day's banquet held on the noted battle field of Tippecanoe. No class of people mourned his death with deeper feelings of regret and pain.

FRANK A. MYERS.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHICAGO.

THE story of Chicago, like Knickerbocker's History of New York, begins with original chaos and primal creation. Moreover, Chicago is one of the latest successes of creative power.

Only by slow emergence through innumerable ages did it come to light in the midst of the New World. Not only when a large part of North America lay under water but afterward, when the central valley had been uplifted, when the mighty Mississippi six times its present breadth had cut its channel to the gulf, when the chain of great lakes began to pour a part of their overplus down the ancient Niagara, almost the entire corporate limits of the present city of Chicago, (eight miles by twenty-four) lay twenty feet beneath Lake Michigan. It is all "made land"—the deposit of a shorewise reflex current, left bare by a subsidence of thirty feet in the level of the lake.

The ancient shore line, starting at the north in the Wilmette suburb, trends southwest to Norwood Park (where formerly the North Branch through high banks emptied into the lake); thence southward and again southwest until at Riverside it reaches a distance of eleven miles from the present shore. Here the line was broken by a great placid river, twenty feet in depth and two miles wide, flowing gently outward from the lake. At its initial point absorbing the insignificant Des Plaines, and filling the present valley of that stream, it glided over the "twelve mile level" toward Lockport. Here it suddenly broke into a bawling race down a declivity of seventy-seven feet in ten miles to Lake Joliet, whence it continued through the broad channel of the Illinois valley and the Father of Waters to the Gulf of Mexico.

From the northern shore of the lake and the straits came great ice-floats loaded with large water-worn granite boulders. These were carried inland and as the ice melted were

deposited along the water-course. In "the great slough" north of Joliet, formerly one of the channels of the river, the writer has himself noted with curiosity the soft black alluvial deposit thickly studded with these incongruous foreigners — hundreds perhaps thousands, upon an acre— boulders often of many tons weight, where no other stones are found, granite in a lime-stone region and wholly unlike any native rock.

North of Riverside, on the Des Plaines in that ancient day you would have found a beaver dam and an industrious colony. Looking southward from the same point two miles across the lake outlet at Summit, you would observe the low shore-line begin again trending away six miles southeast to Washington Heights, where it rises a hundred feet above the brimming lake.

During the untold ages the lake level is gradually lowered, and by the action of the waves always washing up a ridge of sand and gravel upon the margin, successive new shore lines are formed within the one we have traced. When the lake has fallen twenty feet or more, the bar of the Divide appears at the surface, and the southwestern outflow of the lake wholly ceases. Ten feet more and the present shore-line is formed, while the Divide or "Portage," as it was called by the early explorers, is left eight or ten feet above the lake-level, and for commercial purposes must be pierced by a canal. The Illinois and Mississippi rivers are shrunken by the loss of all the ancient output of the upper lakes.

All this before primitive man had touched foot to Chicago sands, or had startled the multitudinous water-fowl which bred in her marshes— sands and marshes fated to become of fabulous value, and to support incomparable business structures on teeming thoroughfares.

As far as we can judge the Mound-builders came first. They wrought in the copper-mines of Lake Superior; they settled, raising their monumental tumuli and fortifications, in Wisconsin and along the Mississippi; but in their eyes poor, flat, reedy and barren Chicago had no attractions.

Next came the rude, untamable Red-man, who lived by the chase, and whose pastime was predatory warfare. His enslaved women set up his lodge-poles by many a lake and stream; but even this savage scarcely deigned to make of the dreary plain with its sluggish creeks a temporary fishing-camp.

In 1607 the English took root at Jamestown, in 1612 the French at Quebec, in 1614 the Dutch were well established at New York, in 1620 the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. Following the natural water-ways the French were one hundred years before the English pioneers in finding Chicago and the Mississippi Valley.

"In 1639, Nicolet visited the west shore of Lake Michigan. In 1673, Sieur Joliet and Father Marquette,

his priestly scribe, started from Green Bay, ascended the Fox, made portage across the Wisconsin Divide and descended the Wisconsin to the Mississipppi. On this they floated far down (to the Arkansas?) and then they paddled back to the mouth of the Illinois, and up the latter, (pausing at the Indian Village of Kaskaskia where they were 'well received') and entered the northern fork (Des Plaines), which they called the 'Chicagou,' and so on to our own Chicago streamlet which they called the Portage river, a name which clung to our South branch until about 1800. Through this they reached Lake Michigan (called by them the 'Lake of the Illinois') and they sailed along the lake shore to Green Bay, whence they had started. Joliet went on to Montreal, where he reported his discoveries, the most important of which was the Chicago Portage. Of this he said, with an accuracy which time has only confirmed, that it would be possible to go from Lake Erie to the Mississippi in boats 'by a very good navigation.' 'There would be but one canal to make by cutting a half league of prairie to pass from the Lake of the Illinois [Michigan] to the St. Louis River [the Illinois] which empties into the Mississippi.'"

After Joliet had launched his canoe in the South Branch or "Portage River," and had declared this the point where water communication between the lakes and the gulf might readily be opened, one hundred and four years passed away before a civilized man established the first permanent residence on the site of the future Chicago. Yet about this time some sort of rude cabin for trading purposes was erected, probably at the point where the West Fork joins the South Branch. Here Father Marquette, the year following Joliet's visit, was detained all winter by sickness.

Eight years later in 1682 La Salle followed, and gives a most vivid and

OLD KINZIE HOUSE.

unmistakable portraiture of the beaver dam, the Des Plaines, the Divide at Summit, Mud Lake and the South Branch with its West Fork, and the flow in high water passing either or both ways over this low water-shed, which he calls the "Portage of Chicagou."

During eighty-three years of

French occupation which followed, there are only very slight and infrequent mentions of Chicago as a route of travel between more favored places —once as "the house of the Jesuit Fathers at Chicago"—once suggested as a place of rendezvous for an expedition against the Sacs and Foxes. For a part of the time at least there must have been some traders on the ground and a Jesuit missionary or two. In 1765 the country by treaty passed to the English; and nearly fifteen years later in 1779, the fourth year of the colonial struggle for independence, the region was captured for the State of Virginia by one of the most extraordinary expeditions on record, under the command of Col. George Rogers Clark, for whom are named Clark Street, Clark County, and Clarksville. This hardy pioneer and bold, far-seeing patriot was a Kentuckian of the Daniel Boone stamp.

In 1778 Clark traveled all the way from Kentucky to the James River, to lay before Patrick Henry, Virginia's first governor, a plan for seizing Fort Chartres, Kaskaskia, Vincennes and perhaps Detroit itself, and so adding to Virginia all the country northwest of the Ohio. He told of the outrages of the Indians under English influence, and promised the sympathy and support of the Kentuckians and other settlers who still survived, all embittered to the last extent and all good fighters. He added that the Kaskaskia settlement, being French, was surrounded by friendly Indians. Also that among the French themselves we should find a most friendly feeling, especially when they should be apprised of the alliance with France just then accomplished by Franklin.

Virginia gave Clark arms, ammunition and supplies, a commission as colonel, and leave to recruit men where he could. She also gave John Todd, of Kentucky, the appointment of "County Lieutenant, or Commandant of the County of Illinois," and a letter of instructions under Patrick Henry's own hand.

With a small force of "buckskins" Clark surprised the garrison of Kaskaskia on the Mississippi. When the French and creole inhabitants were told of the alliance with France, and saw that they were to be treated with kindness, while their religion would have complete tolerance, under the lead of their priest Père Gibault, they freely gave allegiance to the American cause as did also Cahokia and soon after Vincennes. Thereupon Col. Hamilton, British Commandant at Detroit and over all this region, fitted out an expedition with which he marched upon and occupied Vincennes. Here he proposed to winter having interposed between Clark and his base of supplies, and expecting in the spring to make short work of his greatly inferior force. However, Clark in February, with one hundred and seventy men, with incredible hardship, marched through the flooded Wabash country, fording rafting and swimming the ice-cold floods and for days without food, till at last they had struggled to Vincennes, where they soon compelled Hamilton to surrender the fort with

all the forces, munitions and stores it contained. So ended the contest and these towns and lands of French exploration and occupation have remained in our hands ever since.

Up to the date of the signing of the Declaration of Independence it does not appear that any person whatsoever had established an ownership of Chicago soil which has endured. But about two years later, one Jean Baptiste Point de Saible left Peoria and settled in Chicago. Here he lived seventeen years in a cabin on the North Side near the river and almost opposite the point where Fort Dearborn was erected twenty-five years later. It has been said that "the first white inhabitant of Chicago was black." Baptiste Point de Saible was a Haytien mulatto. He is described by Col. De Puyster, commandant at Mackinaw (July 4, 1779) as "a handsome negro, well settled at Eschicagou, but much in the French interest." His cabin he sold to a French trader, La Mai, who sold it in 1804 to John Kinzie. During a portion at least of Baptiste Point de Saible's occupancy another man, one Guarie had a trading cabin on the west side of the North Branch, which was called River Guarie. By the year 1800 other traders had located at Chicago, but the place was of far less importance than St. Joseph upon the opposite side of the lake.

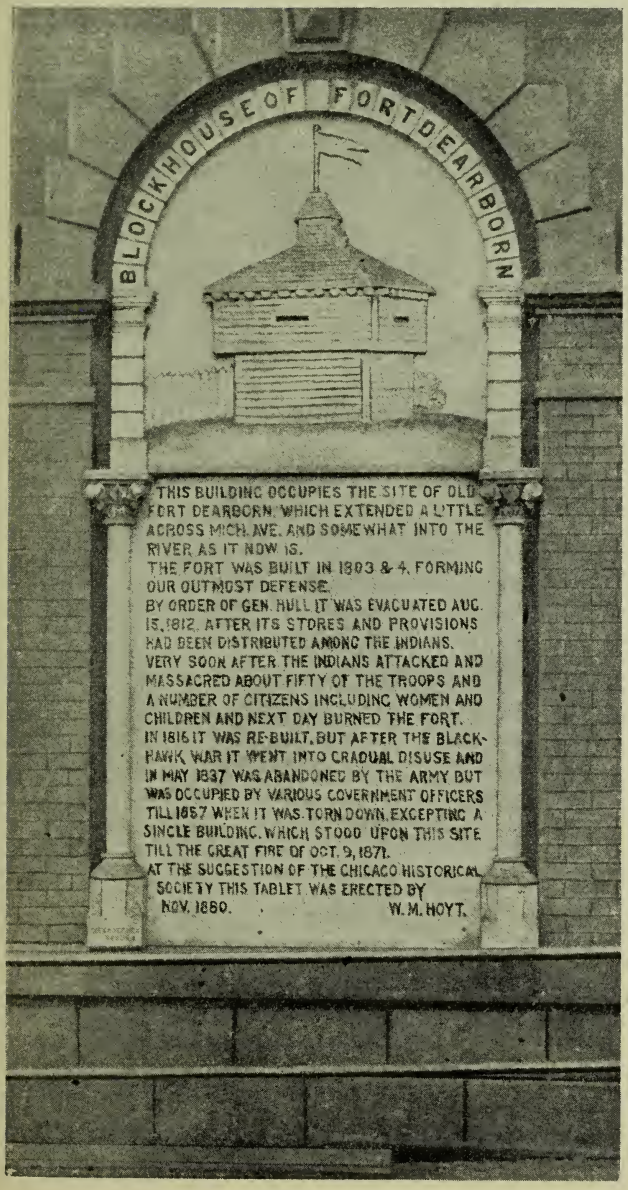
Pointe de Saible, Le Mai and Guarie have disappeared and left no sign. Not so another Frenchman who was for a time their contemporary—Antoine Ouillemette. Major Whistler found him here when he arrived in 1803 to build the first Fort Dearborn. Ouillemette remained here and hereabouts for the next thirty years, and was the only white inhabitant during the four years following the massacre of 1812. He lived about the Fort until 1829, with his wife, a Pottawatomie, when he obtained through her, a reservation at Gross Point (Evanston), which he cultivated until 1835, at which time he moved with the tribe to Council Bluffs. The fine suburb "Wilmette" perpetuates his name and marks the place which he fenced and cultivated.

In 1795 by a treaty which General Wayne arranged with twelve Indian tribes, among other tracts for trading posts, they ceded "One piece of land six miles square at the mouth of the Chicago river emptying into the southwestern end of Lake Michigan where a fort formerly stood."

This is the first official recognition by the United States government of the name Chicago. Here also appears the tradition of a fortification of some sort at this place in that dim century and more since the days of Joliet and La Salle. Nine years later, in 1803, Captain John Whistler was sent with a company of soldiers to build a fort—the first, or Old Fort Dearborn.

John Wentworth (in Fergus Historical Series, No. 16) quotes Mrs. Julia Whistler regarding the settlement in 1803 as follows:

The United States schooner Tracy . . . on arriving at Chicago, anchored half a mile from the shore, discharging her freight from boats. Some 2,000 Indians visited the local-


BLOCKHOUSE OF FORT DEARBORN
THIS BUILDING OCCUPIES THE SITE OF OLD FORT DEARBORN, WHICH EXTENDED A LITTLE ACROSS MICH. AVE. AND SOMEWHAT INTO THE RIVER AS IT NOW IS.
THE FORT WAS BUILT IN 1803 & 4, FORMING OUR OUTMOST DEFENSE.
BY ORDER OF GEN. HULL IT WAS EVACUATED AUG. 15, 1812, AFTER ITS STORES AND PROVISIONS HAD BEEN DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE INDIANS.
VERY SOON AFTER THE INDIANS ATTACKED AND MASSACRED ABOUT FIFTY OF THE TROOPS AND A NUMBER OF CITIZENS INCLUDING WOMEN AND CHILDREN AND NEXT DAY BURNED THE FORT.
IN 1816 IT WAS RE-BUILT, BUT AFTER THE BLACK-HAWK WAR IT WENT INTO GRADUAL DISUSE AND IN MAY 1837 WAS ABANDONED BY THE ARMY BUT WAS OCCUPIED BY VARIOUS GOVERNMENT OFFICERS TILL 1857 WHEN IT WAS TORN DOWN, EXCEPTING A SINGLE BUILDING, WHICH STOOD UPON THIS SITE TILL THE GREAT FIRE OF OCT. 9, 1871.
AT THE SUGGESTION OF THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY THIS TABLET WAS ERECTED BY
NOV. 1880. W. M. HOYT.

ity while the vessel was here, being attracted by so unusual an occurence as the appearance in these waters of "a big canoe with wings." There were then here but four rude huts, or traders' cabins occupied by white men, Canadian French with Indian wives. . . . There was not at that time, within hundreds of miles, a team of horses, or oxen; and, as a consequence, the soldiers had to don the harness and with the aid of ropes, drag home the needed timbers.

Three of these cabins were those already mentioned; the fourth belonged to one Pettell of whom and his hut we know only the name. In widening the river a large part of the site of the old fort has been cut away, so that the south end of the Rush St. bridge springs from about the middle of the ancient enclosure. The block house stood at the southwest angle. The second fort was built upon the ruins of the first. Therefore, to locate both, one must stand by the Memorial Tablet in the wall of Hoyt and Company's warehouse and look

northeast, including a portion of the river.

Here is where the old "rope ferry" was established about 1837 and maintained even down to 1857—a rope stretched across the river, lying on the bottom when a tug or vessel passed, raised out of water by a windlass and made the guide of a flat boat which plied back and forth in a slow and dignified fashion. Thousands of Chicagoans still living remember the poor device; and when they see the surging crowd of wayfarers and vehicles that now speed to and fro over the splendid, four-track, iron, steam swing-bridge, they smile at the recollection of the barge they used to pull across with their own hands, seizing the rope and walking the length of the barge to push it forward.

From 1804 to 1811, the characteristic traits of this isolated corner of the earth were its isolation; the garrison within the stockade and the ever-present cloud of savages outside, half seen, half trusted, half feared; its long summers (sometimes hot and sometimes hotter), and its long winters (sometimes cold and sometimes colder); its plenitude of the mere necessaries of life, meat and drink, shelter and fuel, and its destitution of all luxuries; its leisurely industry and humble prosperity; Kinzie the garrison sutler, Indian trader, silver-smith and fiddler, vying with the regular Government agent in the purchase of pelts and the sale of rude Indian goods.

For nine years no event of signal importance seems to have varied the ordinary life of a small garrison and obscure trading-post. In 1812 a cloud of war overhung the nation and cast a deadly shadow even upon the remote settlements. To the shame of the British government its officers and emissaries were found enlisting and stirring up the fiendishly cruel and murderous savages against the scattered and all but defenceless American settlers. The famous Tecumseh and his brother the "Prophet," were willing and effective instruments in exciting a general conspiracy and hostility.

In Chicago the first blow fell on April 6, 1812, when a dozen savages appeared at a cabin on the South Branch called "Lee's Place" and afterward "Hardscrabble," where they murdered two defenceless men, Liberty White and a Frenchman, Debou.

Here we pause on the eve of the darkest day in Chicago's infancy. The unspeakable Indian is all about her, destitute, drunken, lazy, greedy, cruel, treacherous. Her own citizens have been industrious, temperate, economical and thrifty, and so have got stores of good things, food and clothing, flocks and herds, houses and furniture. He has remained in poverty in spite of his bounties; they have prospered without any. War has been declared between England and the United States—now is the time to follow the counsels of Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet; to be rich with the palefaces' possessions—now for the war-dance, the scalp-dance, the war-path, the war-whoop.

The accounts of the evacuation of Fort Dearborn, and the massacre of the garrison are in many of the minor details quite conflicting. The main facts, however, are clear enough: On June 12th, 1812, war was declared. July 16th, Mackinac had surrendered to the British. General Hull commanding at Detroit sends orders by a friendly Indian, Winnemeg, that Captain Heald in command at Fort

Dearborn shall evacuate that post "if practicable," and proceed to Detroit with his force overland, first disposing of the public property as he may see fit.

A terrible responsibility here falls upon poor Heald. Evacuate the post—but how? He has but seventy men, all told, many of them on the sick-list. How care for the women, the children, the sick and helpless, not to speak of the pitiful accumulations of their thrift and industry. Then there are thousands of dollars' worth of goods public and private property, including arms, ammunition *and liquor*.

The whiskey would make the savages crazy with ferocity, and the arms would make them dangerous, formidable, irresistible. Truly an awful dilemma.

Winnemeg at first advised that the fort be held to await re-inforcements. Next instantaneous departure, before the savages could collect and decide on a line of action, getting safely away while they were occupied with the huge spoil. John Kinzie approved this course. Both knew the Indian better than did Heald.

According to Mrs. Kinzie, author of Waubun;

The order for evacuating the post was read next morning [Sunday, August 10th] on parade. . . . In the course of the day . . . the officers waited upon Captain Heald to be informed what course he intended to pursue. When they learned his intentions they remonstrated with him on the following grounds:

First, it was highly improbable that the command would be permitted to pass through the country in safety to Fort Wayne. . . . In the next place their march must necessarily be slow, as their movements must be accommodated to the helplessness of the women and children of whom there were a number with the detachment. Of their small force some of the soldiers were superannuated,

others invalid. Therefore, since the course was left discretional, their unanimous advice was to remain where they were and fortify themselves as strongly as possible.

Unfortunately the commander decided to delay that he might make an orderly distribution of goods to the savages, and complete preparations for the march, declaring that he had "full confidence in the friendly professions of the Indians." Meantime the savages rapidly increased in numbers and insolence.

On the 12th, Captain Heald and Mr. Kinzie held a council with the Indians under the guns of the fort when they came to a seemingly amicable agreement. With many professions of friendship and good will the chiefs promised all that was required. The same day the dwellers within and about the fort were cheered by the arrival of William Wells with thirty friendly Miami Indians. They had come one hundred and fifty miles from Fort Wayne to escort the Chicago community back through the same trackless forest.

On the 13th or 14th the goods and some provisions were distributed among the Indians. On the same evening the ammunition and extra arms were destroyed and the liquors, of which there seems to have been large store, were poured into the river. This was done with the utmost effort at secrecy, but the savages got wind of it—indeed the waters of the river in the morning were said to have a taste decidedly "groggy." Upon this proceeding the thirsty braves had tremendous indignation.

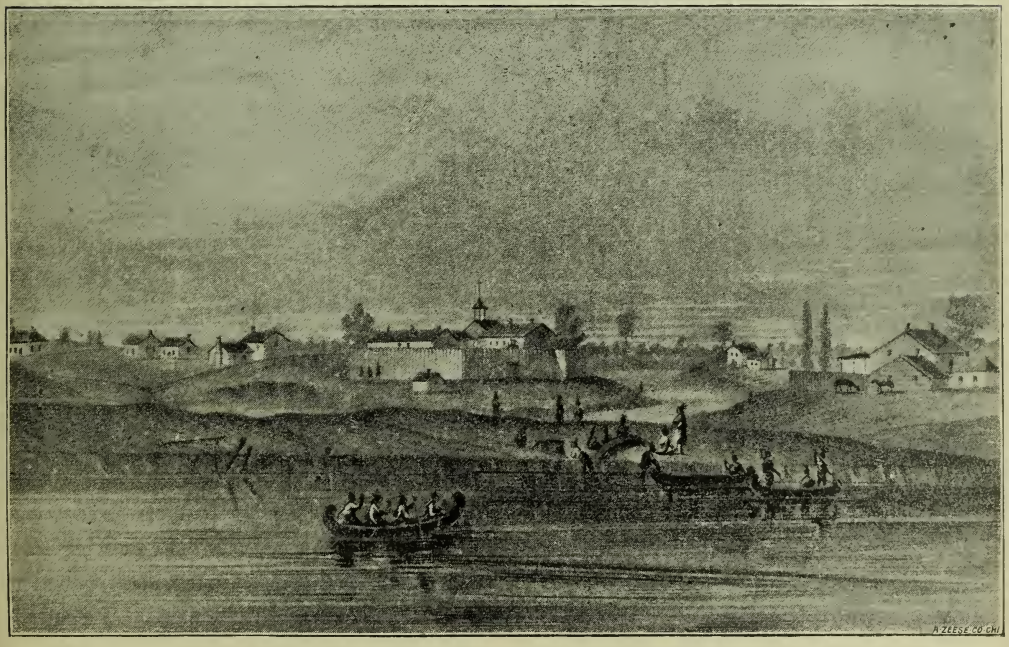
Upon the morning of August 15th, 1812, the pitiable cavalcade marched forth to inevitable doom. They took the shore-trail, while six hundred painted warriors hovered upon their flank, but soon shot ahead to lay their ambuscade. Only a mile and a half out the attack began, the Indians firing from behind the sand-hills. Even now there was no generalship. The real fighting lasted no more than fifteen minutes. Instead of massing the train on the shore with the lake to protect flank and rear, and defending themselves behind this effectual barricade, Captain Heald with the most of his effective force left the train with the women, children, sick and disabled, while he charged up and over the sand hills. The savages immediately gave way in front, gathering upon his flanks. After delivering one volley, with the remnant of his force, he passed on and gained a position upon a knoll some distance out in the prairie. Here the Indians seem to have left him unmolested till they had wrought their devilish purpose with the deserted and almost defenceless train. The usual atrocities were committed; a few were spared, but for reasons quite apart from considerations of age or sex. Private Jordan, a survivor, reports that of one hundred and thirty or forty soldiers and civilians (including ten women and twenty children)

all were killed except fifteen. Captain Heald gives the killed in the action as thirty-eight soldiers, two women and twelve children. These children of the white families were in a baggage wagon into which a young savage climbed and tomahawked the entire group.

When brave Captain William Wells had been killed and scalped, they tore out his heart and divided it among the chiefs. The following day the fort was burned.

Captain Heald received a wound in his hip, Mrs. Heald six wounds. They were spared as were also the entire Kinzie family; and soon after they were permitted to go across to St. Joseph. In Chicago only one white man remained—Antoine Ouillemette, who with his Indian wife and half-breed children might take their choice of all that remained in the surrounding desolation; for, the plunder consumed, the savages also fled away.

Four years now passed away before a hand was set to the work of restoration, or the bleaching bones of those who fell in the massacre were



SCHOOLCRAFT'S VIEW OF CHICAGO 1820.

Schoolcraft, the distinguished Indian chronicler, says (1820): "We found the post (Fort Dearborn), under the the command of Capt. Bradley, with a force of 160 men. I took the sketch from a stand-point on the flat of sand which stretched in front of the place. This view embraces every house in the village with the fort.

gathered up. Captain Hezekiah Bradley sent to re-establish the post arrived with two companies on July 4th, 1816, and began at once to build the second Fort Dearborn upon the charred remains of the old one. He gathered the bones of the slain and buried them in the garrison cemetery in what is now the Lake Front Park.

It seems strange to record little or no growth for a decade or more, but from 1816 to 1830, Chicago gained only some twelve or fifteen houses and a population of one hundred. An old letter dated at Fort Dearborn in 1830, describes a deer-hunt with dogs and horses "in the thick woods on the north side." They found two deer before reaching the line of the present Chicago Avenue. A second letter tells of a wolf-hunt the previous December when three wolves and as many raccoons were killed on the South Side near the South Branch. A third letter tells of high water where Mud Lake was divided, a part flowing east into Lake Michigan, and a part flowing west into the Illinois.

John H. Fonda gives the following graphic account of the primitive Chicago, its inhabitants and its mail service: (Hurlbut, p. 212.)

> We entered the Lake Peoria and were met at the landing by a number of Indians, from whom we learned that it was more than two hundred miles to the nearest trading-post on the Lake, which was *Chi-ca-a-go*. . . . We paddled along until we came to the Des Plaines river, from which we passed into a large slough, or lake, that must have led us into a branch of the Chicago river, for we followed a stream that brought us opposite Fort Dearborn. At this period Chicago was merely an Indian Agency; it contained about fourteen houses, and not more than 75 or 100 inhabitants at the most. An agent of the American Fur Company, named Gurdon S. Hubbard, then occupied the fort. The staple business seemed to be carried on by Indians and runaway soldiers, who hunted ducks and muskrats in the marshes. There was a great deal of lowland, and mostly destitute of timber. The principal inhabitants were Mr. Hubbard, a Frenchman by the name of Ouillemette and John B. Beaubien.
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> It was the winter of 1827 that the U. S. Quartermaster came to me one day and asked if I could find my way to Chicago. . . . He intrusted me with the—not mailbag, but a tin canister covered with untanned deer-hide, that contained the despatches and letters of the inhabitants. One noon we arrived at Fort Dearborn, after being on the way more than a month. It was in January, 1828, and with the exception that the fort was strengthened and garrisoned, there was no sign of improvement since my former visit.

In the year 1825 the assessment roll of Peoria County rates the total valuation in the Chicago precinct at $9047 of which $5,000, or more than half, was charged to John Crafts, agent of the American Fur Company, and thus really belonged to John Jacob Astor.

In 1833 the red man made his last appearance in force at Chicago. About five thousand assembled to make a treaty and sell their lands. The affair ended in a feast, an orgie, a grand farewell "war-dance," in which about eight hundred braves participated, decorated with feather

INDIAN WAR DANCE.

head dresses and armed with tomahawks and war clubs.

In the year 1831 a bridge was built over the South Branch between Lake and Randolph streets. What is striking is the way it was paid for: $286.20 by white citizens and $200 by the Pottawatomies. . . . Hurlbut says this bridge stood till 1840.

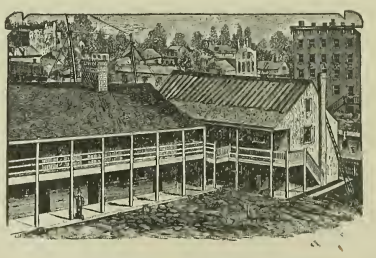
A momentous event and most essential to the commercial position and importance of Chicago was the opening of a direct and ample channel from the river to the lake. That current which in the geologic ages had built the sand ridges and swamps upon which Chicago at length arose, still continued to choke up the mouth of the river with accumulating sands. A broad and strong bank effectually cut off a direct outlet and deflected the stream along the shore to Madison and Monroe streets, where over a long shallow it mingled with the lake. With an appropriation by Congress in 1833, a direct cut was made, and a "revetment" or retaining wall, laid on its north side continued in a pier about one thousand feet into the lake. This, repeatedly lengthened since, became the "North Pier." It caught and held back the sand, and a

great freshet in the spring of 1834, effectually established the new channel. On July 12th the schooner Illinois was pulled over the bar and sailed up the river amid the acclamations of the citizens. And so the city began to grow.

"The streets—so-called—were a sea of mud when it rained and a storm of dust when the dry southwest wind raged. The most approved vehicle for society ladies was a stout ox cart with hay in the bottom. The cart would back up to the door of the fair passenger to allow her to mount, plod through the mire to the house of feasting and back up to its door to discharge its pleasure-seeking load.

Lake schooners in the river; prairie schooners in the roads, mud in the streets, music in the parlors and hope in the heart—Chicago is fairly going ahead at last."

This brings us to the year 1835, but only to the threshold of that phenomenal expansion and solid prosperity which distinguishes Chicago, perhaps beyond any other city of our time. From such an unpromising infancy who would have ventured to prophecy such a lusty youth. So far we have only undertaken to illustrate these tardy and feeble beginnings. Her recent history, embodying an unprecedented prosperity, does not come within our present intention. For an account of the modern Chicago, her men, her achievements, her institutions, and a thousand points of interest, past and present, the reader is referred to "The Story of Chicago," by Joseph Kirkland, of which we have made generous use in the preparation of this paper.



INTERIOR OF OLD FORT DEARBORN

A PRO-SLAVERY STATESMAN.*

The active public life of Robert Toombs covers one of the most momentous and interesting periods of our national history. After Calhoun, the Great Agitator, and Clay, the Great Pacificator, his is perhaps the most striking figure in southern politics in connection with those measures and sentiments which hastened or retarded the catastrophe of civil war. In the begining of his prime when these men with the immortal Webster were no more, he outlived the storm which they anticipated; he saw and tasted the bitter fruits of that disunion and fratricidal enmity which Calhoun invited—which Clay and Webster deprecated.

Whig, Unionist, Democrat, Disunionist, Irreconcilable-Reconstructionist,— how is it possible to show a robust and manly consistency under all these seemingly adverse attitudes? Attentively to follow the career of Robert Toombs will lead us to a fair solution. We shall find it no more difficult to trace through these political relations the man still himself substantially unchanged, than it is to discover how he could be at all times the one identical, strong, aggressive, and triumphant personality, while advocate, orator, financier, statesman, diplomatist, soldier, and framer of organic law.

Richly endowed in mind and person, fearless, imperious, generous, eloquent, he may be taken as a fine type of the southern chivalry and aristocracy, who believed utterly in their own social system,— that is, in human slavery. He is the man who stood in Tremont Temple, Boston, January 24, 1856, before a great audience utterly at variance with his views, winning, however, and retaining their respectful attention, while for an hour and a half he put forth an elaborate, energetic defense and eulogium of African Slavery. How he could do so, will, we trust, only become increasingly difficult to understand as the world grows older. That at such a time and in that place he was permitted to do so, is a fine compliment both to the orator and his audience. He had the respect due always to fearless advocacy under complete conviction. He believed in

*The Life of Robert Toombs—Pleasant A. Stovall, Cassell Publishing Company, New York, 1892.

slavery. He championed and praised what he entirely approved.

We speak of this first and emphatically because we believe it the key to the situation. We shall never read this man truly nor the times in which he moved, unless we can give full faith and effect to the fact that the defenders of "the peculiar institution" implicitly believed it the best arrangement and appointed of God. This appeared in the speaker and the address at Tremont Temple. The defense of slavery by Toombs will remain among the ablest ever delivered upon so forbidding a theme, and will be read in the future with increasing interest and curiosity. Let us see what was said by so distinguished an advocate in defense of this ancient order of the barbaric ages.

Toombs did not hesitate to assert that Congress had no right to restrain or impair slavery; but on the contrary must protect it. Neither the Declaration of Independence nor the Articles of Confederation liberated a single slave. Consciously our Constitution was framed to protect and strengthen the institution. It gave Congress no power to exclude slavery from the territories. Furthermore to confine the negro to the old states would only put him at disadvantage without striking off a single fetter. The common territory should be for the equal enjoyment of all, with protection for property in slaves as any other property, till the resident freemen, in a State Constitution, determine and define their own institutions. "This," said Mr. Toombs, "is justice. This is constitutional equity." He defended the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act as consistent applications of this principle.

On the social and moral side of his theme Toombs held the superority of the white race indisputable and permanent, and the subjection of the African the normal arrangement, conducing to the interest and happiness of both races. The question was not whether we should invade Africa and enslave its people. The British Crown thrust slavery upon us; and our fathers, as practical men, questioned not so much man's natural rights as what rights he might properly enjoy in a society constituted as they found it. Yet Toombs justified their wisdom by declaring the position of the African under the American system better than he had ever attained elsewhere, whether bond or free. In his own or foreign lands he has always been a servant. Emancipation by France and England had resulted disastrously.

The north does not want the negro; and the best specimens are those in closest contact with slavery. The southern system secures to the slave valuable rights,— protects his life, his person from assault except by his master, gives a home, ample food and clothing, exempts from excessive labor, and in old age or sickness makes him a charge upon his mas-

ter. He is a consumer of more animal food than any free laboring population of Europe or the United States. Free labor is paid in money, the representatives of products; slave labor in the products themselves. The agricultural and unskilled laborers of England and Europe fail to secure the comforts of the southern slave; for there compensation is scarcely sufficient to perpetuate the race. He thought the slaves better off than tenants at the north.

The laws should protect marriage and other domestic ties; but he claimed various necessities and a roving spirit caused more separations among free whites than ever occurred among the slaves. England's treatment of Ireland had sundered more domestic ties in ten years than had African slavery throughout its existence. Slavery is impossible in Europe because wages are so low that capital cannot afford to own its labor. It ceased in England for this reason, and not from sentiments of humanity.

Slavery does not enervate and debase the white man. Witness the high attainments of slave-holding Greece and Rome. In the masters of slaves the haughtiness of domination combining with the spirit of freedom fortifies it and renders it invincible. During the agitation of thirty years in the north, when the foundations of the national government had been shaken, and the bonds of Christian unity between the churches had been burst asunder, the slave-holding states had scarcely felt the shock. Stability, progress, order, peace, content and prosperity had reigned throughout their borders, with never a soldier in all their domain to overawe or to protect society. Such our social system and condition under it. We submit it to the judgment of mankind, convinced that no other under the circumstances would have exhibited the individual man, bond or free, in a higher development, or society in a happier civilization.

This defense of slavery by Toombs, let us remember, was uttered at the moment when anti-slavery sentiment north, grown to great proportions, was on the eve of consolidating its forces in the Republican party,—only a few months previous to the nomination of Fremont,—only five years before the agitation culminated in civil strife.

So strongly in sympathy with southern institutions and so bred in the southern doctrine of "State rights," we need not be surprised that Toombs stood always for southern honor, rights and interests first, and national unity afterward. His bold, impetuous temper and fiery eloquence made him a conspicuous figure. He was at this time forty-six years of age, and in the midst of his first term in the Senate. When he entered, four years previous, Calhoun had been dead two years, while Clay and Webster were just at the close of life and their grand leadership. Douglas, Seward, Chase and Sumner,

were conspicuous among the new leaders. Toombs had already distinguished himself during the previous years of his service in the lower House. From 1837 onward to the beginning of his Congressional career in 1845, he had served almost continuously in the legislature as a Whig in the Democratic State of Georgia. In local politics he developed the quality of a hard fighter, an incorruptible and stalwart advocate of what he believed to be for the best interest of the people. Here began his life-long friendship with Alexander H. Stephens. Two men could scarcely be more unlike in temperament as well as mental and physical characteristics; yet they were found working in harmony, and usually in active alliance.

Toombs opposed the annexation of Texas and consequent war with Mexico; but strenously demanded for the south equal privileges in the territory thus acquired. This appeared in his opposition to the Clayton Compromise which proposed to refer all questions relating to slavery in the territories to the Supreme Court. He claimed that Congress should squarely do away with the Mexican law which had prohibited slavery. This was in 1848, and the language of Toombs is characteristic, and very suggestive in view of subsequent events. Speaking for the South he says:

"When our rights are clear, security for them should be free from all ambiguity . . . It is far better that this new acquisition should be the grave of the Republic than of the rights and honor of the south — and, from present indications, to this complexion it must come at last."

Slave-property must be recognized and protected in all the acquired Mexican territories. "This boon," said he, "may be worthless, but its surrender involves our honor. We can permit no discrimination against our section or our institutions in dividing out the common property of the Republic. Our rights are not to be abandoned, nor bartered away in presidential elections."

At the north such words seemed the idle bluster of natural "fire-eaters." The idea of "rights" and "honor" attaching to the opportunity for extending human slavery into fresh regions seemed too preposterous for serious consideration. The earnestness of the demand they could not doubt; but as for any ground of justice or equality, any point of personal right and honor involved, they could not credit the claim. Of course there can be no right to do a wrong. The irreconcilable difference lay just there — is slavery right or wrong? With Toombs, utterly persuaded of the complete righteousness and excellence of the system, the feeling was real, the plea of justice and honor perfectly sincere. It is not easy to understand how one could wish to rupture a good government and engage in war merely to perpetuate

slavery; but in a strife for justice, equal rights and honor, in every age those have not been wanting who would freely adventure their lives and all their possessions.

The thirty-first Congress, convened in December, 1849, came to its labors in a momentous crisis. A new problem — this entire territorial question — confronted the assembled statesmen. The Whigs, profiting by the Mexican war which they had opposed, elected to the presidency its hero Zachary Taylor, and now a conquered empire remained to be disposed of. House and Senate passed into those stormy scenes and tremendous debates which issued in the compromise measures of 1850. Then came a time of breaking of party lines, a time of passion, doubt and confusion, when, to many, disunion seemed imminent.

In the Whig Congressional caucus, Toombs offered a resolution declaring that Congress should put no restriction whatever on slavery in the territories. The northern Whigs scouted the idea, and Toombs led the southern members from the assembly. On the floor of the House he forced the fighting, declaring the interests of his people endangered, and that he was unwilling to surrender the great power of the speaker's chair without security for the future.

"Sir," he exclaimed, "I have as much attachment to the Union of these States under the constitution of our fathers as any freeman ought to have. I am ready to concede and sacrifice for it whatever a just and honorable man ought to sacrifice. I will do no more. . . I do not then hesitate to avow before this House and the country, and in the presence of the living God, that if by your legislation you seek to drive us from the territories purchased by the common blood and treasure of the people, and to abolish slavery in the District, thereby attempting to fix a national degradation upon half the states of this confederacy, I am for disunion, and if my physical courage be equal to the maintenance of my convictions of right and duty, I will devote all I am and all I have on earth to its consummation. Give me securities that the power of organization which you seek will not be used to the injury of my constituents; then you can have my co-operation, not till then. Grant them, and you restore tranquillity to the country. Refuse them, and, as far as I am concerned, let discord reign forever."

Toombs has been characterized by his friends as "rashest of men in speech while safest in counsel." Yet these were not the inconsiderate utterances of passion in heated debate. Under whatever pressure delivered, they were true to his settled feeling and purpose; for in the February following, we find him in a premeditated discussion of the territorial question announcing with deliberation the doctrine of secession. He said :

"We had our institutions when you sought our allegiance. We were content with them then, and we are content with them now. We have not sought to thrust them upon you, nor to interfere with yours. . . We only ask that our common government shall protect us both equally, until the territories shall be admitted as states into the Union, then to leave their citizens free to adopt any domestic policy in reference to this subject which in their judgment may best promote their interest and happiness. The demand is just. Grant it and you place your prosperity and ours on a solid foundation; you perpetuate the union so necessary to your prosperity; you solve the problem of republican government. If it be demonstrated that the Constitution is powerless for our protection, it will then be not only the right but the duty of the slave-holding States to resume the powers which they have conferred upon this government, and to seek new safeguards for their future protection. . . . This cry of Union is the masked battery behind which the rights of the South are to be assaulted. Let the South mark the man who is for Union at every hazard and to the last extremity."

Four months later, June 15, 1850, he said:

"In my judgment this right [to the enjoyment and protection of slave-property in the territories], involving as it does political equality, is worth a dozen such Unions as we have, even if each were a thousand times more valuable than this. . . . Refuse it, and, for one, I will strike for independence."

The north could not believe these threatenings earnest. It is now clear that Toombs and those like him, in case their demands should not be granted, really contemplated secession and were already ripe for it. Only upon the adoption of the compromise measure substantially as proposed by Clay, did the disunion movement fail in 1850. By this agreement California was to be admitted, the territories organized without slavery restriction, the fugitive slave law passed, and slavery retained in the District of Columbia. Upon the adoption of these measures, Toombs became as earnest and active in allaying the disunion sentiment, as he had been before in exciting it.

He now found his own state of Georgia in a tremendous ferment, a condition to which his own words had contributed not a little. Organizing a "Constitutional Union Party," Cobb, Stephens and Toombs opposed all their prestige and splendid abilities to the rising tide of secession. Toombs had now not only to meet the arguments of the rampant State-Rights Party, but to face and explain his own impassioned speeches in Congress. It must be confessed his present utterances contrasted rather strangely with those so recently delivered in Washington. He had aided in effecting the great compromise;

he accepted it in good faith, and was resolved Georgia should take her stand squarely and firmly on the Union and the Constitution. He admitted that the South had not yet secured her full rights,

"But," said he "the fugitive slave law which I demanded was granted. The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and proscription in the territories were defeated, crushed, and abandoned. We have firmly established great and important principles. The South has compromised no right, surrendered no principle, and lost not an inch of ground in the contest; I did not hesitate to accept these acts but gave them my ready support."

With singular severity, in view of the time as well as his own past and subsequent course, he arraigned the disunionists. "Being bent upon the ruin of the Republic," he said, "they use truth or error for its accomplishment, as best suits the exigencies of the hour." He took the stump and it is said his words rang out like an alarm-bell.

Men speak to-day of his activity and earnestness in that great campaign as with rapid and prompt perception, clear, close reasoning, cutting eloquence and unsparing hand, he rasped the follies of disunion and secession. A prominent journal of that day said of his speech in Burke County, Georgia: "His manly eloquence has shaken and shivered to the base the pedestal upon which the monument of American ruin was to be erected."

His effort proved successful, though even Toombs stood convicted before many of his former followers of "unsoundness on the slavery question." A majority of union delegates were returned and the convention adopted the famous "Georgia Platform." This declaration accepted the compromise legislation; held the Union secondary to the principles and rights it was bound to perpetuate; committed the state to resist, even to the disruption of the Union, any act prohibiting slavery in the territories; and lastly demanded the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law.

Such was the so-called Union Platform. The Southern Rights Party endorsed the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, asserted the right of secession, and demanded Congressional intervention in favor of slavery in the territories. The victory of Cobb, Toombs and Stephens in this campaign not only restrained Georgia from precipitating disunion, but had a like influence throughout the seaboard states. The following year Toombs was advanced to the United States Senate.

In 1832 young Toombs had cast his first vote for Andrew Jackson. But after the proclamation and force bill of the administration he had at once joined the State Rights Whigs. With the Whig party he continued to act up to the campaign of 1852, when the convention retired the great states-

man Webster, and put in nomination General Winfield Scott. This action sorely disappointed and offended Toombs. From this time he acted mainly with Democratic organizations, but declared his independence of parties and conventions. In forcible terms he denounced the usurpations and tyranny of conventions. He had seen Calhoun, Clay, Webster, one by one, retired before Van Buren, Harrison, and Scott. Always an enthusiastic admirer of those statesmen, in breaking away from the old Whig party we can scarcely wonder he should denounce the system, which had blighted its brightest and truly great men.

In 1854 very naturally Senator Toombs stood shoulder to shoulder with Douglas in the debates on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which seemed to embody the very principle on the territorial question for which Toombs had all along contended, though eventually these senators developed a serious difference of construction. His speeches on this theme are remarkable for the boldness with which he appears to accept the logical application of the so-called doctrine of popular sovereignty, neither blanching nor flinching before the probable demand of Utah for admission with her polygamy.

In the campaign of 1856, charged with being a disunionist, he replied that he stood upon the Georgia Platform of 1850, but added: "I will say that should Fremont be elected, I will not stand and wait for fire, but I will call upon my countrymen to take to that to which they will be driven—the sword. If that be disunion, I am a disunionist."

It will seem strange that the author of such sentiments is classed among conservatives in his state and times, but the words were uttered in a debate with Benjamin H. Hill, then a young man just coming into prominence, who declared the Kansas-Nebraska bill embodied the idea of "squatter sovereignty" as distinguished from popular or state sovereignty, and was a cheat, a swindle, a surrender of the dearest rights of the South. With splendid audacity Hill charged that Toombs in Congress had been "sleeping over our rights." Moreover, Hill had the applause and sympathies of a large portion of their audience.

It is necessary here to draw a subtle distinction which to this day we think is not duly appreciated in the North. In the discussion and passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill Toombs and Douglas stood together. But in the after interpretation and application of its principle of popular sovereignty they separated. Douglas held it as a territorial right; Toombs and others soon brought it back to a mere state-right at the formative period. This distinction and divergence was adroitly and effectively brought to bear upon Douglas by Lincoln at Freeport, Illinois, in the great joint debate of the senatorial

contest. Mr. Lincoln propounded the question: "Can the people of a territory, in a lawful way, exclude slavery from their limits, prior to the formation of a state constitution?" Had Douglas answered "No," he would have ranged himself beside the Buchanan administration, and in accord with the southern view of popular sovereignty conformable to the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court, which by virtue of the Constitution of the United States established slavery in the territories, and forbade the people to exclude it until in the very act of becoming a state. But this answer would have cost Douglas the senatorship and consequently all hope of the presidency. He took the other horn of the dilemma and promptly answered "Yes." This answer saved to him the senatorship, but arrayed against him the administration and the South, occasioning the split in the Charleston Convention and overthrow of the Democratic party. The theory that a body of settlers squatting in a territory could at any time and of themselves determine the character of the territory's domestic institutions was repugnant to a large part of the southern people. This they stigmatized as "squatter sovereignty," a term often used in the North and still retained in most histories as synonomous with popular sovereignty. Toombs and southern men generally now claimed that slavery existed already in the territories and must be protected by the Constitution, the dormant sovereignty of the people in this regard only springing into activity when the territory became one of the co-equal states. This view made popular sovereignty only a name to conjure with, in effect merely another term for state sovereignty or state rights. The Dred Scott decision announced the day following Buchanan's inauguration, certainly went to establish the southern claim. This decision, and the southern demand, were received by an increasingly influential and numerous party at the North with horror and execration.

The debate in the Senate was renewed by Jefferson Davis against Douglas, and the fraudulent Lecompton Constitution for Kansas was accepted in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Illinois senator. Toombs favored it, but when it was rejected by the House, he promptly accepted the proposition to refer the matter back to the people.

Toombs took no part in the Douglas-Davis debate, conscious of the fact that every point scored against Douglas was cleaving the Democratic party in twain. He had always been partial to Douglas and viewed with pain his position on "squatter sovereignty." He considered it a deflection, the going upon a tangent, but not that it should be fatal to Southern sympathy and friendship. He said at Augusta, Georgia, September 8, 1859: "When

we condemned and abrogated Congressional intervention against us, that was a great point gained. . . . We could not settle the question of the power of the people over slavery while in a territorial condition, because Democrats differed on that point. . . . We decided to refer the question to the Supreme Court. It has gone there and has been decided in our favor. The Southern friends of the measure repudiate the principle of squatter sovereignty. I stand its steady and uncompromising adversary. The doctrine of Douglas has not a leg to stand upon. Yet I do not belong to those who denounce him. The organization of the Democratic party leaves this an open question, and Mr. Douglas is at full liberty to take either side he may choose, and if he maintains his ground of neither making nor accepting new tests of political soundness, I shall consider him a political friend and will accept him as the representative of the party, whatever it may tender him. I do not hesitate to tell you that, with his errors I prefer him and would support him to-morrow against any opposition leader in America."

Events moved fast; day by day feeling ran higher. The John Brown raid stirred the south much as the Dred Scott decision had the north. In the Senate Toombs charged the Republican party with moral complicity in this raid. In his fiery way he declared: "It is vain in the face of these inquiries to talk of peace, fraternity and common country. There is no peace; there is no fraternity; there is no common country; all of us know it." The triumph of the Republican party he assumed would be the signal for release and action. He closed this, known as his "door-sill speech," with an appeal to his constituents:

"When that time comes, freemen of Georgia, redeem your pledges. Your honor is involved, your faith is plighted. I know you feel a stain as a wound. Your peace, your social system, your friends are involved. Never permit this Federal Government to pass into the traitor hands of the black Republican party. It has already declared war against you and your institutions. It every day commits acts of war against you. . . . Defend yourselves! The enemy is at your door; wait not to meet him at your hearthstone; meet him at the door-sill, and drive him from the Temple of Liberty, or pull down its pillars and involve him in a common ruin."

Upon the election of Lincoln, Toombs took the ground that separation sooner or later was inevitable. The time for the application of the remedy was the point of difference. Toombs at first did not counsel precipitation, but upon the rejection of the Crittenden resolutions, convinced that the best interests of the south lay in immediate separation, he set himself to secure that result. On the 22d of December he telegraphed his

conclusions to his "fellow-citizens of Georgia," closing with these words: "All further looking to the north for security for your constitutional rights in the Union ought to be instantly abandoned. Secession by the 4th of March next should be thundered forth from the ballot-box by the united voice of Georgia. Such a voice will be your best guaranty for liberty, security, tranquillity and glory."

On January 7th, 1861, Robert Toombs delivered his farewell speech in the United States Senate; wherein he stated under five propositions what might very properly be styled the Southern Ultimatum. On his charges and demands, announced to "the civilized world," he invoked "the judgment of to-day, of to-morrow, of distant ages, and of Heaven itself." To all appearance the verdict has been, and is likely to continue, to be far different from that which Mr. Toombs anticipated. And what was the ultimatum? What would have induced Robert Toombs to have remained in the Union until some further apprehension should call for some further safeguard?

"First, that the people of the United States shall have an equal right to emigrate and settle in the territories with whatever property (including slaves) they may possess. Second, that property in slaves shall be entitled to the same protection from the government as any other property. Third, that persons committing crimes against slave property in one State, fleeing to another, shall be given up. Fourth, that fugitive slaves shall be surrendered. Fifth, that Congress shall pass laws for the punishment of all persons who shall aid and abet invasion and insurrection in any other State."

In short, here was a very peculiar species of property which required very especial recognition and cultivation by the general government. In the name of equality, right and justice, were here demanded special protection in the territories, special recognition everywhere, special extradition of those who might tamper with slaves, special powers and measures operative throughout the Union for their restitution, special laws and punishments for any who might aid and abet invasions or insurrections of this peculiar property. Indeed it had come to pass that southern rights and southern honor could no way be maintained within the Union except by the general government becoming a great agency for the cultivation and perpetuation of a peculiar property, namely, men and women in bondage. The complete energies of a great nation must be concentrated on the business of restraining men and women to keep them in servitude, in estopping every possible means or whisper of aid and hope, and in dragging back into such hopeless bondage all those fleeing for liberty. All this in the name of liberty and justice; for until this were done, the liberties

of the south were endangered, their rights denied, their honor assaulted. O sacred names of liberty and truth! how abused, when men of haughty pride and high intelligence with indignant reproaches and threats, recite such offenses in the catalogue of their cruel wrongs!

For, says Toombs: "We demand these five propositions: Are they not right? Are they not just? We will pause and consider them; but, mark me, we will not let you decide the question for us. I have little care to dispute remedies with you unless you propose to redress our wrongs. . . Restore us those rights . . . redress these flagrant wrongs, and it will restore fraternity, and unity and peace to all. Refuse them, and what then? We shall then ask you, let us depart in peace? Refuse that, and you present us war. We accept it, and inscribing on our banners the glorious words 'Liberty and Equality' we will trust to the blood of the brave and the God of battles for security and tranquillity."

We are not permitted to doubt the complete sincerity of these words. The historian of the future can only note this as another astonishing example of the perversities of the human intellect under the bias of custom, education, association, and the stimulus of self-interest. The idea of advancing banners inscribed with "Liberty and Equality" in a "holy cause" or crusade, professedly and exclusively in the interest of human slavery would be a rich travesty were it not proved so lamentably earnest. Whatever the civil strife might be on the northern side, incontestibly on the side of the south, it was first and essentially a war for the perpetuity and extension of human bondage, in which the southern people had come to feel and believe were involved right, equality, justice, as well as their personal and collective honor.

A. E. Allaben.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE FALLS OF ST. ANTHONY.

During La Salle's first attempt to reach the Mississippi, when he was obliged to winter among the Illinois, he dispatched Father Louis Hennepin to explore the Upper Mississippi. He was accompanied on this expedition by two companies, and although Hennepin was not the leader of the party, yet being its historian, gets the credit for its explorations. The party set out from Fort Crèvecoeur on the last day in February, 1680. For six weeks the explorers plied their paddles against the current of the Mississippi unmolested. When they had ascended the river as far as the Wisconsin they were surprised and captured by a war-party of Sioux, and from that time their journey was an enforced one. After nineteen days the party landed at a point probably a few miles below the site of the present city of St. Paul. At this point the band left the river and followed the trail over the country to Mille Lacs. A journey of five days brought them to the Indian villages in the valley of the Rum River. At this point the captives passed the winter, each band conducting a Frenchman to its village. The captives were treated with consideration and rude kindness. During his captivity Hennepin settled an important geographical question. The hope of discovering a direct westerly ocean route to the East Indies which inspired Columbus and resulted in the discovery of America, was at this time an inspiring cause of the persistent intrusion of the French into this region. It was supposed that the Mississippi River emptied into the Gulf of California. On the maps of that day the northwest passage was laid down as through the straits of Aniau, which was represented to be not far from the water-system of Minnesota.

While Hennepin was detained as a prisoner in the vicinity of Mille Lacs, four Indians came to the village, who stated that they had come to the village from the west fifteen hundred miles, and that their journey had occupied four months. They were questioned by Hennepin and told him that they had seen no sea nor any great body of water. They described the country northwest of the Falls of St. Anthony with general accuracy, saying that it contained no great lakes, that it had many rivers and that there were few forests in

that region. From this narration Hennepin concluded that the Straits of Aniau as delineated upon the maps of that time had no existence, and he conjectured that the route to the Pacific was by the rivers of which these Indians told.

In the following Spring the bands of Sioux assembled preparatory to their departure for the annual hunt. They descended the Rum River and encamped where Dayton, Minnesota, is now situated. At this point starvation threatened the Indians. Taking advantage of this fact for the purpose of securing his freedom, Hennepin told the Indians that his friends were coming loaded with gifts. The greedy Sioux were easily induced to let Hennepin and one other go down the river alone and unguarded. The two white men began the descent of the river in a small birch canoe, which they carried around the Falls of St. Anthony. Father Hennepin named the cataract the Falls of St. Anthony in honor of St. Anthony of Padua. Here the Franciscan monk found the Indians making offerings to the spirit of the waters, and invoking its favor by their prayers and gifts.

Some distance below the Falls, Hennepin and his companion encountered Daniel Greysolon Du Luth, for whom Duluth is named, and four other Frenchmen, who had made their way through the Sioux country to the Mississippi. Hearing of three white men on their way, they continued their search until they found Hennepin and his companions. The immediate honor of the discovery of the Falls St. Anthony belongs to Hennepin, but it must be remembered that he was but one of the agents sent out by that marvelous explorer La Salle, to whom the discovery of the vast region of the Mississippi justly and rightly belongs.

SAMUEL M. DAVIS.

OLD AND NEW SARATOGA.

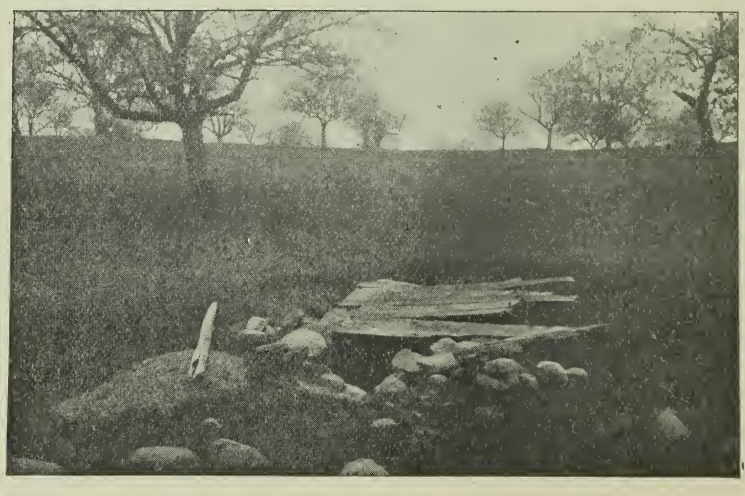
HIGH ROCK SPRING.

"Sir William Johnson! Sir William Johnson! Every writer on Saratoga begins with Sir William!" This was the exclamation of one excitable but patriotic citizen of the beautiful Spa at the foot of the Adirondacks when the writer chanced to mention Sir William as one of the first white visitors to the now world-famous springs. Yet for the sake of the general public which is not so familiar with the pages of these local chroniclers as to be wearied with Sir William's name, Saratogians doubtless will forgive one more allusion to that tireless friend of the Indian and enemy of the French, who makes so conspicuous and remarkable a figure in the pioneer history of northern New York.

Beginning, then, in traditional manner, with Sir William, we find him in 1838, at the age of twenty-three, a raw young Irishman, of good family, on his way across the Atlantic to take charge of the newly-purchased estate of his uncle, Captain Peter Warren, (afterwards Sir Peter Warren, Admiral in his Majesty's navy), in the Indian wilderness of the Mohawk Valley. A little later we find him rapidly getting rich as an Indian trader, and at the same time winning the complete confidence and lasting friendship of the red men, in his official capacity as Indian agent under Governor George Clinton;*

* Such was the esteem of the Six Nations for him that, when he declined longer to act as superintendent of Indian affairs, because the New York Assembly refused to reimburse

while this friendship was presently cemented, after the death of his wife, Catherine, by his romantic marriage to the Indian princess, Molly Brant, sister of the celebrated chieftain, Thayendanegea.† Again in 1755, we find this remarkable man become suddenly world-renowned, winning at the same time a victory over Baron Dieskau at Lake George, and the distinction of knighthood from the King. At a still later period, a few years prior to the Revolution, he appears in a new rôle, as a distinguished baronet — still a pioneer, and the trusted friend of the Indians — but enfeebled and tortured by ailments. It is this stage which brings him to Saratoga Springs, on the recommendation of his warrior friends.



OLD REVOLUTIONARY WELL.

him for any part of the £2,000 he had advanced for the Colony, a delegation of warriors made a personal appeal to Governor Clinton that Johnson might be sent back to them. "We had him in war," declared Hendrik, the famous Mohawk chieftain, "when he was like a tree that grew for our use, which now seems to be falling down, though it has many roots. His knowledge of our affairs made us think him an Indian like ourselves . . . For he has large ears, and heareth a great deal; and what he hears he tells to us. He has also large eyes, and sees a great way, and conceals nothing from us." One-half of Colonel Johnson, the Indian declared, belonged to the Governor and the King, but the other half belonged to the red men.

† This marriage, legal and proper so far as Indian ceremonial went, Sir William preferred not to consider as marriage in his last will, where he mentions and severally provides for the "eight children of mine by Mary Brant," but designates her as "my housekeeper." Through life, however, he loved and cherished her as his wife.

"For years," says an authority, "he had been subject to dysentery, which often prostrated him upon his bed for weeks together. . . It was during one of these attacks, in the summer of this year [1767], that he was induced to visit a medicinal spring (now known as the High Rock, at Saratoga Springs, N. Y.), the peculiar properties of which had recently been brought to his notice by the Mohawks who passed by it yearly in their hunting excursions.

"Accompanied by his Indian guides the Baronet set out on his journey the twenty-second of August, and passing down the Mohawk in a boat soon reached Schenectady. At this place Sir William, being two feeble either to walk or ride, was placed on a litter and borne on the stalwart shoulders of his Indian attendants through the woods to Ballston Lake. Tarrying over night at the log cabin of Michael McDonald, the party, accompanied by McDonald, plunged again into the forest; and following the trail of Indian hunters along the shore of Lake Saratoga, and its chief tributary, the Kayaderosseras, reached their destination. Close to the spring, for the comfort of the invalid, a rude bark lodge was erected; and in this primitive hotel reclined the first white man, of whom we have any knowledge, that had ever visited the Springs.* The popu-

* It is doubtful whether this honor can be claimed for Sir William. In August, 1642, as a prisoner of the Indians, and again in

WASHINGTON HALL.

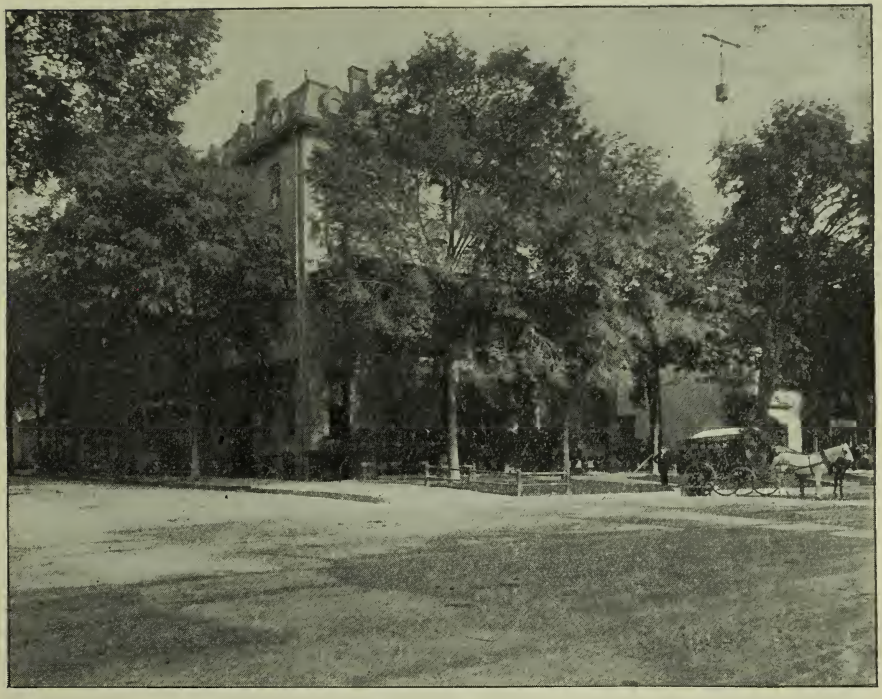
larity of Saratoga Springs as a watering place, may be said to date from this visit. For although the Baronet was not benefited as much as he anticipated — perhaps from the shortness of his stay,— yet the fact of so distinguished a personage as Sir William having been even partially restored by the water soon became noised through the country; others were induced to make the trial; new springs were discovered; and, thenceforth, the Springs became the resort of those who were in pursuit of health or pleasure."*

The region about Saratoga Lake, including the present Saratoga Springs, was a favorite hunting-

1646 as an accredited embassador to them, the gentle Canadian, Father Jogues, traversed the Kayaderosseras trail, leading past the Springs, and it is not improbable that he drank the waters. And there are indications that other Frenchmen may have preceded Sir William. Indeed, Sir William himself in a letter tells of a sick French officer whom the Indians conducted from Fort Carrilon to the Springs prior to his own visit.

*Life of Sir William Johnson, Bart. By William L. Stone. 1865. Vol. 2, pp. 289–91.

RED SPRING.



WORDEN HOUSE.

ground of the Six Nations, and especially the Mohawks, long before Sir William or any other "pale face" had set foot in the favored valley. The "High Rock Spring" was the one known to these children of the forest, and it is said that they learned of its medicinal qualities by observing the fondness of wild animals for the waters. The Indians henceforth regarded the healing spring as a special gift of the Great Spirit to his children, the red men, and one can readily understand how large a place Sir William Johnson must have had in their hearts, to induce them deliberately to brave the probable wrath of the Great Spirit by sharing with one, of another and hated race, the benefits of this, their private and exclusive blessing.

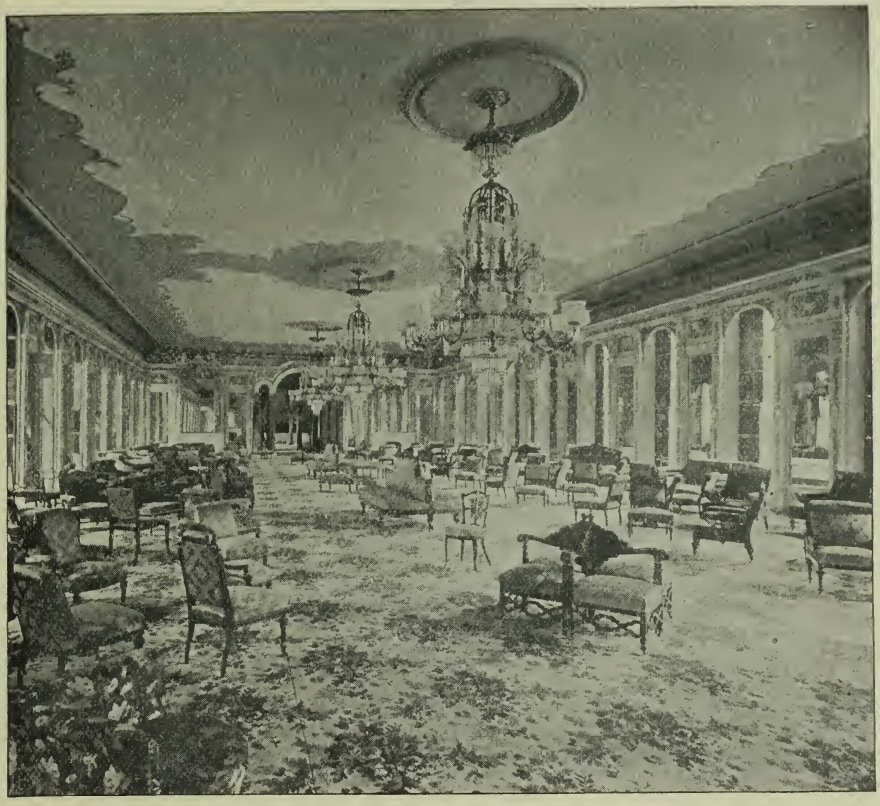
The name Saratoga, or "Se-rach-ta-gue," although a good Indian title, signifying "the hill-side country of the great river," did not originally apply to the present site of Saratoga Springs. In 1684 the original Se-rach-ta-gue was sold by the Mohawk chieftains to Peter Schuyler and six other citizens of Albany, but this

tract extended no further west than Saratoga Lake, whereas the present village is located several miles beyond this body. "Kayaderosseras" was the original Indian designation for the country comprising the present watering-place, and the transference of this tract to the whites was first effected by a deed from the Mohawk chiefs dated October 16, 1704. In 1702 another part of Kayaderosseras had been deeded by the Indians to David Schuyler and Robert Livingston, Jr., but these persons were induced to release their claim in favor of the grantees of the 1704 purchase, and, at length, on "this Second of November in the Seventh Year of our reign, Annoque Domini, 1708 . . . Ann, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c." by "these patents," to her "loving subjects, Manning Harmanse, Johannes Beekman, Rip Van Dam and Bridget May Buckley, Peter Faucanier, Adrian Hoghland, Johannes Fisher, John Tudor, Jons Hoghland, John Stevens, John Tatham and Sampson Broughton," doth grant and confirm "all that tract of land situate, lying and being in the County of Albany, called Kayaderosseras, alias Queensborough."*

ARMORY OF TWENTY-SECOND SEPARATE COMPANY.

The acquisition of Kayaderosseras by the shrewd Dutchmen appears to have been one of those too-frequent impositions upon the simple savages,

* The curious will find the original parchment of this interesting document, but creased and not in a first-rate state of preservation, in the County Clerk's Office, at the Court House in Ballston.



GRAND UNION DRAWING ROOM.

— in this case a swindle almost as gigantic and atrocious as that of Irving's fabulous Mr. Ten Breeches, who, stipulating to pay twenty-four dollars for that part of Manhatta which his breeches would enclose, cut his abundant nether garments into narrow strips and belted the entire island. So the Mohawks, when they signed the Kayaderosseras deed, understood that the document conveyed "land enough for a good sized farm," and were very much astonished, and very greatly troubled, and exceedingly indignant to discover that "for a few baubles" they had parted with their magnificent hunting-grounds "containing half a million acres." They refused to confirm the deed for more than half a century, until at length in 1768, their old friend, Sir William, persuaded them into it.

Several years prior to the Revolution, in March, 1772, "about the time

the first white settler was building his rude cabin at the Springs," the Saratoga patent of 1684 and the Kayaderosseras patent of 1708 were merged into one, and the united territories re-christened as the "District of Saratoga" — still a part of Albany County. And thus "Kayaderosseras," the ancient and picturesque name of Saratoga Springs, disappeared from history.

In February, 1771, a partition occured between the owners of the Kayaderosseras patent, and lot No. 12, containing all the present springs of Saratoga, fell to the share of Rip Van Dam. Upon the death of Rip, soon after, his executors sold the lot to Jacob Walton, Isaac Low and Anthony Van Dam. Low being a Tory, his portion was forfeited to the State after the Revolution, and sold to Henry Livingston and his brothers, while in 1793 Anthony Van Dam disposed of his interest to Jacob Walton. Thus Walton and Livingston became the owners of the soil.

In the summer of 1771, Dirk Schouten built the first cabin in Saratoga Springs, and to him is accorded the honor of being the first white settler. Scarcely had he become well estab-

KISSINGEN SPRINGS.

GRAND UNION BALL ROOM.

lished in the place, however, when a quarrel with the Indians forced him to depart. In 1774, John Arnold of Rhode Island, came to the Springs with his family, and converted Schouten's deserted cabin into a rude tavern — the first Hotel in Saratoga — which he occupied for two years. Samuel Norton succeeded him, but deserted the Springs during the Revolution, and for six years of the war period the place was without a single white resident. In 1783 a son of Norton returned to the Springs and remained until 1787, when the Schouten cabin passed into the possession of Alexander Bryant. The latter improved the place by the erection of two more log cabins, one of which was his blacksmith shop. In 1783 General Schuyler cut a road from old Saratoga, now Schuylerville, to the Springs, and the following year built for himself a rude summer-house near the High Rock. In 1789 the advent of Dr. Clement Blakesley and Gideon Putnam, a relative of Gen. Israel Putnam, reinforced the small population

of the clearing about the famous High Rock, and in 1790 Benjamin Risley came from Vermont and kept tavern in the Schouten house, while Bryant maintained a rival hostelry in the cabin he had built.

The first structure which could be dignified by the name of hotel was erected by Gideon Putnam in 1800 on the present site of the Grand Union, the original pine forest being cleared away by him to make room for the house. The building was seventy feet in length and was known at the time as "Putnam's Folly," although the number of visitors who patronized it soon demonstrated the wisdom of its proprietor. In 1815, Congress Hall, a still larger hotel was erected, and in 1823 the original United States hotel was begun. On April 9th, 1819, the township of Saratoga Springs was set off, while on the 17th day of April, 1826, the village of Saratoga Springs was incorporated. In 1833 a railroad was built between Schenectady and Saratoga — the second passenger railroad in the

HAMILTON SANITARIUM.

STRONG SANITARIUM.

United States, and from this time, with access to the Springs made easy, the fame of America's greatest watering-place grew and spread abroad. Where the deer and panther paused to enjoy a healing draught, and the red man erected his lodge to cure his sicknesses, is now the scene where wealth and fashion seek rest and recreation, the correction of abuses from too high living, or a relief and variation of the heat, strife, turmoil, and brilliant excitements of social life in our cities.

The Saratoga Springs of to-day, although a town of more than twelve thousand inhabitants, still maintains its autonomy as a simple "village," its wise protectors not being willing to sacrifice the idea of rest, quiet and rural life, suggested by that name, for the notoriety and bustle of a city. And, indeed, the famous Spa is entirely devoid of every vestige of the noisome and utilitarian features of a manufacturing or active commercial town. No factory or bustling industry here finds encouragement. Other

towns and cities may erect the machinery to minister to the innumerable necessities of modern civilization, but here is a spot kept as free as possible from man's tiresome activity, where the weary and nauseated of the world may rest and recuperate and cure their ills by draughts of unadulterated medicines, fresh from Nature's own dispensary.

While the most remarkable feature of Saratoga is and ever must be its world-famous mineral springs, yet with these eliminated it would remain a most delightful and desirable place—one of the most picturesque and healthful nooks on the planet. The soil is sandy and porous, the climate is cool and dry in summer and cold and dry in winter, with the bracing and balsamic qualities of the Adirondacks, but without the rude

SUN PARLOR—STRONG SANITARIUM.

severities of the higher latitudes. Saratoga is famous as a summer watering-place, but many will be surprised to learn that it bids fair soon to become equally well known as America's most popular and healthy winter resort—especially suited to invalids.

The beautiful valley, wherein sits the Springs, is broken by numerous wooded hills, and is flanked by the winding Kayaderosseras River and the picturesque Saratoga Lake, a body two and one half by nine miles in dimensions, and famous for its black bass. A magnificent drive—the continuation of Union Avenue—leads from the village to the lake, while a recent innovation in the shape of an electric tramway leads over the same course, but fortunately remains for the most part out of sight and hearing of the drives. The beautiful Congress Park is situated quite in the village, while on its outskirts begins Woodland Park, a magnificent range of wooded hills and valleys, covering nearly two thousand acres, and always open to the public. Indeed, the entire village of Saratoga Springs is almost a park in itself, all its broad and well-kept streets being lined with splendid elms and other trees. On North Broadway a generous strip of green forms a border on either side between the driveway and the walks, while beyond the walks, each yard forms a small but beautiful park. On Union Avenue a splendid row of elms in the middle of the thoroughfare divides it into two broad, smooth and dustless double driveways. The effect of all this is inconceivably restful and delightful.

Besides its natural and made beauties of landscape, and the elegant architecture of its cottages, the most notable features of America's great Spa are its hotels and the springs. Considering the elegance, number, and immense proportions of its hotels—some of them ranking among the very largest in the world—one finds it almost impossible to realize that less than a century ago two log cabins provided the only accomodations for visitors. The Grand Union, the oldest of the great hostelries, is the direct descendant and representative, so to speak, of the original Putnam House.* After Putnam's death extensive additions were made and the new house re-named the "Union," which name it bore through a long period until it was finally rebuilt in its present proportions by the late A. T. Stewart and christened the "Grand Union." The "merchant prince" furnished and decorated the great house in his usual magnificent style, one of the notable features being Yvon's great picture, "the Genius of America," on a canvas twenty-two by thirty-five feet, which graces one end of the

* The crude and curious sign of the original house, "Putnam and the Wolf," representing the famous scene of Gen. Putnam descending into the wolf's den, has been preserved, and can still be seen swinging on the rear balcony of the Grand Union.

large ball-room. Both the Grand Union and the great United States Hotel are built to enclose three sides of a large interior wooded court or park, several acres in extent, the arrangement being the most healthful and attractive imaginable.

The United States Hotel, since its erection in 1823, has passed through various changes and enlargements, until the present huge structure was entirely rebuilt in 1874, the ground having been cleared by fire. Congress Hall, one of the oldest as it is one of the largest hotels, has passed through a similar process of evolution. Other important hotels, the Windsor, Columbian, Worden House, and various others, belong to a later period. Most of these huge hostelries are open only during the hot season—about three months; the Worden House, however, is an exception to this rule, remaining open and maintaining the standard of its appointments throughout the year.

Saratoga has also several important Sanitariums, conducted on the hotel principle, and these are patronized not merely by invalids or those requiring medical advice, but by many seeking recreation and pleasure, who prefer, however, a spot more restful and quiet than the bustling hotels. Oldest and largest of the institutions of this kind is Dr. S. E. Strong's Sanitarium, founded in 1855 by Dr. S. S. Strong, the father of the

MT. McGREGOR.

present proprietor. This large establishment combines the conveniences of the hotel with the retirement and quiet of the home, and is newly furnished with a complete system of baths—Russian, Turkish, plunge, and hot and cold mineral. These apartments are floored, roofed and walled with decorative tile in oriental patterns. Another feature is the roof promenade and sun-parlor, which are peculiarly beneficial for both summer and winter treatment.

Another large sanitarium is that of Dr. Robert Hamilton on Franklin street, where pleasure guests as well as patients are received. Dr. Hamilton in years past built two very large institutions both of which were burned to the ground. A new sanitarium will also be operated for the first time this year by Dr. Valencourt Deuell, who plans to combine the Carlsbad system of dietetics with the use of Saratoga waters.

In the number and excellent variety of its mineral waters Saratoga is without a rival among the world's famous watering places. It contains no less than twenty-seven important springs, each with peculiar and distinct medicinal qualities, besides twelve or fifteen other smaller or undeveloped waters. The special peculiarity common to them all is the very large amount of carbonic acid gas which impregnates the water and impels it to the surface. The force of this is such that when the stronger springs are tubed to permit the flow of but small streams, the water shoots up into the air forming beautiful fountains.

The "High Rock," the original Indian spring, received its name from the fact that the stream bubbled up through the center of a rocky formation (undoubtedly formed by deposits of the mineral in the water), about four feet in height. This rock was removed from its place in 1865, and excavations made beneath, resulting in the discovery, four feet below the surface, of the well preserved embers of a fire. The rock formation above must all necessarily, therefore, have been deposited since the advent of of man in the Saratoga valley. The historic rock which characterizes this spring was afterward readjusted to its old position.

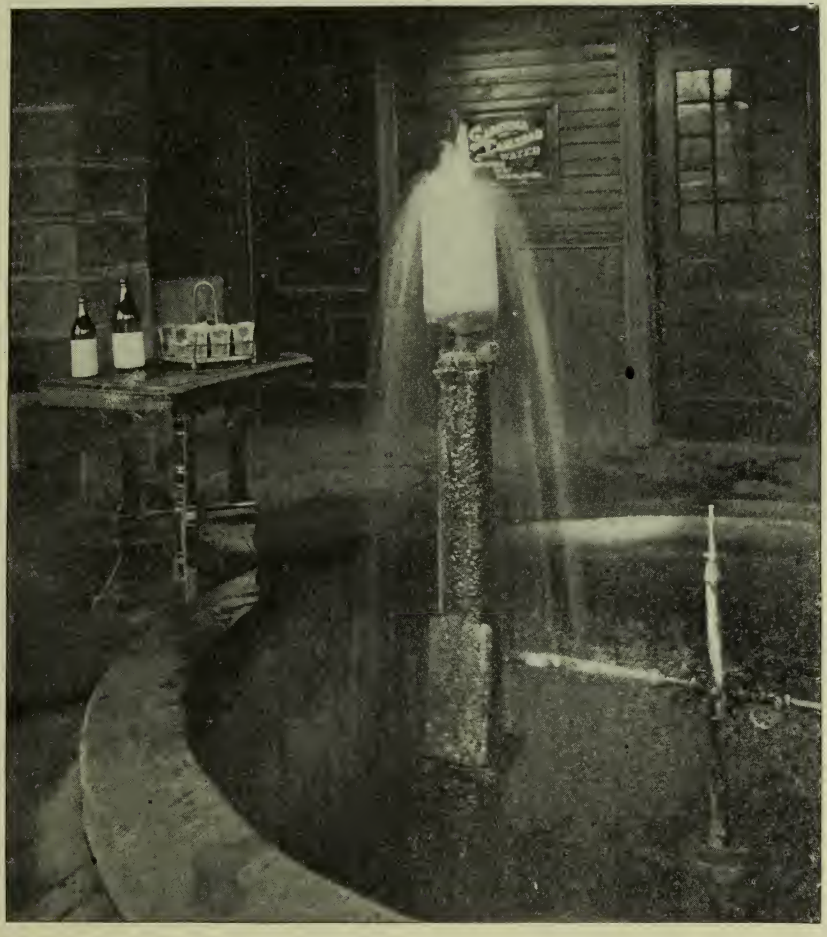
The "Red Spring," in point of age, is the second spring known, it having been discovered in 1770. It is especially recommended for cutanéous diseases and is administered externally in mineral baths, hot or cold, as well as taken internally like the other waters. A commodious bath-house has been erected by the owners near the spring, with every facility for comfortable bathing. The spring derives its name from the fact that a stick left in the water will soon be turned red by its action. Two other springs much used for bathing purposes are the "Putnam" and "New Putnam" over which is built a mag-

nificent bathing-house—one of the most elegant, best appointed and commodious in America.

The well-known Congress Spring was discovered in 1790 by Governor John Taylor Gilman of New Hampshire, while hunting in the woods, and received its present name probably from the fact that he had been a member of the Continental Congress. This water, like that of the "Empire Spring," discovered in 1840, is a strong cathartic. Another famous and popular spring is the "Hathorn," discovered in 1868. It is a cathartic and stimulant, with other medicinal qualities. A beautiful fountain plays in the large building erected over the spring.

Upon an elevation, a little distance south of the village, are situated four or five of the newer springs, some of them being among the most important waters of Saratoga. The "Vichy" and "Kissingen" springs, for example, unlike most of the others, are alkaline rather than salt waters, and besides their medicinal qualities, are admirable table waters for habitual use. The Kissingen was discovered in 1872 by boring one hundred and ninety-two feet through solid rock. The Vichy, discovered the same year, is drilled to a depth of

NEW CONVENTION HALL.



SARATOGA CARLSBAD.

one hundred and eighty feet, the greater part of the distance being also through solid rock. The "Geyser" spring, on this same elevation, discovered in 1870, was likewise drilled one hundred and thirty-two feet through rock. The "Carlsbad" spring, in some respects the most remarkable of all the waters, as also one of those more recently discovered, crowns the summit of the elevation about which are grouped the springs just mentioned. The Carlsbad was discovered in 1886 by drilling nearly three hundred feet through solid rock. Each gallon of

this water is impregnated with the enormous quantity of 713 cubic inches of carbonic acid gas, or two hundred and fifty-nine cubic inches more than any of the other waters. The effect of this gas in pushing forth the water and exciting it into a snowy foam, as it rushes over the fountain, is one of the prettiest sights imaginable.

Other important springs of this remarkable valley of fountains are the Artesian Seltzer, Diamond, Eureka,

SARATOGA LAKE.

Flat Rock, Magnetic, Seltzer, Star, Washington and White Sulphur.

The public spirit of Saratoga Springs is evidenced in such splendid buildings as the Armory of the Twenty-second Separate Company, and the large Convention Hall, just nearing completion. Saratoga is the natural center of great conventions—political, educational, religious etc.—and she is now providing these characteristic American assemblages with one of the best great halls in the country.

Besides her own peculiar attractions of scenery and climate, and her profuse variety of refreshing and health-preserving waters, this ideal village is surrounded by many favored spots which delight the visitor. From any good vantage-point at the Springs, can be seen four distinct mountain groups—the Adirondacks, the Hills of the Upper Hudson, and far beyond, the Green Mountains, and away in the southwest, the Catskills. Not many miles away is the beautiful Lake Desolation, while Schuylerville, where is planted the monument commemorating one of our most famous revolutionary battles, is distant only a short drive. About nine miles from the Springs, and connected with the village by railroad, is the picturesque Mt. McGregor, having at its summit a tasteful and commodious hotel. This spot is made memorable for all time to patriotic Americans because here were spent the last days of that great soldier, Gen. Grant.

The view from the beautiful slopes of this mountain is most entrancing, while along the curving road between the mountain and the village, the ever-changing but ever beautiful landscape, forms a long series of delightful surprises.

L. A. Bond.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

The Columbus Contract.

As we are passing through this 400th anniversary year in which we are to commemorate the great event of October 12, 1492, other dates made memorable by the great transaction which culminated on that day, will also be noticed with interest as the year progresses. Attention has already been called in some of the public prints to April 17th. This year it fell on a Sunday—and Easter Sunday at that. On April 17, 1492, was signed a treaty or contract between Ferdinand and Isabella, King of Arragon and Queen of Castile, the sovereigns of united Spain, as the parties of the first part,—and a party of the second part, who would seem to present in his person or position but a sorry contrast, an extremely disproportionate importance to the others. He was as yet only an adventurer, nothing in his hand of money or power; a would-be discoverer, but not even a discoverer, as some of the mariners in Portugal's service might boast of being. He had vast promises to make, and not only boundless but confident expectations to urge. Yet withal, glaringly disproportionate as were these parties, there must have been something in the arguments, the persistence, the lofty bearing born of an overwhelming confidence in his theory and of an unshaken assurance of his success, which must have deeply affected these sovereigns. It must have made them feel that in these visions there was something which was "not all a dream," and the substance of which placed the engagement to which Columbus bound himself, quite on a level with their obligations. As to dignity and glory of personal position, who would not be Columbus rather than the King and Queen, who doubtless deemed their part in the transaction to be a gracious condescension?

* * *

Some Ancient Dutch Relics

Some ancient Dutch relics, writes a correspondent, have recently been uncovered in the old Senate House at Kingston, N. Y., through the intelligent search of Hon. Marius Schoonmaker, who has lately been appointed keeper of this historic structure. In removing

the brick surrounding a comparatively modern fireplace, a large old-fashioned Dutch tiled fireplace was found. Upon each tile is the figure of a yellow or orange breasted bird, emblematic of the national colors of the New Netherlands.

Another fireplace of a similar character and of still greater historic interest was discovered in the west room of the old house. This had also been re-lined with brick many years ago, and the existence of the original fireplace was wholly unsuspected. In the centre there is an ancient iron fireback. Upon this in relief are four human figures, two of these are evidently grenadiers, tall and slim. They face each other and each is armed with a sword and a long gun, the butts of which rest upon the ground. The other two figures are supposed to represent Dutchmen, short and fat, and seem to be shaking hands. Beneath the group is the following inscription in Dutch. "Den Crane Tir Gasselt Er Hebt Woe Ausdem Satel Gar Manchen Brafen Helt." The literal translation of the inscription is as follows: "The grenadier Gasselt. He raises indeed out of the saddle many brave heroes," or "This represents grenadier Gasselt. He has defeated indeed a good many heroes." This old fireplace is elaborately tiled like the other, the ornamentation being flowers and birds. Both fireplaces are provided with the customary iron swinging cranes in use in that period.

There are other back pieces in Ulster county similar to the one found at the old Senate House. One was taken from an old stone house which formerly stood in the town of Wawarsing, the walls of which were loopholed for rifles and muskets. In the time of Indian raids during the Revolutionary period the people assembled in this house for safety. It was strongly built, and when no longer occupied as a residence was spoken of as the "old fort." It was visited by many people previous to 1854, when it was torn down.

* * *

An Echo of Dorr's Rebellion.

Among bi- and quadro-centennials commemorating great events, we should not overlook the lesser ones, emphazing lesser events which go to make up the unity of our history. It is not difficult to understand why Rhode Island finds in Dorr's Rebellion, something worthy to commemorate with a semi-centennial celebration. There may be some wise people who look back wishfully but wistfully to a time when suffrage was not quite "universal." There may be some bold spirits, who would even dare to think and to say that some decided advantages might be realized from a restriction upon the suffrage, so that decency and intelligence might more generally guide and control votes. Be that as it may. But when all the

other voters of the union were without qualifications (practically), it was a little hard on Rhode Islanders to be subjected to a property qualification of $134. And so Dorr had no difficulty in creating a following, and while he may not have done the very best thing in the world in leading his followers into armed rebellion, still at a distance of fifty years, when passions have had time to cool, even his adversaries may see some reason for commemorating his exploit, especially since within the last ten (and less) years, the point contended for was finally secured for the citizens of Rhode Island. Meantime we outsiders can not but stand off and wonder a little at the history of this curious state. People jokingly slander New Jersey as being outside of the United States. But in reality it was in the Union before New York was. Rhode Island could with more justice be made the point of this kind of humor. It was more than a year after Washington's Inauguration, before this minute and obstinate commonwealth would adopt the federal constitution. And in 1842, Thomas W. Dorr was in rebellion against the state government trying to upset the King Charles charter. And what was worse, he could not make headway against the prejudice in favor of it, and its most galling provision deprived men of the rights and privileges of United States citizenship until 1888! How could these things be!

Neglect of a Priceless National Heirloom.

What can be to us, as citizens of these United States a more priceless heirloom, than the very paper upon which was written the Declaration of Independence, with the actual signatures of the men who subscribed their names to it, not knowing but they were signing their death warrant. Yet for many years it was carelessly kept among a lot of insignificant papers in the interior department, with less precaution against injury, as some one strongly but justly writes, than if it were "a caveat to protect an invention of a flour-sifter." This disgraceful neglect continued to as late a date as 1877. In 1876, as a proper mode of celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of its promulgation, the officials in charge of it let it go forth from their hands to be subjected to the tender mercies of facsimile hunters. A letter press copy was made of it, which (strange to say!) ruined it most effectually for later preservation, so that now not more than ten of the sixty names are legible to any degree, and these are faded to the last stage of visibility. As to the others, we are told, there are faint traces of writing, but nothing in the form of a signature can be distinguished sufficiently to enable any one to read them. It is a comfort that, now that it is almost too late, some precautionary measures have been taken. By an executive order

it is to remain in the State Department, and will not be loaned for any purpose, no matter how worthy. The custodian believes that there will be no further fading of the document as long as it remains undisturbed; but to him and to every visitor it is a matter of regret that the attempt to make a letter-press copy should have been permitted. It looks worse than some of the manuscripts in the British Museum which are three times as old It is now between two large plates of French glass, enclosed in a hardwood case, which is hermetically sealed so as to keep out air and dust. No atmosphere or other influence can now reach the precious document. The handsome wooden case in which the Declaration is kept is in an upright position, fastened to a latticed partition, with two doors in front, opening outward. The doors open only far enough to view the document and exclude the light, except such as is admitted by reflection. This is all now as it should be, but one irresistibly and regretfully wonders why it was not thought of before.

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Survival of Dutch Customs.

For tenacity in retaining ancient customs amid surroundings of race, tongue, or society totally different from their own — the Dutch are conspicious. The prevalence of the Dutch language and manners among the Boers of Africa at the present time is a proof of this. The Colonists of New Amsterdam afford another case in point. In 1664 Colonel Nicolls induced them to abandon their allegiance to the Dutch Republic. In 1764 — a hundred years later — the first English-speaking pastor was called to one of the Dutch churches in New York. Miss Booth in her charming history gives the following vivid picture of some of the chief customs and traditions of the Dutch in New York about 1680, the time to which the article in the present number on the administration of Sir Edmund Andros refers.

"At this time and long after, the inhabitants of the city continued to be distinguished for their frank good-nature, their love of home, and their cordial hospitality . . . Despite the staid decorum of the city, it was overflowing with sociality and genial humor. Fast young men, fashionable amusements, late hours, and dissipation were wholly unknown, but there was no lack of hearty and homely sports. Of holidays there were abundance; each family had some of its own; birthdays and marriage anniversaries were religiously observed in the family circle, and home ties were thus drawn more closely together. Each season too brought its own peculiar festivals, and many new ones were invented to meet the social exigencies. . . The Dutch had five national festivals which were observed throughout the

city; namely, Kerstydt [Kersmis] (Christmas); Nieuw jar [jaar] (New Year); Paas [Paasschen] (the Passover) [Easter]; Pinxter (Whitsuntide); and Santa Claus (St. Nicholas or Christ-Kinkle day). Most of these have come down to our own time, in a form but slightly varied from the ancient observance... New Year's day was devoted to the interchange of visits. Every house in the city was open, no stranger was unwelcome, cake, wine, and punch were provided in profusion, and the opening year was greeted with general conviviality. It was considered a breach of etiquette for any one to omit a single acquaintance in his round of calls, and acquaintanceships were renewed, and half-dissevered intimacies knotted again in the cordial warmth of the New Year's greeting. This custom, which has come down to our own times, has extended to other cities, but its origin belongs exclusively to New York.

"But Santa Claus day was the best day of all in the estimation of the little folks, who of all others enjoy holidays the most intensely. It is notable, too, for having been the day sacred to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of New York, who presided at the figurehead [so says the accurate Diedrich Knickerbocker.] of the first emigrant ship that touched her shores, who gave his name to the first church erected within her walls, and who has ever since been regarded as having especial charge of the destinies of his favorite city. To the children he was a jolly, rosy-cheeked little old man, with a low-crowned hat, a pair of Flemish trunk-hose, and a pipe of immense length, who drove his reindeer sleigh loaded with gifts from the frozen regions of the North over the roofs of New Amsterdam for the benefit of good children. Models of propriety were they for a week preceding the eventful eve. When it came, they hung their stockings carefully labeled that the Saint might make no mistake, in the chimney-corner, and went early to bed, chanting the Santa Claus hymn, in addition to their usual devotions:

"Sint Nicolaas, goed heilig man,
Trekt uw' besten Tabbard an,
En reist daarmee naar Amsterdam,
Van Amsterdam naar Spanje,
Waar appelon van Oranje,
En appelen van Granaten,
Er rollen door de Straten.
Sint Nicolaas, myn goeden Vriendt,
Ik heb uw altyd wel gediendt,
Als gy my nu wat wilt geven,
Zal ik uw dienen al myn leven."

Translation.

"Saint Nicholas, good holy man,
Put the best Tabbard on you can,
And in it go to Amsterdam,
From Amsterdam to Hispanje,
Where apples bright of Orange,
And likewise those pomegranates named,
Roll through the streets all unreclaimed.
Saint Nicholas, my dear good friend,
To serve you ever was my end,
If you me something now will give,
Serve you I will long as I live."

Columbus Statue for San Domingo.

The world outside of America is exhibiting the keenest interest in the approaching Columbus celebration and the wish to honor the memory of the Great Discoverer is expressed in many notable ways. It is reported that a well known American manufacturing company has received the contract to cast a large bronze statue of Columbus. It is to be erected on the island of Hayti, in that portion of it occupied by the San Domingo republic. The spot selected is at ancient Isabella which was the site of the first permanent colony in the New World, projected and founded by the discoverer. An interesting feature of this project is that it was conceived by a gentleman residing at Boston, and has been carried to a successful issue by the vigorous support of a Catholic Review published in that city. R. Andrew, of the Massachusetts State Normal Art School, furnished the designs, and the model is from the hands of the Belgian sculptor, Alois Buyens, of Ghent. The statue will present Columbus in an erect posture, his left hand extending toward heaven in token of thanksgiving, while upon a sphere at his feet is indicated the settlement at Isabella in San Domingo, then called Hispaniola, towards which is pointed the figure's right hand. The land necessary to erect it has been given, and the statue will be admitted duty-free.

An Association of American Authors.

It is naturally of much interest to all writers—and it would seem that it should be none the less so to all those who are interested in literature, and its struggles for proper recognition and protection in the world's market, to learn that an Association of American Authors has been recently formed.

This was done at the invitation of Gen. Wilson, President of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society. Col. Thos. W. Higginson presided and a constitution was adopted, of which the objects are: "To promote a professional spirit among authors; to establish better business methods between authors and publishers; to endeavor to settle disputes between authors and publishers by arbitration or by an appeal to the courts; to maintain, define and defend literary property; and in general, to advance the interests of American authors and literature."

The officers elected at the meeting were:—President, Colonel Thomas W. Higginson; vice-presidents, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Moncure D. Conway and Maurice Thompson; treasurer, General James Grant Wilson; secretary, Charles Burr Todd.

All persons engaged in recognized literary pursuits may become members. The initiation fee and first

year's dues are five dollars; yearly dues, three dollars. Persons may become life members on payment of fifty dollars, and any individual giving five dollars or over is to be enrolled as a patron of the Society. Persons not authors who have performed some signal service to literature may be elected honorary members. All surplus money in the treasury, whether accruing from bequests, gifts, initiation fees or dues, is to be invested and held as a fund, the interest of which is to be expended in aiding sick, aged or infirm members when necessary, and in paying funeral expenses of deceased indigent members.

The leaders in the movement consider the establishment of the pension fund, and the plan to secure just returns of sales from publishers, as the most important objects of the new association.

The association numbers some eighty members as incorporators, among them many of the best and strongest men and women in contemporary American letters. Among the incorporators and those recently elected are the following well known names. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, George W. Cable, Julian Hawthorne, Hon. John Bigelow, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, Edward Bellamy, Berthold Fernow, James Lane Allen, Chandos Fulton, Robert Grant, Mrs. Celia Thaxter, Edward F. De Lancy, Benjamin Hathaway, George Parsons Lathrop, Eugene Lawrence, Mary C. Lockwood, Nora Perry, Hezekiah Butterworth, General T. F. Rodenbaugh, Rev. M. J. Savage, Professor N. S. Shaler, Dr. Henry R. Stiles, Mary E. Wilkins, Rev. Joseph Cook, Edward W. Bok, Charles Wingate, Edward Everett Hale, William J. Rolfe, Colonel A. K. McClure, Dr. N. P. Gilman, Coyne Fletcher, General H. V. Boynton, Emily L. Sherwood, Professor Henry Coppee, Henry G. Scudder, Gen. O. O. Howard, Pres. D. C. Gilman, Brooks Adams, Joel Chandler Harris, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, Prof. E. K. Horsford.

MILITARY OPERATIONS AT CAIRO IN 1861.

GENERAL JOSEPH D. WEBSTER.

On the 19th of April 1861, Governor Richard Yates of Illinois, received from Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, at Washington, the following dispatch:

WASHINGTON, April 19th,

"GOVERNOR YATES,

As soon as enough of your troops are mustered into service send a Brigadier General with four regiments to or near Grand Cairo."

SIMON CAMERON,
Secretary of War."

The same day Governor Yates sent to General R. K. Swift, then in Chicago, the following dispatch:

"GENERAL SWIFT,

As quick as possible have as strong a force as you can raise, armed and equipped with ammunition and accoutrements, and a company of artillery, ready to march at a moment's warning. A messenger will start to Chicago to-night.

RICHARD YATES,
Commander in Chief."

The day following the special messenger mentioned in Governor Yates' dispatch arrived in Chicago and placed in the hands of General Swift the following order:

"GENERAL R. K. SWIFT,

I am instructed by Governor Yates to inform you to raise the largest force possible including artillery, and take possession of Cairo at the earliest possible moment. The utmost secrecy is required. Have your expedition start as if going to Springfield via Illinois Central Railroad.

JOHN W. BUNN,
Special messenger from Commander in Chief, Governor Yates."

A supplemental message delivered to General Swift the same day read as follows:

"GENERAL R. K. SWIFT,

I am directed by the Commander in Chief to say that it is hoped that the utmost expedition will be made, as well as secrecy observed in the destination of troops. It is intended that your paymaster and quartermaster shall report to the proper officers at Springfield. We want to concentrate all information at this point, as to the condition and position of our forces, and you will please see that proper communication, and as frequently as possible, is made to Springfield. Perhaps the state of feeling in Southern Illinois may require the

utmost dispatch and secrecy, without regard to other considerations, but there are others of great importance.
By order of the Commander in Chief.

JOHN W. BUNN,
Special Messenger."

It was within a week after the fall of Fort Sumter that the first of these warlike messages was received at, and those following it sent out from the Capital of Illinois.

Read to-day they display agitation on the part of the senders, such as men suddenly called upon to face the exigencies of war might be expected to manifest in the presence of a great impending danger. Ten days earlier Illinois had taken the first step towards placing herself upon a war footing, and within that brief period companies of soldiers had been recruited in all parts of the State for service in the suppression of the rebellion. It was to the officer commanding one of these hurriedly formed brigades that Governor Yates addressed his messages calling the volunteers into action. That he deemed the contemplated movement one of great importance is evident from the tone of his messages, and it very soon developed that the object of the movement was the occupation of Cairo, or as it became officially known "The Cairo Expedition."

To the writer it has always seemed that this expedition has hardly been given the prominence to which it was entitled, in our histories of the war. All who have given the matter any attention know that Cairo is situated at the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, and is, as one writer has observed "key to the navigation of both." It was also the Southern terminus of the Illinois Central railway with branches running—in 1861—to Chicago on the Lake, and to Dunleith opposite Dubuque, Iowa on the Mississippi River. It was a point of great strategic importance, as between the contending forces, and it was this fact, to which the attention of Secretary Cameron had been called by Senator Trumbull, which caused him to set on foot measures to secure its occupation and fortification. Had the Confederates seized Cairo, they would have obtained control of the railway systems of the West, and it would have enabled them to close the navigation of two great water ways. This was one of the dangers impending at the time Gov. Yates issued his urgent order to Gen. Swift to hurry forward to that point as many troops as possible. Another impending peril was the probable effect of the occupancy of Cairo by the Confederates, upon the people and public sentiment of Southern Illinois. The great majority of the inhabitants of this section of the State had emigrated from the Southern States, and their sympathy was, as a natural consequence, largely with those engaged in the rebellious uprising. Had the Confederates obtained control of Cairo, this sentiment would have been strengthened,

and Southern Illinois might have furnished material aid and encouragement to the insurrectionists. As it was the Union forces became the "moulders of public opinion," and as a Southern Illinois farmer expressed it, "Them brass missionaries (cannon) has converted a heap of folks that was on the anxious seat." Once occupied by the Government forces, Cairo became an important depot for supplies, and one of the earliest acts of the military force stationed there, was the stoppage of the "Southern Trade," which meant neither more nor less than supplying the Rebels with munitions of war.

To take possession of this important point was the work assigned the troops which were being mustered in haste in Chicago. But both officers and men were inexperienced, and it was felt that the expedition sent to save Cairo and all Southern Illinois, should have the assistance and guidance of some one who had had military experience. Also as a large sum of money had been raised by private effort a man of undoubted integrity was anxiously looked for, to take charge of this money. For both of these considerations Captain Webster was chosen.

He had been an officer of Topographical Engineers of the old army, but had resigned a few years after the Mexican War.

A commission as Paymaster with the rank of Major was sent to Captain Webster—which would give him the control of the finances—and this was accompanied by a letter from his friend, the Hon. Lyman Trumbull of the U. S. Senate entreating him to accept the appointment.

It was characteristic of the man. that, although circumstances almost immediately forced upon him the virtual command of the expedition, with its attendant responsibilities, he was willing to accompany it nominally under a subordinate staff appointment, and by so doing avoid, though at sacrifice to himself, any unpleasant or embarrasing complications that might otherwise have grown out of orders already issued. At the same time he on the one hand, satisfied the scruples and anxieties of those who had privately advanced funds for the expedition—because his Paymaster's commission gave him charge of the disbursements—and on the other gave to the expedition and the men composing it, the benefit and the prestige of his military experience.

This genuine patriotism and single hearted desire to do his duty and serve his country as best he might. without thought of reputation or reward, were traits that those who knew him best, invariably recognized.

Captain Webster accepted the trust. To Mr. John Bunn, the special messenger from Gov. Yates, mentioned above, he gave his best assistance. A serious misunderstanding and almost quarrel had arisen with the officers of the Illinois Central Rail-

road, but as soon as they were assured that Capt. Webster was going with the expedition they said, "He can have anything—anything! Take charge of the road if he chooses." Within a few hours the troops were under way, and it is believed that thus, very largely through his efforts, made at the urgent request of Judge Trumbull, Southern Illinois was, without bloodshed, saved to the Union.

Joseph Dana Webster, whose first important service in the Civil War was rendered at Cairo, came of the same New England stock as Daniel Webster. He was born in Hampton, N. H., August 25, 1811, and was the son of Rev. Joseph Webster and Elizabeth (Knight) Webster. He received careful early training, and when thirteen years of age, entered Hampton Academy to be fitted for college, the design of his parents being that he should enter professional life after completing his education. After a thorough course of preparation at Hampton Academy, he matriculated at Dartmouth College, where he pursued a classical course of study, graduating in 1832.

Upon leaving college he went to Newburyport, Mass., with the intention of fitting himself for the practice of law. He read law with the Hon. Rufus Choate, devoting three years to this study, but reaching the conclusion that he would find the practice an uncongenial occupation, he went to Washington, where he was introduced to Gen. Lewis Cass, then Secretary of War, upon whom he made so favorable an impression that he was tendered a position in the War office.

In 1835 he was made a member of the corps of Civil Engineers of the War Department, and thus entered upon a career for which fine mathematical attainments eminently fitted him. In 1838 he entered the army as a Second Lieutenant of the Topographical Engineers Corps, the Civil Engineers Corps to which he had previously belonged, having been abolished. Soon afterward he was sent West, being stationed at Milwaukee, where he assisted in a Government survey of the lake coast. In 1847 he was ordered to Detroit, and from thence to Mexico, to make military surveys on the Rio Grande, during the Mexican War. He served through the war and then returned to Washington, being promoted to First Lieutenant of Civil Engineers in 1849. He was next assigned to duty in Chicago, where he took charge of the Harbor improvements, then being made by the Government, superintending this important work with a care and efficiency which showed a broad knowledge of the Science of Civil Engineering. In 1854 he resigned the Captaincy of Engineers, to which he had been promoted in 1853, and decided to retire to private life. In 1844, he had married in Chicago, Miss A. E. Wright, daughter of John Wright, one of the noted Pioneer

Merchants and public benefactors of the City. When he retired from the army, he determined, therefore, to locate in Chicago, and engage in business in the city, which had been Mrs. Webster's early home. Turning his attention to manufacturing pursuits, he engaged for several years in this business, being called upon in the meantime to serve in various public capacities. When a commission was created by the Legislature of Illinois, to undertake a work of greater consequence than anything which had ever before been attempted in Chicago, viz.: the construction of sewers for the city, Capt. Webster was chosen a member of the Commission, and after a short time became its President. Under his direction, the Board laid out and put into successful operation, one of the most remarkable and at the same time, one of the most complete and satisfactory sewerage systems in the world. He was also at the head of this Commission, when the plan for raising the city above its old grade was inaugurated and successfully carried out.

During the early years of his residence in Chicago, he also became identified with one of the great newspaper enterprises of this city. In 1852, he became interested with others in the ownership of the Chicago *Tribune* and retained his interest in the paper until 1858. Although he never took an active part in the conduct of the *Tribune*, he was one of the men who controlled its policy, during several of the most important years of its existence.

When the war broke out he entered the Government service, as already related, as paymaster to the Cairo expedition, with the rank of Major. He was soon afterward appointed Chief of Engineers with the rank of Colonel, and in this capacity took charge of the work of constructing the fortifications at Cairo, as already stated.

In the spring of 1862 he was commissioned Colonel of the First Illinois Light Artillery, and was with Gen. Grant in his first Battle at Belmont. He also participated in the engagements at Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, and Shiloh, as a member of General Grant's Staff. As Chief of Staff at Shiloh he occupied, at the close of the first day's battle, with all available pieces, the ridge that covered Pittsburgh Landing, and the heroic stand which he made in this position, coupled with his skillful handling of the artillery, checked the victorious Confederates just before night-fall, and thus made it possible for the Union forces to maintain their position during the night. In the morning came the reinforcements which turned defeat into victory, and to no one of the subordinate officers who participated in that memorable conflict was due a greater share of credit for this result, of such vast importance to the Union arms, than to Colonel Webster. His gallant and effi-

cient services in this engagement won for him a Brigadier General's commission, and he received the highest commendation in General Grant's report of the battle.

After this he continued to serve as Chief of Staff until October, 1862, when he was detailed to make a survey of the Illinois & Michigan Canal. When this work, which occupied several months, was completed, he was appointed Military Governor of Memphis, Tenn., and designed the fortifications which made it practicable to hold the city with a small force. His next assignment was as Chief of Staff in charge of the military railway during the seige of Vicksburg and until Gen. W. T. Sherman took command of the army of the Tennessse. Becoming Chief of Staff to General Sherman, he was with him at Nashville, and had charge of his headquarters there during the "march to the sea." He was there during the seige by Hood, marched to Washington with the victorious army, participated in the Grand Review in May of 1865, and in the fall of that year was mustered out of the service with the rank of Brigadier General and Brevet Major General of Volunteers. During the entire four years of the war, General Webster sustained the most intimate relationship to one or the other of the two leading and most eminently successful commanders of the Union Army. He was to both a confidential friend and adviser, as well as a brave and able officer, and an efficient assistant in his official capacity. Both had unbounded confidence in his courage, his patriotism, and his ability, both as an executive and field officer. This feeling was aptly expressed by General Sherman in an autograph letter to General Webster's son, in which he said: "As an officer he was that one in whose keeping Gen Grant and I could repose any trust, with a sense of absolute security."

As a soldier he was master of every situation in which he was placed, and he was among the few who reflected the greatest honor upon the volunteer soldiery of the north, in the war of the Rebellion. After the dispersion of the army, General Webster was sent by the government to make a tour of the Southern States, to inspect the railroads of that section of the country, and at the request of the Postmaster-General, made a report of the condition of the railways, which materially aided the government to reorganize the mail service. After this, returning to Chicago, he was ordered to build the new Marine Hospital there. The old hospital had been built by General Webster prior to the war, and it was characteristic of his faithfulness to public trusts, that his accounts rendered to the authorities at Washington, should have shown such efficient and honest management of the work, as to draw from the government officials the re-

mark, that he had completed the first building of the kind "built for the appropriation."

In 1869 he was appointed by General Grant, assessor of internal revenue for the first district of Illinois, and held this office until it was abolished in 1872, when he became Assistant United States Treasurer. In 1875, upon the exposure of the gigantic Whiskey Frauds of that era, and when it became imperative that the government should be represented in the Internal Revenue Collector's office, by a strong, able, and honest man, who would not only reform the Internal Revenue Department, but aid the Government in its prosecution of corrupt officials, and those who had been in collusion with them, Gen. Webster was appointed by President Grant, Collector of Internal Revenue at Chicago. In this position enormous official burdens were imposed upon him, and he was called upon to render the most important public service of his civil life. Enjoying to the fullest extent the confidence and esteem of the President, he was for a time almost his only adviser on all subjects pertaining to the administration of the Government in Chicago.

It is probable that too great a strain was thus put upon him, and that his life was cut short by his arduous labors. He died after a short illness, on the 12th of March, 1876, and seldom has a citizen of Chicago been carried to his last resting place, with such sincere and universal manifestations of sorrow.

Commenting editorially upon his death at the time, the Chicago *Tribune* said: "General Webster will be long mourned as a friend, and regretted as a faithful and efficient public officer, but the most lasting impression he leaves is that of great and admirable manliness. He was the embodiment of personal integrity and one of the noblest specimens of the gentleman. Dignified in presence, affable in address, restrained in his communications, unremitting in his duties, warm in his friendship, he commanded respect and conquered confidence. His death is mourned in every aspect, except that it ends peacefully a career of uninterrupted usefulness, and the single compensation it offers is that the recalling of so excellent and enviable a life may lead others to imitate it."

Thos. H. & J. Thompson

LEGISLATION AND LEGISLATORS OF ILLINOIS.

COL. WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON.

THE death of Col. William Hale Thompson at his home in Chicago, Nov. 17th, 1889, not only removed one who had been for many years a prominent citizen of Chicago, but one who had been conspicuous among the public men of the State of Illinois. Not only had he been one of the eminently successful business men of Chicago—identified in various ways with important enterprises and improvements—but he had been instrumental in shaping some of the most useful legislation enacted by the General Assembly of the State within the past twenty years, and of giving this legislation force and effect after its enactment into law. At the time of his death Col. Thompson was still comparatively a young man, and had had during his life time, an unusually varied and interesting experience.

Born in Durham, New Hampshire, May 9th, 1838, he was the son of Capt. Ebenezer Thompson, a wealthy citizen of Durham, who had been master of a merchant vessel in early life, but who retired from sea-faring pursuits while still a young man, served in the legislature of New Hampshire, and took an active interest in public affairs. Capt. Thompson was a son of Col. Ebenezer Thompson, also a distinguished citizen of Durham, New Hampshire, whose father was Judge Ebenezer Thompson, who was twice chosen to represent New Hampshire in the Continental Congress—each time declining the honor—and who held various offices of trust during the revolutionary period, being regarded as the most eminent citizen ever born in the town of Durham. Judge Thompson was the son of Robert Thompson, who is mentioned in the New England annals as being one of the settlers on Oyster River in 1707, and who was probably the immigrant ancestor of this branch of the Thompson family.

Col. William Hale Thompson was born in a house famous in Durham as the home of Gen. John Sullivan, one of the eight brigadier-generals of the Continental army commissioned in 1775, and one of the most distinguished patriots of that era. As a boy he attended school at the Merrimack Institute, Reed's Ferry, New Hampshire, and later at Phillips Exeter Academy. In 1853, after the death of his parents, he resided with his uncle, Capt. Jacob W. Thompson

of Portsmouth, and in 1854, following what was, perhaps, an inherited desire for a sea-faring life, went to sea in the "Emily Farnum" as a sailor before the mast, although he had inherited a handsome property.

As a sailor, he rounded Cape Horn three times, and when but seventeen years of age, was appointed second officer of the vessel. In this calling he soon became so proficient that he would have reached the mastery of a vessel at a very early age, had he not met with a serious accident, which changed the whole course of his life.

While lying in port in San Francisco, in 1856, he fell into the hold of the vessel, and crushed his left arm in such a way that amputation was thought to be necessary. This proposition of the surgeons he strongly resisted, declaring that he would rather die than lose his arm. The result was that the injured limb was saved, but for a long time he was unable to use it and of course had to quit the sea. Returning to Boston he entered the counting-room of Cummings & Co., East India commission merchants, and managers of one of the largest establishments of this kind in that city. He remained in the employ of this firm until the breaking out of the civil war, acquiring meantime a decided taste for military affairs, which became one of the dominant features of his later life. In 1859 he joined the famous local military company, known as "The Boston Tigers," serving as a private with such—afterward—distinguished soldiers as Gen. Thomas Stevenson and Gen. Nelson A. Miles.

When the war began he at once decided to enter the government service, and was offered the choice of three commissions—that of quartermaster in the regular army, of a captaincy in the Ninth Infantry, also in the regular service, or that of paymaster in the United States Navy. Acting upon the advice of Hon. John P. Hale, then Chairman of the Naval Committee, of the United States Senate, he accepted the appointment to the Navy, and upon examination by the United States Naval Board at New York, held second place among thirty-five appointees. On the 23rd of August 1861, he was commissioned assistant paymaster of the Navy, with the rank of Second Lieutenant, and assigned to duty on the sloop of war "Mohican," attached to Admiral Dupont's squadron. This squadron sailed from New York Oct. 20th 1861, and on the 7th day of November took part in the battle of Port Royal, South Carolina. Later he participated in the capture of Fernandina, Florida, and other seaports along the South Atlantic coast, being in many engagements.

Lieutenant Thompson was promoted July 2nd, 1862, to the position of full paymaster, with the rank of Lieutenant Commander and ordered aboard the Steam Frigate "Susquehanna," where he reported for duty to Admiral David A. Farragut. The

Susquehanna was the flagship of the Western Division, commanded by Commodore Hitchcock, and Lieutenant Thompson remained with the squadron—participating in all of Admiral Farragut's engagements of that period, until June 30th, 1863. On that date he was ordered to report for duty to Admiral S. P. Lee, then in command of the North Atlantic squadron, on board the frigate "Brandywine." Here he was assigned to duty as Fleet Paymaster, relieving Commander C. J. Emery, who turned over to him sixteen small ships of war, lying in the James River. After Admiral Porter took command of the squadron, the number of vessels was increased to fifty during the cruise. These vessels were frequently widely separated, some of them for months at a time, and the duties which devolved upon the paymaster were of the most arduous character. His returns made to the authorities at Washington at that time show that his responsibilities were greater than those of any other disbursing officer of the United States Navy. Notwithstanding this fact, his accounts were so satisfactorily settled that he received from the United States Treasurer, a letter giving him special credit for having discharged his multiplied duties so efficiently under unusually difficult circumstances.

After the war was ended, he received orders, March 10, 1866, to report for duty as Naval Storekeeper at St. Paul de Loanda, a government supply station on the coast of Africa. It it not probable that this assignment was an altogether agreeable one to the young naval officer. He had been married in 1864, at Exeter, New Hampshire, to Miss Medora Gale, daughter of Stephen Gale, one of the most noted of the early settlers of Chicago, and the African Supply Station did not promise to be an agreeable place of residence. In view of this, and of the fact that he had a comfortable fortune, and had no need to remain in the service, friends induced him to resign his position in the Navy, and establish his residence in Chicago. Coming to Chicago in 1868, he turned his attention to investments in realty, and to carrying on a general real estate business. In this, as in everything else he had undertaken, he was eminently successful, and added largely to his fortune. On lands which he purchased he erected a number of business blocks, one of these, the "Thompson Block," being the best building left standing in Chicago by the fire of 1871.

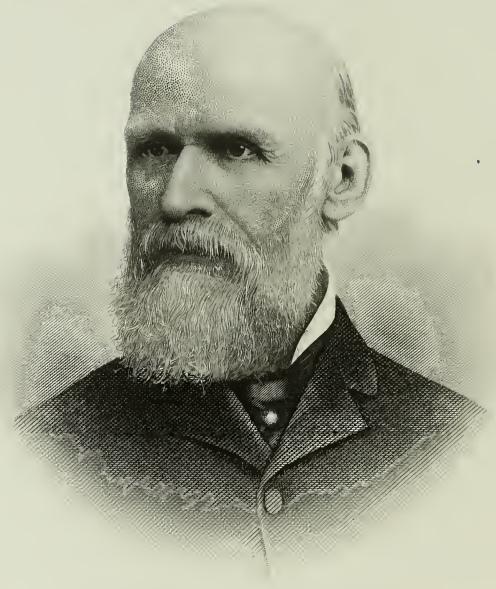
In addition to looking after his large business interests in Chicago, Col. Thompson soon began to take an active interest in public and political affairs. For many years his ancestors had taken an active part in the conduct of public affairs, and being by nature admirably qualified and fitted for public life, it was natural enough that he should become somewhat interested in politics.

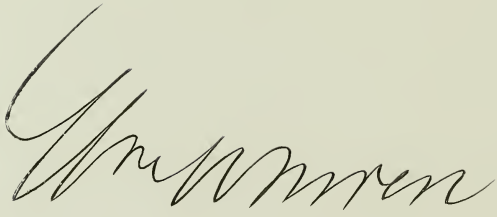
Being elected by the people of his district to the 30th and 31st General Assemblies of Illinois, he soon took rank among the able and influential members of that body. He was recognized as one of the leading orators of the Assembly, as one of the safest and most conservative legislators, and a man of the most pleasing personality, and courtliness of manner. He was especially prominent in advocating and promoting the passage of what was known as the Back Tax Bill, passed in 1877—through which the city of Chicago was enabled to collect something like $3,000,000 from delinquents—and the State Military Bill, which gave to Illinois its present National Guard organization. To secure the passage of this bill he brought to bear all the force of persuasive eloquence, personal magnetism, logical reasoning and skilful management of the measure, through its various stages.

The valuable services of the military organizations effected in accordance with the provisions of the law, within a year after its passage, when Chicago was threatened with destruction by riotous mobs in 1877, demonstrated the wisdom of its enactment, and of the men who labored so indefatigably to place it upon the statute books.

In recognition of his services as one of the chief promotors of this measure, Governor Cullom appointed him a member of his military staff, with the rank of Colonel, July 2nd, 1877. Two years later he was chosen Lieutenant-Colonel, in command of the Sixth Battalion of the Illinois National Guard. In April of 1881, he was made Colonel of the Sixth Regiment of the Illinois National Guard and upon the consolidation of the Second and Sixth Regiments, he became Colonel of the new Second Regiment. In these several capacities he was one of those who labored most earnestly and successfully to bring the military organizations of the State up to a high standard of discipline and efficiency.

While taking an active part in politics, he was at different times prominently mentioned in connection with gubernatorial and other honors, and wielded an important influence for many years in the Republican party, with which he affiliated from the date of casting his first vote. He was, however, outspoken in his championship of what he believed to be right, and did not hesitate to condemn in the most emphatic terms the tricks and chicanery of unscrupulous partisans, even though they belonged to his own party. While his candor and rugged honesty perhaps prevented him from obtaining more exalted official positions than those he filled with so much credit to himself, he was regarded as a most useful citizen of the city of Chicago, and of the State of Illinois, and left behind him an untarnished and enviable record.





A PIONEER UNDERWRITER.

WILLIAM WARREN.

For more than twenty-five years William Warren was one of the leading representatives of an interest which has grown to vast proportions in the United States, and for more than twenty years of that time, he was identified most prominently with this interest in Chicago and the Northwest. The faithful and efficient servant of one of the great insurance corporations of the world, he was at the same time a watchful guardian of the public interest, and one of those intelligent, conscientious and capable men, who have contributed so much toward systematizing the business of Fire Underwriters, and elevating it to its present high plane in this country within the past quarter of a century.

The era through which he passed was what might properly be termed the formative period of western Fire Insurance history. It was the period within which were formulated many of the most important policies governing the conduct of fire underwriting, and within which many of the most judicious regulations of fire insurance business were devised and put into effect. In bringing about necessary reforms, and inaugurating improved methods in the business in which he was engaged, William Warren was one of the most potent factors among his contemporaries, and he was therefore widely known as a man of affairs, of business sagacity and executive ability.

Of English nativity, Mr. Warren was born in Uffington, County Berks, March 22, 1819, receiving in his early boyhood such education as was thought necessary to fit him for a successful tradesman. At thirteen years of age his school days were over, and he entered the employ of his uncle, James Warren, of London, who was engaged in the India tea trade. There he received a thorough and systematic business training, and after five years' experience in trade he immigrated to the United States. Arrived in New York city, he began his business career in this country as a clerk in the wholesale dry goods house of John P. Stagg & Co. In the winter of 1843-44 he removed to Cleveland, Ohio, where he established himself in the dry-goods trade. This business he conducted successfully, becoming recognized as a merchant of character and ability, and the strictest integrity.

In Cleveland he formed the ac-

quaintance of Miss Mary Anne Seymour, daughter of Alexander Seymour of Utica, N. Y., who became a resident of Cleveland in 1835, and who came of New England ancestry, and in 1847 they were married.

While engaged in merchandising, he received from the Liverpool & London & Globe Insurance Company an appointment as its local agent, and began giving a share of his attention to this business in 1853. In 1860 he disposed of his mercantile interests and became associate general western agent of the Liverpool & London & Globe company, with headquarters in Cincinnati. Removing to that city he devoted the next six years to building up the business of this company in the extensive territory of which he had charge, his family residing meantime in the beautiful suburb of Walnut Hills, in a house which had become famous as the home of Harriet Beecher Stowe, when her husband was a professor in Lane Theological Seminary. In 1866 Mr. Warren was transferred from Cincinnati to Chicago, where shortly afterward he assumed sole charge of the affairs of the company, for fourteen of the northwestern states and territories. In supervising the numerous agencies under his control, establishing new agencies and extending the insurance business in his western field, he led an exceedingly active life during the years immediately following his change of location, and few of the representatives of the great corporation with which he was connected have had greater influence in shaping its affairs, or have contributed more toward advancing its interests in the United States. In 1875 he received a further recognition of his valuable services by being appointed resident secretary of the independent branch of the Liverpool & London & Globe Insurance Company, then established for all the northwestern states and territories lying east of the Rocky Mountains, and this important position he retained up to the date of his death in 1889, his connection with the company covering in all a period of thirty years.

His death occurred on the 10th of November, 1889, and on the 12th of November the largest memorial meeting of the Chicago Fire Underwriters Association ever held, was convened for the purpose of paying tribute to his memory. Accustomed to deal with the practical affairs of life in the most practical way, the representatives of this interest are not, as a rule, much given to sentimentality, but upon this occasion there were manifestations of deep feeling such as are seldom witnessed in a gathering of business men.

In addition to having been during the years of his active life, a model of business rectitude, a man of practical ideas and of marked executive ability, Mr. Warren had been one of those men who had the happy faculty of making warm and devoted friends of

all those with whom they are associated. It was, therefore, with a sense of personal bereavement that the men who had regarded him at the same time as business associate and friend, came together to give expression to their sentiments concerning his life and character. These expressions of regard were not confined to the formally adopted resolutions which bore testimony to his worth as a man and a citizen, but one after another the members of the association, some with tear-dimmed eyes, gave estimates of his character, based upon years of association with him. One of those who had known him longest, and had been most intimately acquainted with him, and who was therefore, admirably qualified to make a just estimate of his worth, drew a word-picture of his dead friend, calling attention to his distinguishing characteristics in such a way as to make a reproduction of his utterances appropriate in this connection. Said the speaker alluded to :

"William Warren has passed away, after reaching the allotted bound of human life ; yet to none of us did he seem old, because his feelings were always young. In many particulars his character furnishes us an admirable model. My acquaintance with him covered considerable more than a quarter of a century ; yet, to my mind, in the buoyancy and cordiality of his feelings, and the playful friendliness of his manner, he seemed the same to me the last time I met him that he did the first. There is not one here this morning, I apprehend, but will bear ready testimony to the sterling integrity of his character, which was manifested upon all occasions and under all circumstances. He always impressed me very strongly with a kindliness of character which was manifest at all times. I have rarely met him of late years, even if but for a moment on the street, that he did not give expression to some word of solicitude in respect to my personal welfare. I think we shall all remember him, and mourn him as a personal friend.

"He was distinguished for his charity and considerateness of others, even with those with whom he did not agree. He was eminently a man of peace, and in no attitude was his character more striking or worthy of emulation than in his willingness to yield his preferences for the sake of peace and harmony. The charity and kindliness of his nature were strongly evidenced in his conceding to others the value of their opinion, though they might conflict with those he entertained. He was also characterized by large-hearted generosity and hospitality, of which not only myself personally, but members of my family have had conspicuous evidence. He was in the highest sense of the word a gentleman, and we shall cherish his memory for his honorable bearing in business relations, as well as for the social amenities which were among his distinguishing characteristics."

Another speaker said on this occasion: "It is a custom in some of the countries in the far east for all passers to stop at the signs of mourning, and with uncovered heads to utter a prayer, and commend the soul of the dead to God. Amid the noise of a busy city, we have assembled for the purpose of paying a tribute to the memory of one of our associates—a friend who has passed out from among us to the life beyond. Not as strangers who follow a custom, and who are actuated by respectful and religious zeal for the soul of the dead, but as friends, we mourn the loss of a friend, whose friendship was an honor, and for whose future a sure glory has been secured. William Warren was the highest type of Christian manhood to be found, for he loved his God with all his heart, and his neighbor as himself. Brave in his loyal defense of the right, considerate and gentle to those who differed from him, tender as a child in his affection, modest as a woman in his daily work, his charity was toward all. His benevolence to the needy was as thorough and ready as it was unostentatious. His industry in his business was persistent. All loved him, and those who knew him best loved him most."

Others who were present, younger men, who had been aided, encouraged and assisted to establish themselves in life by Mr. Warren, paid warm tribute to the memory of their friend and adviser, and emphasized the beneficence of his existence. On the day following this meeting his remains were followed to their last resting place in the cemetery at Lake Forest by prominent representatives of the Insurance interests of other cities, and by the Chicago underwriters, who attended the funeral in a body.

As soon as the news of his death was conveyed to the public, telegrams and letters of condolence came to his family from all parts of the territory of which he had so long had charge as a representative of the insurance interest. With one accord the senders of these messages testified to his able management of the affairs intrusted to his care, and in addition they breathed a uniform sentiment of love and respect for one who had not only dealt justly and honorably with them as subordinates in a business capacity, but whose intercourse with them had always been characterized by the most charming courtesy, and a friendly interest in their individual success and welfare. Each seemed to feel that in the death of Mr. Warren he had not only lost one of the ablest and most successful representatives of their profession, but a much esteemed personal friend. Even those operating at remote agencies, who did not enjoy a personal acquaintance with him, and whose only knowledge of his character had been gleaned from their correspondence with him, seemed to have been charmed by the intercourse,

Eng.d by A.P.G. Kernan N.Y.

Geo. E. Howes

and to have a thorough appreciation of his kindliness, his probity, and his moral worth, as well as of his professional ability.

A worthy citizen in all the relations of life, he was always interested in the advancement of religious and educational work. A successful business man, his generosity kept pace with his prosperity, and he contributed liberally of his means to the advancement of religious, educational and charitable enterprises, and participated zealously in carrying forward any work of this character with which he became identified, bringing to bear upon financial and other problems to be solved in connection therewith, an experience in the conduct of affairs, executive ability and sound judgment, which never failed to bring about the best results attainable.

Of the family of Mr. Warren, Mrs. Warren is still living in the old home at Lake Forrest, and of five sons and two daughters, all are living but one. One of the daughters, Helen, wife of J. C. King of Pittsburgh, Pa., died Nov. 4, 1889, six days before the death of her father; the other is the wife of Rev. W. T. Elsing, pastor of the DeWitt Memorial Church of New York. Of five sons, W. S. Warren succeeded his father, and is associated with the management of the northwestern department of the Liverpool, London & Globe Insurance Company, while the youngest, Aubrey, is also connected with the company. Of the other sons, John is a farmer, and Seymour and Lansing are engaged in business enterprises in Denver, Colo., the son last mentioned being well known as one of the editors and owners of the *Denver Times*.

REFORM SCHOOLS FOR BOYS.

GEORGE E. HOWE.

George E. Howe, the present superintendent of the Connecticut State Reform School for boys, located at Meriden, Connecticut, was born at Lavonia, N. Y., May 31st, 1825. He was the oldest of twelve brothers and sisters. His father, Dr. Hiram Howe was born in Cayuga County, N. Y., and his mother in Litchfield, Connecticut. All his grandparents were born in Connecticut, and were of the best strain of New England blood.

In the winter of 1839 and '40 his father moved with his family to Kirtland, Lake County, Ohio. George was then a boy about fifteen years of age. Joe Smith, the founder of the Mormon church, or as designated by him "The Church of the Latter Day Saints," first established his cult at

Kirtland, and built there the first Mormon temple. This temple was then the most imposing structure on the Western Reserve, and it is no mean structure at this day.

A few years before Dr. Howe took his family to Kirtland, Joe Smith with the greater part of his followers had abandoned this temple and gone to Missouri, and two enterprising and educated young men, Mr. Slater and Asa D. Lord, from St. Lawrence County, N. Y., leased the upper portion of this temple and opened a school of a high grade, with a preparatory department under the name of "The Western Reserve Teachers' Seminary." Young George E. Howe entered this seminary immediately after his father's family reached the town. It was at this seminary where the writer of this sketch first made his acquaintance. He was a self-denying, hard-working, self-reliant student, and made rapid progress in his studies. His father was a physician, and had as good a practice as the small town and sparse surrounding population could afford, but his limited income was inadequate for the support and education of his large family of children. So George was compelled to make himself self-supporting. He did this by attending the seminary, summers and teaching in the neighboring districts and villages in the winter. He immediately developed into a most excellent teacher, and his services were always in demand at the highest prices then being paid. While teaching he was always a hard-laboring student, but being obliged to clothe himself and purchase his own books and pay his own tuition fees, it took him longer, much longer, to complete his school course of studies than otherwise would have been the case. But these hardships rapidly developed his self-reliant manhood, and revealed to himself his own latent powers.

In the village of Willoughby there had been for many years a Medical College, having a very respectable building, but as Cleveland had become something of a city, and only twenty miles distant, the college abandoned Willoughby and went to Cleveland, leaving this building unoccupied. Young Mr. Howe was induced early in 1847 to open a select school in it, for the more advanced girls and boys of the town. His reputation as a teacher was such as to cause more pupils to enter, than he was able alone to instruct. Willoughby is only two miles from Kirtland.

On the 14th of March, 1847, he went to Kirtland and married Miss Frances Milliken, a bright and charming young lady, whose hand had been sought by many students, but who had remained true to her first love. She had also availed herself of the advantages of the seminary and was a good scholar. They had become acquainted and formed their attachment for each other while studying and reciting in the same classes.

Neither of them had any time or

money to waste on a honeymoon,—so the next morning at an early hour, they set out on their bridal tour, which consisted of a carriage ride to Willoughby, where at 9 o'clock she was fully inaugurated as his assistant in his school. From that day to this she has been his most efficient and most popular assistant in all his enterprises and undertakings. To her wise, self-sacrificing and thoroughly womanly efforts is largely due his wonderful success in establishing the now very popular and successful American system of state reformatories for boys. Afterwards he became a successful superintendent of the Public Schools of Painesville, O., which he held to the entire satisfaction of the Board of Education and the public for several years, when a larger salary and other advantages induced him to accept the superintendency of the Public Schools of Hamilton, O.

He was in Hamilton, however, only about one year, when he was called to take the superintendency of The Ohio State Reform School at Lancaster, Ohio. It was here he first found opportunity for the full play and exercise for those faculties and traits of character which have so distinguished him and his excellent wife from that time to this. God had blessed them both with rich natures, rich in love of humanity, rich in benevolence and charity, and rich in intellect. Their intelligence was too strong to attempt to satisfy their love of humanity by the simple giving of alms,—or to appease the demands of their charity for the weak and wayward and erring by prayers in their closets, or an hour spent every Sunday in Sabbath School instructions. But here, the weak and wayward and erring were constantly with them in large numbers,—members of their own household,—not for an hour, a week merely, but for seven days of each week, and for twentyfour hours every day.

Before going to Lancaster, their marriage had been blessed with three boys. God had given them boys, to hasten the development in them of that peculiar tact and talent and patience which has so distinguished them in the great work in which they have been engaged. The indomitable will of the father, and the high spirit and fun-loving characteristics of the mother, were all fully inherited by these boys, and their proper management was a constant problem for the study and solution of these young parents. When they reached the Reform School they were prepared to quickly realize that their own boys, by parental neglect or mismanagement, might have been as bad as the worst they found in the institution. The recognition of this fact was the key to their wonderful success.

The Institution at Lancaster was established on what is known as the cottage or family system, patterned somewhat after the *Rauhe Haus* (Rough House) near Hamburg, Ger-

many, and *Mettray*, near Tours in France. This was the first institution organized upon this principle in this country, and as a whole, considering its entire plan and management was the first in the world. It was the German and French reformatories Americanized. America has more confidence in human nature than has the Old World. The institution therefore had no precedents, and its management was necessarily a "cut and try process" for the first few years. The state appropriations for its support were limited and meagre. The people had but little confidence in attempts to care for bad boys without the appliances of high walls, bolts and bars and prison cells.

This reformatory was started in a very crude way, upon 1,170 acres of thin, rough land, six miles south of Lancaster. The first buildings were built of logs cut from the forests on this land. Each cottage was built to accommodate fifty boys. The accommodations for both boys and officers were not even comfortable. But notwithstanding the deprivations and hardships that had to be endured in this pioneer work of establishing so important an institution, the good done to the boys, and the reformatory results were quite equal to those of later years, when the comforts and appliances were all that could be desired.

Of the first ten boys received into this reformatory, one went through college with honors, two became prominent lawyers, and all became good citizens. As the institution progressed, and the results became known, appropriations for its support became more liberal, and it began to assume a more healthful and satisfactory growth. At the breaking out of the civil war in 1861, about 60 of the older boys volunteered in defense of their country. All made good soldiers, and several of them received commissions. Their military drill at the Reformatory, (all received such drill,) made them efficient drill-masters, which gave them a commanding influence among their comrades.

From the very beginning of this Reformatory work, Mr. and Mrs. Howe sought to develop trustworthiness in wayward and vicious boys, by trusting them. They would give a boy money and send him six miles to Lancaster to buy something needed on the premises. There were no walls or stockades about the reformatory. They were largely employed in raising small fruits. When the season came for picking and marketing these fruits, the boys were properly divided into squads, some for picking and assorting, some for packing in proper parcels, some for transporting to the railroad and shipping, and some to be stationed at surrounding towns and cities to sell and collect. In this way the Reform School would have its agents at every town and city as far east as Zanesville, West and South as far as Cincinnati, and North to Newark, Columbus, Deleware, etc,

Each squad had its own foreman to keep account of what was done, and daily reports were made to the superintendent. In this way was known the quantity picked and delivered to the packers, how much was packed and delivered to the transporters, how much was delivered to the railroads, and how much delivered to the boys located at the various towns, and what was done with them there. Each quickly learned to be careful, to be able to properly account for all that came into his hands. In this way not only was trustworthiness developed, but good business habits were rapidly cultivated. These selling and collecting agencies would often have considerable sums of money in their hands belonging to the Institution, but I think there never was an instance of a breach of one of these trusts, and that no one sent on these duties ever attempted to escape. Frequently 10,000 bushels of fruit were produced for the market. From the beginning Mrs. Howe has been Matron where he has been Superintendent, and her keen perception and clear head and motherly heart, have been a tower of strength to him. She has been mother to all the boys, and a mother that every one knew he could go to for sympathy and aid when in trouble. She has held her hold, her grip upon them, even after leaving the Institution, by encouraging them to often visit and to often write her, etc. To this day Mrs. Howe is the "Sweetheart" of every boy who leaves the Institution, "The Girl he leaves behind."

Their light, at Lancaster, was not hid under a bushel. Their success was such, that other States about to establish Reformatories thoroughly investigated the "Ohio System," and in no instance was any other system adopted. Indiana, New Jersey, District of Columbia, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, and most of the northern and western states, even so far as California and Oregon adopted the Ohio plan. Mr. Howe sketched the system, and even furnished the plans of the buildings for nearly all these State Reformatories. Mr. Howe, by invitation, attended the International Prison Congress held in London in 1872, and was accorded three sessions to explain and advocate his system, and his addresses were received with warm favor and great applause. At this time he visited all the Reformatories in Great Britain and all over the continent, and very many of the prisons and gathered for his own use all the information he could get, and our country from one extreme to the other has reaped benefit from his trip,— but he found more to avoid than to copy.

In the Autumn of 1877 the politics of Ohio changed, and Mr. Howe's position was wanted to reward party service, so he was invited to resign. This he did on the 5th of April, 1878.

As soon as it was known that he had left the Ohio Reformatory for Boys, he received calls from several

other states, and finally accepted that of Connecticut, and assumed charge at Meriden on the 28th day of April, 1878, only twenty-three days after resigning in Ohio. Notwithstanding Mr. Howe was asked to resign the superintendency of the Ohio Institution for purely political reasons, the same political board that asked his resignation, earnestly and often entreated him to return within the next two years. Four years after, in 1882, the president of this Board wrote to Mr. Howe as follows: "I know too, from four years experience in the Board, what the future success of the Institution depends upon,—and may I say, in true sincerity as a friend, that until you are again at its head, the true object of its projectors and founders will not be carried out. Experience and frankness demand this admission from me, and I will hail the day with joy when my vote and influence can bring you back, and thus repair the wrong I did the Institution in voting to remove you four years ago."

This honest and manly letter came too late. While Mr. Howe was greatly attached to the state of Ohio, and while he dearly loved this Institution as the first born of his wise head and noble heart, yet Connecticut had received him with such generous and liberal confidence, placing at his command whatever means his wisdom demanded to place its reformatory at the head of all Institutions of its kind, he felt in duty bound to decline the tempting offer to return to his first love.

He found the Connecticut Reformatory a veritable prison, with cells and walls and stockades. The boys were badly housed, badly fed, and the doors effectually shut against true reformatory influences. He and his wife, fully supported by the State Board of Control, very soon swept

STATE REFORM SCHOOL, MERIDEN, CONN.

Frank Tichenor

away all these obstructive influences, and the boys were met with that generous spirit of trust and confidence so absolutely essential to moral development and genuine reform. The Institution is now organized upon the cottage plan, and the boys are divided into families, having their farm, their work-shops and their school, all bearing the aspect of a popular and prosperous manual labor school of the first order, and no semblance of a prison. Mr. and Mrs. Howe have always been remarkable for their economy in the use of public funds. They ask only for what is absolutely necessary, and confine the expenditures to the absolute needs of the Institution. In this way they have secured and maintained the confidence of the Legislature of their State, and the Institution has had all needed support.

History will have an honored page for Mr. and Mrs. Howe as distinguished benefactors of their race and time, and may their lives and their usefulness, be long spared until others are trained to take their places in this great and beneficent work!

M. D. LEGGETT.

THE MERCHANTS OF NEW YORK.

FRANK TILFORD.

ABOUT the year 1835, John Mason Tilford, then twenty years of age, began his business career as a clerk of Mr. Benjamin Albro, a well-known New York grocer. Two years later Mr. Albro employed another clerk named Joseph Park—merely a boy at the time. These young fellows were both industrious and energetic and rapidly learned their business, while a warm personal friendship sprang up between them. In the summer of 1840 the two clerks determined to go into business for themselves, with their small savings as their capital. They established a little store at 35 Carmine street and adopted the firm name of "Park and Tilford." This name to-day is universally recognized as one of the most note-worthy in the mercantile annals of New York.

The youngest son of John Mason Tilford, Frank Tilford, was born in New York City, July 22, 1852. He is descended from Scotch ancestors who came to America during the reign of George the Second, before the taxation troubles between the Colonies and the mother country had developed. These Scotchmen settled north of Albany, founding a Scotch settlement which they called Argyle. It was here that the father, John Mason Tilford, was born in March, 1815. Mr. Frank Tilford inherited

his father's aptitude for a mercantile life. He attended private schools in New York and completed his education at the Mount Washington Collegiate School. Following the natural bent of his mind, Mr. Tilford selected as his life work the business in which his father had won so conspicuous a place. In 1847 Park & Tilford had built a store at the corner of Sixth Avenue and Ninth street —the first of their large stores. Frank Tilford entered this establishment, and in order that he might master every detail of the great business, he accepted the humblest position among his fellow workmen. In this practical manner he worked in the different departments, being advanced as any faithful employee would be advanced, until the new store was opened in October, 1873, at the corner of Thirty-eighth Street and Sixth Avenue. Over this establishment he assumed full charge, although but twenty-one years of age at the time. The position entailed great responsibilities, but he conducted the business with the greatest success.

The following year, in 1874, he was elected one of the directors of the Sixth National Bank, being the youngest bank director in the City of New York. For ten years he served in this capacity, resigning upon the death of Mr. Francis Leland, President of the institution. In 1876 Mr. Tilford became a member of the Real Estate Exchange, and since that time he has been an extensive operator in real estate in Harlem and on the West side above Fifty-ninth Street. In this connection he has displayed the same keen business abilities and admirable judgment which has chararterized his efforts in other directions.

In 1885 he was elected a trustee of the North River Savings Bank, and during the same year, upon the opening of the new store of Park & Tilford at the corner of Fifty-ninth Street and Fifth Avenue, he assumed the direction of the establishment. In 1889, in connection with Mr. G. G. Haven, he organized the Bank of New Amsterdam, of which he is Vice-President and Mr. Thomas C. Acton President. The business of Park & Tilford had grown to such formidable proportions that it was thought advisable to conduct it under a close stock corporation. Accordingly, in October, 1890, this change was effected, and Mr. John Mason Tilford elected Vice-President. Upon the death of the latter, some months later, Mr. Frank Tilford was elected in his place, and has held the position of Vice-President in the Company ever since.

As will be seen, the life of Mr. Frank Tilford is an exceedingly active one. Besides his grocery, real estate and banking business, he is a director in railroad and gas companies, treasurer of the Hancock Memorial Association, member of the Executive Committee of the Grant Monu-

ment Association, Vice-President of an Eye and Ear Hospital, School Trustee, and since 1887 an active member of the Chamber of Commerce. In the energy and dexterity displayed in the conduct of great business enterprises, he is a worthy successor of his father. Moreover, he is public spirited, and amid the cares of so active a business career he finds time to interest himself in public questions, and cheerfully and generously contributes both time and money to promote those opinions and policies which he believes will advance the public good. But he has resolutely disregarded all suggestions of entering into active political life for personal office and honor.

Mr. Tilford is a member of the Union League, Republican, Colonial and several other clubs. During the past fifteen years he has been a regular attendant of Rev. R. Heber Newton's Church, of which he is one of the vestrymen. He is also a trustee of the Bureau of Works and Charities connected with that religious organization.

On November 16, 1881, Mr. Tilford was married to Miss Julia Greer, daughter of the late James A. Greer, and grand-daughter of the late George Greer, for many years a well-known sugar refiner of New York. They have two daughters. By dint of application and through his inherent abilities Mr. Frank Tilford has thus, early in life, secured for himself an enviable position in the mercantile world, and gives promise of continually adding to the reputation and proportions of the great business house of which his father was one of the two original founders.

THEODORE JOHNSON.

COMMONERS IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

HON. JOHN P. ALTGELD.

On the 26th day of April the democratic party of Illinois, through its representatives assembled in convention at the State Capitol, nominated as its candidate for governor, to be voted for at the election in November next, ex-Judge John P. Altgeld, of Chicago. This nomination is one which brings prominently before the people of the "third State in the Union," and to a great extent before the people of the whole country, a comparatively young man, who has had a wonderfully interesting and eventful career.

Should Judge Altgeld be elected governor of Illinois, or should he continue to take an active interest in political affairs, whether elected or not, he is certain to become one of

the distinguished "commoners" of American politics. The conditions and environments of his earlier life were such as to place him in hearty sympathy with the masses of the people; and the successes of his later life do not appear to have changed or abated to any appreciable extent his solicitude for the welfare of the great army of laborers, of which he was so long a member. A man of large wealth at the present time, he has traveled over the long stretch of road which lies between poverty and affluence, and he has not forgotten, and never will forget, his struggles along the way. The son of an honest toiler, his heritage was a vigorous intellect, abundant self-reliance, and a capacity for persistent and continuous effort. To these endowments he is endebted for the success which has given him his present station in life, and it follows naturally that he should become a recognized champion of the interests of the laboring classes. Anything like a discussion of the political principles which he will represent in the coming campaign, would be out of place in this connection, but a sketch of his career as laborer, lawyer, jurist and financier, will be of interest to the average reader, and of especial value to young men.

A native of Prussia, he is the son of parents who immigrated to this country while he was still an infant. His father was a wagon maker by trade, who settled near Mansfield, Ohio, and combined farming, in a small way, with his mechanical labors. As soon as the boy was old enough to make himself useful to his parents his industrial training began, and one of the things which he was required to do regularly, while still very young, was to carry butter, eggs and "garden truck" — as it was called — to Mansfield, where he peddled out these farm products among the residents of the village. While acquiring this kind of early education in the practical affairs of life, he was also gaining — under great disadvantages — some knowledge of books.

His earliest lessons were learned from the German Bible — one of the very few books in possession of the family — and a little later he attended an English school, some distance from his home, two summers and one winter. He also attended an English Sunday School of the Methodist church, in Newville, near Mansfield, and rapidly acquired a knowledge of the English language along with his knowledge of books. At fourteen years of age, he had become a full-fledged farm hand, putting in as much of his time as was required on the small tract of land which belonged to his father, and working for neighboring farmers the remainder of his time.

Men who have had the same experiences that Judge Altgeld had during this period of his life will understand how little time and opportunity he had during his boyhood for education and self-culture. Such opportunities

as he had were used to the best advantage, and a thirst for knowledge impelled him to read all the books he could get hold of, through which he received a measure of mental discipline. Then he attended one of the German parish schools something less than one year, and might have completed a somewhat systematic course of study at that time, had not the events of the war changed temporarily his plans and purposes.

He was sixteen years of age in 1864 when the National Guard of Ohio was called out by Governor Brough, who tendered their services to the national government for garrison and other duty. Being under age, Altgeld had taken no interest in the organization which had been known as the "Home Guard," but when he saw that they were likely to see some active service, his enthusiasm was aroused, and he promptly offered himself as a substitute for one who preferred to remain at home, receiving as a consideration therefor, one hundred dollars, ninety of which he turned over to his father. He was mustered into the service in May, as a member of Company C, of the 164th Regiment O. V. which proceeded to Washington by way of Pittsburgh and Baltimore, and was sent from the National Capitol to Fort Reno, near Georgetown, to be divided into detachments for garrison duty.

A month later the regiment was ordered to the front, where Grant was then cautiously entering upon his final struggle with Lee. Here they were made a part of the reserve force of the army, and were kept actively at work throwing up fortifications, and performing similar camp duties. Their position was one which exposed them to the emeny's fire, and while they did not suffer seriously, they had a taste of warfare. They moved down the James River to Pocahontas, and were stationed for sometime in a section of country where the picket duty was extremely hazardous. At Wilson's Landing the boy soldier fell sick, but notwithstanding the fact that his condition was considered critical, he insisted on remaining with the regiment, and after a couple of weeks in the field hospital returned to duty.

At the end of his term of service as a soldier, he returned to his home at Mansfield, having had a most interesting and, all things considered, valuable experience. While he had seen something of warfare, he had also seen something of the world — and new aspirations and ambitions had been awakened. Within the next two years he made great progress toward educating himself — attending the district school nearest his home, about four months in all — and being benefitted materially through his intercourse with a neighbor, who was the possessor of a good library to which he had access.

During the winter of 1866–67 he boarded himself in a little "eight by ten" room in the village of Lexing-

ton and attended, what was known in Ohio in those days as a "select school." Here he made rapid progress in his studies, and at the end of three months went before the Board of School Examiners of Richland County, and obtained a "teacher's certificate." He then began teaching school and working on a farm alternately, keeping up his studies in connection with both occupations.

In 1869 he came west, and for a year or two he seems to have drifted about, without any particular object in view, other than to see as much of the country as he could, and to add as much as possible to his store of knowledge. During this time he taught school, worked at odd jobs here and there—did, in fact, whatever he could find to do—and finally reached St. Louis, traveling on foot a considerable part of the way, with only ten cents in his pocket. Here he obtained employment which furnished him with the means of livelihood, and enabled him to devote some time to the study of law. He also read law for a time in Savannah, Missouri, and in 1870 was admitted to the bar. He began practicing in Savannah, and devoted himself to the duties of his profession from the start, with an energy and steadfastness of purpose which augured well for his success at the bar.

In 1874 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Andrew County. His practice had now grown to considerable proportions. He became the law partner of Judge Heren, one of the leading lawyers of Savannah, and was himself becoming recognized as one of the ablest members of the bar of that city. He was not satisfied, however, with the prospects for building up a successful and profitable law practice in a small city, and resigning his official position, he sold his library and office fixtures, and came to Chicago.

Opening an office here, he devoted himself with zeal and earnestness to the practice of his profession, meeting with flattering success. At first he paid no attention to politics, other than to make himself known as a staunch Democrat whenever there was an occasion therefor, and to exercise the right of suffrage with becoming regularity.

After three or four years' residence in Chicago, he began to be heard of occasionally as one of the campaign orators of the city, who always made a good impression and had something to say worth hearing. His popularity kept increasing, and in 1884 he was made the candidate of his party for Congress, in the Fourth Illinois District. Undisturbed by the fact that he had an enormous majority to overcome in this district, he opened his campaign, and conducted it with so much skill and ability that the legitimate republican majority of the District was cut down over two thousand votes. So ably had he managed his canvass at the end of the campaign, and so thoroughly demon-

strated the fact that he was able to command a strong personal following, that he at once became one of the recognized leaders of his party in Chicago, and in the State.

In 1886, at the earnest solicitation of his party associates, but against his personal inclination, he was nominated for Judge of the Superior Court of Cook County, and at the ensuing election, which was one of the most hotly contested in the history of the State, he was elected, notwithstanding the fact that the Republicans then had a majority in the county of nearly twelve thousand votes.

Taking his place upon the bench, he applied himself to the duties of his position with a conscientious regard for the obligations which he had assumed, and became recognized as an able and impartial jurist. At the end of five years he resigned his position on the Bench and returned to the practice of law, and attending to his private interests, which had by this time assumed large proportions.

As a financier, Judge Altgeld has had a not less notable career than as a lawyer, jurist and politician. In 1879, the sum total of his capital, available for investment, was five hundred dollars. With this he made his first investment in real estate. Then securing the assistance of friends, he made other investments in realty, subdividing and selling the properties acquired, and managing his affairs so judiciously that in a comparatively short time, he was able to operate extensively on his own account.

He soon demonstrated his capacity for managing affairs of great magnitude, and engaged in improvement enterprises in which he has been phenominally successful, and from which he has realized a large fortune, through appreciation in the value of real estate in Chicago, within the past twelve years. To him the city is indebted for some of its handsomest business blocks, one of these—the Unity Building—a sixteen story structure just completed, being one of the notable buildings of Chicago.

The wonderful industry, as well as remarkable versatility of the gubernatorial candidate of the Democrats in Illinois, is attested by the fact that while managing his important business affairs and attending to his judicial and professional duties, he has also found time to write, in a most entertaining and instructive way, on a variety of topics, and these published writings have attracted widespread attention.

Whatever may be the result of the campaign in Illinois this fall, it is not probable that the voters of the State have ever before had an opportunity to bestow their suffrages upon a man whose experiences have been so unique as those of Judge Altgeld, or upon one to whose executive ability and broad capacity there are more emphatic testimonials.

R. P. Bishop.

THE WESTERN BAR.

ISAAC N. STEVENS.

As illustrative of the radical work which in a short space of time can be effected in a community, in the interest of progress and reform, by the determined and unceasing energy of a single man, the career of Isaac N. Stevens of Denver, Colorado, affords a useful and interesting chapter. His father was a Marylander, his mother a native of Virginia and a grand-niece of the famous Commodore Perry, who wrested Lake Erie from the British in the war of 1812, and announced his triumph in the laconic dispatch, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

The elder Mr. Stevens, a physician, settled with his wife in Newark, Licking County, Ohio, where on November, 1858, his son Isaac N. was born. The father was a man of prominence in Newark, who in the later years of his life took an active interest in politics, and was elected County Treasurer of Licking, holding the position for six years. He died in 1875.

The son attended the public schools, graduating from the Newark High School, which embraced a good academic course. He also enjoyed the advantage of a thorough private course in German and Latin. In November 1875, on his seventeenth birthday, he began teaching an Ohio district school. After a term's work here, in August the following year, he went to Henderson County, Illinois, and taught a school during the ensuing winter. His next move was to Burlington, Iowa, in March 1877. He entered the law office of Hedge and Blythe in that city, and spent three years in study and acquiring practical experience. At the end of that period, in March 1880, he was admitted to the Iowa bar.

He had been gradually moving westward, and he now made his last removal to Denver, arriving just in time to entitle him, the following November, to cast his first ballot for James A. Garfield for President. From this time forth young Stevens took an active part in politics. For three years he was President of the Lincoln Club of Denver, an organization of young Republicans. He was Secretary of the Republican State Committee of Colorado for two years, and for a term of four years, Chairman of the City Committee of

Denver, during which time, in two campaigns, every Republican candidate was elected.

In January 1884, Mr. Stevens was appointed assistant United States Attorney for Colorado, holding the place until his resignation in March, 1885. In 1888 he was elected District Attorney for the city of Denver. His term expired a few months ago, in January, 1892. The record that he made during this time in the interest of good government and the welfare of Denver, is remarkable and instructive. During the three years of his term in office the city was growing and prosperous, and being a natural centre of the west, the criminal court seemed almost as busy as in great cities like New York and Chicago.

Mr. Stevens tried twenty-six cases of homicide, twenty-three of which resulted in convictions—seven for murder in the first degree, nine in the second degree, and seven for manslaughter. Amongst these was the famous case of Dr. T. Thatcher Graves, convicted of the murder of Mrs. Josephine Barnaby. The evidence was collected by a most diligent search spreading over six States. The bottle of poison, which, administered in Denver, ended the life of the victim, was procured in Boston, and travelling through the mails, crossed the continent on its fateful journey.

Many public abuses were investigated and rectified or prevented during his administration. Some of them affected the interest of the entire State. For example, the Secretary of the State and supply contactor for the State of Colorado were presented by Mr. Stevens for conspiracy to defraud the commonwealth. These prosecutions saved to the State more than $100,000 in warrants which the Treasurer refused to pay after the damaging evidence developed in the trials. Again, the State Treasurers were presented for appropriating interest on State Funds. There was no law sufficiently rigorous to secure conviction in these cases, but this led to a speedy enactment by the Legislature of a law turning all interests into the State Treasury, thus securing a saving to the State of about $50,000 per annum.

Numerous municipal reforms were also accomplished. The city detectives of Denver were prosecuted and convicted for abuse and inhuman treatment of prisoners in their charge. The fire-escape law was rigorously enforced, until Denver probably has the best system of fire escapes of any city on the continent. During this time some three hundred dives and dens of vice were closed, and their proprietors and many of their frequenters forced to leave the city. They had been permitted to exist by a system of blackmail, which was exposed and exterminated. A faint idea of the onerous burdens which Mr. Steven's position entailed upon him, can be imagined from the fact

that during the three months just preceding the close of his term in office, he tried and disposed of 183 cases in the criminal court, of which 170 resulted in convictions. This remarkable example of energy for public welfare in a busy community might well excite the emulation of every city in the country. Mr. Stevens had the honor of being appointed First Assistant Sergeant-at-arms of the Republican National Convention recently held at Minneapolis.

Mr. Stevens is a young man, not yet thirty-five years of age. The best part of his life is still before him notwithstanding what he has already accomplished. What part he may be called upon to play in the history of his adopted State and city, or elsewhere in the Union, remains for time to unfold. A. N. Towne.

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War. By John Bach McMaster. In five volumes. Vol. III. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1892.

The third volume of McMaster's "History of the People" embraces the period from 1803 to 1812 — from the Louisiana purchase to the opening of the war with Great Britain and the shameful surrender of Detroit. Among the multitude of histories it might be a question whether another were required, but this one abundantly vindicates its right to be. It has a definite aim and scope which carries it out of the routine, and enables it to present those things concerning the actual development and life of a people, among the chiefest if not really the paramount interests, which the ordinary historian treats slightingly or wholly overlooks. The time is past, but not too far past, when history was made to consist almost wholly of a string of biographies of principal personages whose fantastic tricks of war and state-craft were supposed to be the only things worthy of human interest or admiration. In such a case who can wonder it passed into a proverb: Happy is that people who have no annals. On the contrary we are coming to understand that a nation may have annals and still be happy; may be making history, rich, varied, abounding in instruction and interest, with never a war nor a conspiracy, a duel nor a revolution on hand. As said,—this is a comparatively recent discovery, and Prof, McMaster is a teacher in the new faith—his work a shining proof and example of success in the new method.

Let us recall just here the purpose with which he set out. He proposed, indeed, to give due space to the wars, treaties, ambitions and complications, the civic and martial leaders, but also and beyond all, "to describe the dress, the occupations, the amusements, the literary canons of the times; to note the change of manners and morals; to trace the growth of that humane spirit which abolished punishment for debt and repressed the discipline of prisons and of jails; to recount the manifold improvements which, in a thousand ways, have multiplied the conveniences of life and ministered to the happiness of our race; to describe the rise and progress of that long series of mechanical inventions and discoveries which is now the admiration of the world and our just pride and boast; to tell how, under the benign influence of liberty and peace, there sprang up in the course of a single century a prosperity unparalleled in the annals of human affairs."

This purpose our author has adhered to and has carried out in these three volumes to a degree and with a success which should be as gratifying to himself as it is pleasing

and profitable to his readers. He has a style, a skill in selecting and handling, which presents the matters of domestic economy and progress, the means of communication and distribution of products, the occupations, customs and daily life of the people in a series of pictures as fresh and engaging as a story book. In this third volume, as eminent examples in point, we may refer to his description of the New Orleans of the beginning of the present century, and his thrilling account of Aaron Burr and his schemes. Our author characterizes this man's course in Louisiana as a "career of treason which links his name with the name of Arnold and consigns it to everlasting infamy."

Especially interesting to New York readers is the chapter on the economic life of the people with its account of the course and means of transportation before the introduction of railroads, and especially before the building of the great Erie Canal, together with the state of affairs which led up to that enterprise.

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Connecticut Historical Society (Hartford) held its annual meeting May 24. J. W. Stedman was re-elected President and J. F. Morris, Secretary. The Society took a unique outing on June 16th, making an excursion to Salem, Mass., and visiting the various points of interest in that historic town.

At a meeting of the New Haven (Conn.) Colony Historical Society on May 30th a paper was read by General Goodyear entitled The Assault on Fort Gregg.

The stated meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society was held June 9th, the president Dr. G. E. Ellis, in the chair. C. F. Adams communicated a carefully prepared paper on "The genesis of the Massachusetts town," supplemental to the paper read by him at the January meeting of the society, and replying to the criticisms of Judge Chamberlain and Prof. Channing on the views presented by him at that time.

S. F. McCleary presented the original commission, issued in 1772, by Thomas Hutchinson, the last of the royal civil governors of Massachusetts, to Edward Proctor of Boston, as a captain in Erving's regiment. Proctor was a well-known citizen and an active member of the Boston "tea party." Mr. McCleary also presented a specimen sheet of Washington's private letter paper, having a curious and interesting watermark, and submitted for publication a copy of an original letter of Lieut. John Whiting, dated Sept. 26, 1780, giving an account of Arnold's treason. Dr. S. A. Green presented to the library a copy of the very rare sermon of Rev. Samuel Davis, a Virginian minister, preached not long after Braddock's defeat, in a footnote to which occurs the noteworthy reference to "that heroic youth, Col. Washington," whom the writer hopes. providence has preserved "for some important service to his country."

A meeting of the Maine Historical Society (Portland) was held June 10th. Dr. C. E. Banks was introduced and made brief remarks upon two articles which he has presented to the society. One of these is a

drawing of "Falmouth, now Portland, in Casco Bay, North America," in 1786, made by John Seymour, Jr., of Axminster, England. The original is in the Harvard College library and this is an exact copy. The other is a plan of Casco Bay and Islands, made by the French marine department. Dr. Banks thought that it must have been made about 1720. Among the localities of interest laid down is Fort Casco, on Falmouth Foreside. The annual meeting of the Society was held June 22d. The following officers were elected. President, James Phinney Baxter, Portland; Vice-President, Rufus K. Sewall, Wiscasset; Corresponding Secretary and Biographer, Joseph Williamson, Belfast.

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The annual spring meeting of the New Jersey Historical Society was held at Newark, May 19th. A paper was read by William Nelson on Berkeley and Carteret, and Dr. Joseph Parish read an interesting essay on John Randolph. This was followed by a paper on Mahlon Dickerson, read by J. C. Pumpelly. A scholarly address was delivered, eulogizing the late Dr. Abraham Coles.

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An Historical Society was recently organized at Trinity College, N. C. The officers are, President, S. J. Durham; Vice-President, E. T. Bynum; Corresponding Secretary, Stephen B. Weeks; Recording Secretary and Treasurer, J. E. Avery; Librarian. F. E. McDowell. The work will be under the direction of Dr. Weeks, the professor of history in the college. The two objects will be to collect a library of historical materials and to study Southern history, particularly the history of North Carolina.

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The Rochester Historical Society, (N. Y.), held its regular meeting May 13th, and the new president, Charles E. Fitch, made his inaugural address. The custodian of the Society, Howard L. Osgood, read certain old letters relating to the making of the new county of Monroe. The programme committee anticipates having next year a series of papers by the local historians of the cities and towns of Western New York, showing the points at which the histories of those places are connected with those of Rochester.

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The New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, held its annual meeting June 9th. The annual address was delivered by Rev. Dr. H. A. Hazen of Boston. The election of officers resulted in the choice of the following gentlemen: President, Hon. John J. Bell; recording secretary, John C. Ordway; corresponding secretary, Sylvester Dana.

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At the annual meeting of the South Carolina Historical Society, held recently at Charlestown, the following officers were elected: President, the Rev. C. C. Pinckney, D. D.; corresponding secretary, the Rev. John Johnson; recording secretary and treasurer, Wm. D. Gaillard. The meeting was one of unusual interest, many matters of importance being brought to the attention of the members. Mr. Courtenay, in behalf of the Hon. N. H. R. Dawson, of Alabama, presented to the Society a rare and valuable volume. The president called the attention of the Society to the fact that the public record commission had been appointed by the Governor and consisted of the following gentlemen: The Hon. J. E. Tindal, the Hon. Henry McIver, the Hon. William A. Courtenay, Prof. R. Means Davis and Mr. W. C, Benet.

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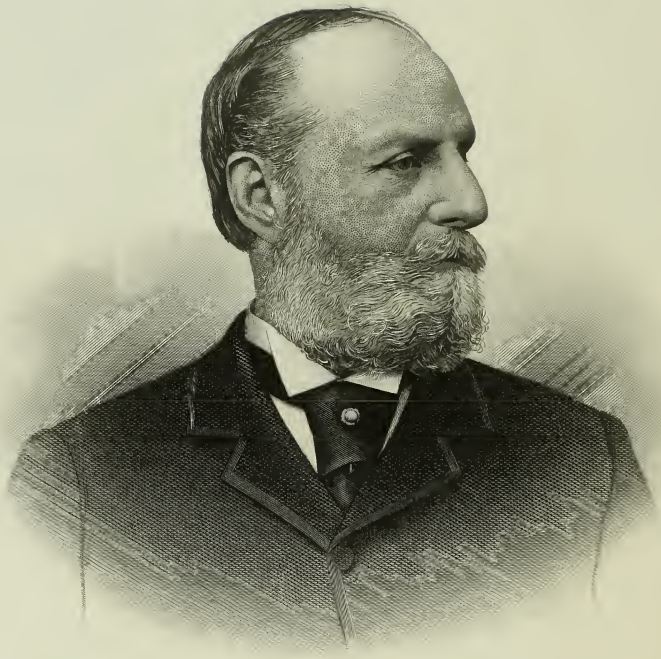
The Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville held its regular meeting May 10th. It is a custom of the Society to have an address delivered at the May meeting by some one appointed by the president. The lecturer was W. E. Meyer, of Carthage, Tenn., and his subject was "A Study of the Indian Remains at Castalian Springs." Mr. Meyer, in addition to being a successful banker, is well known to archæological stu-

dents as being one of the most intelligent investigators and collectors of pre-historic remains in the South. The lecture was illustrated throughout by curious relics of flint stone, burnt clay, bone and mica, which the speaker had unearthed. The collection was especially rich in gorgets, a species of ornament worn on the breast, carved from sea shells and mussel shells, and having engraved on its front surface the token or symbol of the tribe of the wearer. Many of these gorgets are cut with as much skill and regularity as if done to-day, and some recently discovered in Ohio are engraved with crosses of various shapes, and head-dresses almost identical with those found on Mexican statuary.

The Virginia Historical Society (Richmond) has lately published the diary which Colonel Crapper, of the Eastern Shore, kept during the eventful years of the Revolutionary war and the period which followed. This diary is edited by Mr. Barton H. Wise, of Richmond, a descendant of this distinguished Revolutionary officer, and its value is very much increased by the introduction which he has prefixed to it, as well as by the comments which he has made in the course of the narrative. This publication is only one of the many illustrations which might be given of the number of extremely valuable historical documents which are now in the hands of private families but which have not yet seen the light.

The annual meeting of the Pioneer Historical Society was held at Toronto, Canada. June 1st. The association had been organized since 1888, but until last year there were only four affiliated societies. At present there are seven, and the association has every reason to expect a large addition this year. Officers for the ensuing year were then elected as follows:—President, Rev. Dr. Scadding; Secretary-Treasurer, Wm. Rennie.

The American Jewish Historical Society has been recently organized in New York City, but will embrace members in all parts of the United States. The principal object is the collection and preservation of information concerning the history of the Jews in America. This Society has undertaken an interesting work, and its records will add much of use and value to the annals of American history. Its officers are Oscar S. Straus New York, president; corresponding secretary, Dr. Cyrus Adler of Washington, D. C.



The National Magazine

A. G. Dickinson

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. XVI. AUGUST, 1892. *No. 4.*

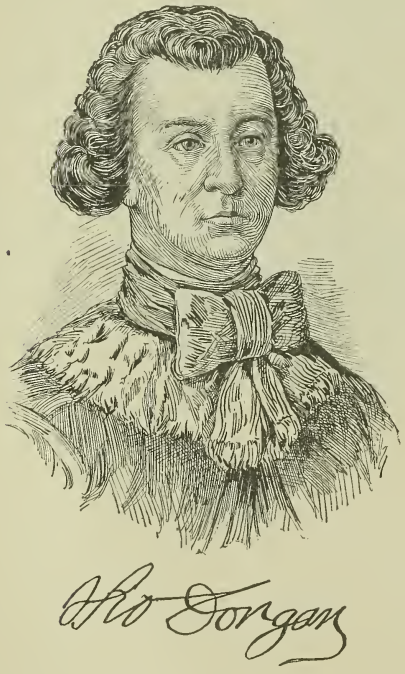
THOMAS DONGAN AND THE NEW YORK CHARTER 1682–1688.*

SUBSEQUENT to the return of Sir Edmund Andros to England in 1681, Colonel Thomas Dongan was commissioned Governor of the Duke of York's Province of New York. He was a descendant of an ancient Irish Catholic family, and was the youngest of the three sons of Sir John Dongan, Baronet, of Castletown, County Kildare. His mother was a sister of Richard Talbot, who became Earl of Tyrconnel and later Lieutenant Governor of Ireland. He was born at the family home in Ireland in 1634, and was early trained to the profession of arms. The Dongans favored the Stuarts, and when Charles I. was beheaded in 1649, the family removed to France. Young Dongan entered the French army and received a commission from Louis XIV. in an Irish regiment composed chiefly of adherents of the unfortunate king. He rose through all the commissioned ranks until 1674, when he was made Colonel. Meanwhile he had served for some time in Nancy and had taken part in the campaigns against Holland. After the treaty of Nimeguen in 1678, an order was issued for the return of all English subjects then serving under the French crown to their homes. Concerning this recall Colonel Dongan wrote that he was obliged to relinquish "that honorable and advantageous post, and resisted the temptations of greater preferment then offered him if he would remain there; for which reason the French king commanded him to leave France in forty-eight hours and refused to pay him a debt of sixty-five thousand livres then due to him for remits and arrears upon an assessment rendered him by the intendant of Nancy."

The Duke of York was evidently familiar with his career, for he inter-

*From "The Memorial History of New York."

ested himself in his behalf and urged him to enter the English military establishment. It appears that he was appointed to high rank in the army then designated for service in Flanders, and an annual pension of £500 was conferred on him for life in consideration of his losses in France. He did not, however, enter active



service, for in the same year (1678) he was sent to Tangier, Africa, under Lord Inchiquin, as Lieutenant-Governor of that place. Two years later he was recalled. Then, after a short visit to Ireland, he came to London at the invitation of his patron, the Duke of York. For a time he was a regular frequenter of the court and a man of society.

Dongan had now arrived at the mature age of forty-eight. He was familiar with military affairs and was experienced in the administration of government. His foreign career had given him a knowledge of men of different types, and being of the same religious faith as the Duke of York, he naturally shared with him any ambitions that he might have in extending the Catholic religion in the New World. He was therefore chosen by his royal patron to be "Governor of the Duke of York's province of New York." The appointment was considered a good one, not only on account of Dongan's personal qualities, but also because of the necessity of selecting a governor who was familiar with the French character and therefore competent to manage with skill the English interests, then in a precarious condition owing to the delicate relations between New York and Canada. Moreover, it was believed that his acquaintance with the Dutch, gained by his services in Holland, would make him considerate of their interests and therefore acceptable to them.

His commission, which bore the date of September 30, 1682, made him Governor of "all that part of ye Maine land of New England beginning at a certaine place called or knowne by the name of St. Croix next adjoyneing to New Scotland in America and from thence extending

along ye Sea Coast unto a certaine place called Pemaquin or Pemaquid and soe up ye River thereof to ye furthest head of ye same as it tendeth Northward and extendeth thence to ye River Kinebeque and soe upwards to ye shortest course to ye River Canada Northward. And all ye Island or Islands commonly called by ye severall name or names of Mataracks or Long Island scituate lyeing and being towards ye West of Cape Codd and ye narrow Higansetts abutting upon ye Maine land between ye two Rivers there called Hudsons River and all ye land from ye West Side of Connecticut River to ye East Side of Delaware Bay. And alsoe all ye severall Islands called or known by the name of Martyn Vyniards and Mantukes otherwise Mantucket together with all ye lands islands soyles rivers harbours mines mineralls quarries woods marshes waters lakes fishings hauking hunting and fowling, etc."

Dongan sailed from England in the old Parliamentarion frigate Constant Warwick, and among his suite was Thomas Harvey, of London, an English Jesuit. He arrived at Nantasket, Massachusetts, on August 10, 1683, and with a considerable retinue set out for New York overland. As far as Dedham he was accompanied by a troop of Boston Militia, "besides severall other gents of the town." He crossed the sound to Long Island, and, finding much discontent among the people of the east end of the island, he assured them "that no laws or rates for the future should be imposed but by a General Assembly." It appears that some years previous (1670) Huntington, Jamaica, and other towns on Long Island had refused to pay taxes unless they were represented in the Assembly, and the question had been agitated as to whether the revenue laws were legal as imposed.

He finally reached New York City on Saturday, August 25, 1683. On the following Monday he met the Common Council and other officials at the City Hall, then in Coenties Slip. and published his commission as well as his instructions respecting the special privileges to be accorded to the metropolis. The Corporation then invited him to a dinner on the next day at the City Hall, when with several of the old magistrates and ancient inhabitants, "his honour received a large and plentiful entertainment, and they had great satisfaction in his honour's company."

New York at this time contained less than four thousand inhabitants, and extended from the bay to the line of intrenchments and stockades that ran along Wall street. The city was defended by Fort James. situated on the water-front, but with its walls and bastions in a dilapidated condition. There was a "half moon" before the old Stadt Huys at the head of Coenties Slip, one at Old Slip, and one at the "water-gate," at the foot of Wall street. There were also de-

fences along Wall street, and a curtain at the land-gate at the junction of Wall street and Broadway, but they were sadly in need of repairs. There was also "Pasty Mount" at the foot of Exchange Alley. These little fortifications were all in bad condition, and were mounted with the miniature guns of the period, known as "demiculverins," "sakers," and "minions."

A few English and West Indian vessels traded with New York, and an occasional privateer appeared in the harbor. Near Fort James was a flagstaff whereon a flag was hoisted upon the arrival of vessels in the harbor. Besides the foregoing, commerce was carried on by nine or ten three-masted vessels of eighty to one hundred tons, and three barks of forty tons and about twenty sloops of twenty-five tons. Five of these sloops traded up the Hudson River with Albany, Kingston and Esopus, which were the three most important towns of the province after New York.

The population was mixed, and a great variety of tongues was spoken. The Dutch element predominated, but there were many Huguenot families that had come to the colony driven from France by the persecutions of Louis XIV. The old church in the fort was used every Sunday by the representatives of the three leading denominations, and services were held in as many different languages —the Dutch in the morning, the French at noon, and the English in the afternoon—while the Governor and his few fellow-worshipers met in a little chapel.

The active management of affairs was at once taken up by the new Governor. His instructions from the duke signed on January 27th, required that on his arrival he should call together Frederick Philipse and Stephanus Van Cortlandt, and other of the most eminent inhabitants, not exceeding ten in all, and swear them to allegiance to the king, fealty to the duke as "lord and proprieter," and official faithfulness as members of his council. In accordance with further instructions, John Spragg became secretary of the colony, and Anthony Brokholls, with Matthias Nicolls and others, were appointed to catalogue the records surrendered by John West. Rev. John Gordon became chaplain of the English soldiers in New York, and Mayor William Beekman, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, Lucas Santen, Mark Talbot, and Gabriel Minvielle were appointed to survey Fort James, while Captain Thomas Young was made pilot of the port.

The administration of the colony having been properly organized, Dongan immediately turned his attention to a matter which directly concerned the interests of his patron. William Penn, not satisfied with grants made to him by Charles II., was endeavoring to secure the upper Susquehanna valley by purchase from the Indians, who claimed that region

in virtue of conquest by them. When Dongan reached New York, Penn and his two agents, William Haige and James Graham were already in Albany, negotiating with the natives The Governor on September 6th proceeded to Albany and ordered an examination into the matter. He received a report stating that a settlement on the Susquehanna would be much nearer to the Indians

DONGAN'S NEW YORK HOUSE.

than Albany, and hence any such purchase by Penn would be "prejudicial to his Royal Highness's Government." Dongan promptly ordered a stop put to all "proceedings in Mr. Penn's affairs with the Indians until his bounds and limits be adjusted." The Albany magistrates wrote on September 24th, as their opinion, that "there hath not anything ever been moved or agitated, from the first settling of these parts, more prejudicial to his Royal Highness's interest and the inhabitants of this government, than this business of the Susquehanna River. The French, it is true, have endeavored to take away our trade by piece meals, but this will cut it off at once."

In the mean time Penn accepted an invitation to visit Dongan in New York, and was elaborately entertained for several days, but left owing to a dispute with Lord Baltimore concerning the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, which compelled his presence in Philadelphia. Later, when Penn's agents endeavored to secure the purchase of these lands, the Indians refused, saying that the land "cannot be sold without Corlaer's order, for we transferred it to this government four years ago." Subsequently (October 3rd), the Mohawks visited Fort James and agreed to give the Susquehanna River to New York. In announcing this to Penn, Dongan wrote, "about which you and I shall not fall out; I desire we may joine heartily together to advance the interest of my master and your good friend."

A year later, Penn requested Dongan's intervention towards the settlement of the Maryland boundary dispute, and the favor was promptly accorded; but when his agents asked to be allowed to treat with the In-

dians for the Susquehanna lands, Dongan quickly replied, "that they of Albany have suspicion it is only to get away their trade, and that Mr. Penn hath land already more than he can people these many years. In this opinion he was upheld by the duke's secretary, Sir John Werden, who on August 27, 1684, wrote him: "Touching Susquehanna River, or lands about it, or trade in it, which the Indians convey to you or invite you to, we think you will doe well to preserve your interest there as much as possible, that soe nothing more may goe away to Mr. Penn, or either New Jerseys. For it is apparent they are apt to stretch their privileges, as well as the people of New England have been." The wily quaker never forgave Dongan for not yielding to him. In after years, when the Duke of York had become James II., and Penn returned to court, he showed his ill-feeling against Dongan by his successful efforts in prejudicing the king against him.

Among Dongan's instructions was an order calling for the election of a "General Assembly of all the Freeholders by the persons whom they shall choose to represent them," in order to consult with the Governor and Council "what laws are fit and necessary to be made and established for the good weal and government of the said Colony and its dependencies and all the inhabitants thereof." This Assembly, which was not to exceed eighteen members, was to meet in the city of New York.

Accordingly the freeholders of New York, Long Island, Esopus, Albany and Martha's Vineyard were notified on September 13, 1683, to choose representatives to appear for them at a General Assembly to be held in New York on October 17th.

The elections were held according to the code laid down by Dongan and his Council, and a majority of the Assemblymen chosen were of the "Dutch Nation." The Assembly met on October 17th, and on that date, which is referred to by Brodhead as "a memorable day in the history of New York," seventeen delegates, representatives of the freeholds of the colony of New York, gathered in Fort James. Matthias Nicolls, one of the representatives from New York City, was chosen Speaker, and John Spragg was made Clerk. The journals of this Assembly are not known to exist, but from other sources it appears to have remained in session during three weeks.

The most important of the new laws was "The Charter of Liberties and Privileges, granted by his Royal Highnesse to the Inhabitants of New Yorke and its dependencies." It declared that the charter was "For the better establishing of the government of this Province of New York, and that Justice and Right may be equally done to all persons within the same, by the Governour, Councell,

and Representatives, now in General Assembly met." Also "That the Supreme Legislative authority under his Majesty and Royal Highness James, Duke of York, Albany, etc., Lord Proprietor of the said Province, shall forever be and reside in a Governour, Councell, and the people, mett in a General Assembly." It then ordered "that according to the usage, custome and practice of the Realm of England a session of a Generall Assembly be held in this Province, once in three years at least." It further declared that "every freeholder within this province, and freeman in any corporation, shall have his free choice and vote in the electing of the Representatives without any manner of constraint or imposition, and that in all elections the majority of voices shall carry it." According to other sections representatives were appointed among the several counties; the usual privileges of Parliament were conferred on the members of the Assembly; and the most liberal provisions of English law were declared to extend to the inhabitants of New York. Entire freedom of conscience and religion was guaranteed to all peaceable persons "which profess faith in God by Jesus Christ."

This Charter of Liberties and Privileges was signed by the Governor and solemnly proclaimed on October 31, 1683, at the City Hall before the assembled multitude, to the sound of trumpets, "in the presence of his Honor the Governor, the Council, and Representatives, and Deputy Mayor, and Aldermen of this City." Thus the principle of taxation only by consent was initiated as a law of the land. Brodhead says in this con-

SEAL OF THE CHARTER.

nection, "Thus the representatives of New York asserted the great principle of 'Taxation by Consent,' which Holland had maintained since 1477, and appropriated the liberties al-

lowed by English law to subjects within the realm of England. True ideas of popular government were now more distinctly announced in the ancient Dutch province by its own freely chosen assembly—of which a majority were 'of the Dutch nation'—than in any Northern colony of British America. In none of the charter governments of New England were 'the people' recognized as having legislative authority. The first law made by the representatives of Dutch-English New York ordained that 'The People met in a General Assembly' were to share in its colonial legislation. These memorable words, 'The People,' were so democratic that the English king at Whitehall soon afterwards objected to them, as being 'not used in any other constitution in America.'"

The charter was promptly signed by Dongan, and on December 4th Mark Talbot was sent to England with it and the other laws passed by the Assembly for the Duke's approval and signature. Some time seems to have elapsed before James was able to give it his full attention. Finally, on October 4, 1684, the duke signed and sealed the "Charter of Franchises and Priviledges to New Yorke in America." The instrument was ordered to be registered and taken to New York, but this was not done. Subsequently, in March, 1685, when the Duke was King of England, the charter was discussed at a meeting of the Plantation Committee, at which James presided and, finding the charter too liberal, concluded that he did "not think fit to confirm" it. Meanwhile, however, the law had gone into force, and continued so, until after the adjournment of the Assembly that met under its provisions in September, 1685.

In 1664 the authorities of Connecticut and New York met and agreed that the boundary-line of Connecticut should not come within twenty miles of the Hudson River, but the Duke of York had failed to ratify this arrangement, and especially instructed Dongan, as soon as he could, to settle the boundaries of the "territories toward Connecticut." The Governor was not delayed in this matter, for almost immediately after the passage of the Charter of Liberties, Connecticut set up a claim that the towns of Rye, Greenwich, and Stamford "indubitably" belonged to her, to which Dongan replied: "The Kings' Commissioners, being strangers, and relying upon your people, were assured by them that the river Mamaroneck was twenty miles, everywhere from Hudson's River, as we have very creditable witnesses can testify, and that it was Colonel Nicolls his intentions. Notwithstanding all that, you pretend to within sixteen or seventeen miles of this town, and, for ought we know, to Esopus and Albany also; which is argument sufficient it was done of Colonel Nicolls his intention. If you do not submit to let us have all the land within

twenty miles of Hudson's River, I must claim as far as the Duke's Patent goes, which is to the River Connecticut . . . Since you are pleased to do me the honor to see me, pray come with full power to treat with me; and I do assure you, whatsoever is concluded betwixt us shall be confirmed by the King and his Royal Highness, which the other agreements I hear are not. If you like not of it, pray take it not ill that I proceed in a way that will bring all your patent in question."

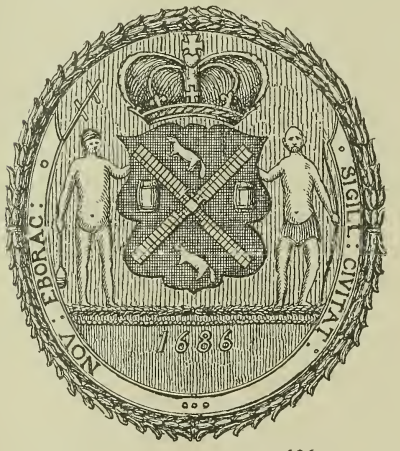
The emphatic declarations of Dongan proved effective, and Connecticut much preferred to arbitrate the question rather than to submit her patent to the Duke of York. A conference was held in New York during the latter part of November, to which Connecticut sent as her representatives Robert Treat, Nathan Gold, John Allyn, and William Pitkin, while New York was represented by the Governor, Anthony Brockholls, Frederick Philipse, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, and John Younge. It was then agreed that the boundary line between the two provinces should be removed several miles east of Mamaroneck to Byram River, between Rye and Greenwich, and that this new line should be properly surveyed the next October. Accordingly, in October, 1684, joint commissioners from the two colonies met in Stamford and proceeded to the Byram River. There they surveyed the proper courses, of which they made a map and a report. These having been approved by the Council of New York, Dongan met Governor Treat on February 23, 1685, in Milford, and together they signed a ratification which was ordered to be recorded in both colonies, and which was confirmed in England fifteen years later. This boundary-line still remains in force.

In the meanwhile, however, the commissioners from Connecticut informed the magistrates of Rye that they could not help giving up that town, but that "Dongan was a noble gentleman and would do for others' welfare whatever they should desire in a regular manner." Dongan's opinion was perhaps a trifle less favorable, for he wrote to the Duke of York that "Connecticut was always grasping, tenacious, and prosperous at her neighbors' expense, of evil influence over the New York towns of Long Island, whose refractory people would carry their oil to Boston and their whalebone to Perth, rather than to their own capital."

Numerous ordinances for the better government of the city were adopted. Those concerning the religious observance of the Sabbath are interesting. "No youthes, maydes, or other persons may meete together on the Lord's Day for sporte or play, under a fine of one shilling." No public-houses were permitted to keep open doors or give entertainment on Sunday, except to strangers, under a fine of ten shillings. Children were not allowed to play in the streets on the

Sabbath, and not more than four Indians or negro slaves might assemble together, and at no time were they allowed to bear any firearms, under a fine of six shillings to their owners.

The landlords of public houses were ordered to report all strangers who arrived, and were forbidden to entertain any person, man or woman, suspected of a bad character, under fine of ten shillings. Indians were allowed by a special license to sell firewood and also gutters for houses,



SEAL OF NEW YORK, 1686.

which were long strips of bark so curved at the sides as to conduct water, but it was required that "the number of such [Indian] traders be small and what so traded for no great value." Under penalty of forfeiture it was proclaimed that "noe firewood shall be imported or exposed for sale in this citty, but such as shall be cutt after ye manner of coard wood and sold by the coard accordingly, which coard is to continue eight foot in length, four foot in highth, and four foot in breadth." All horses ranging loose were to be branded and enrolled, and an ample reward was offered to all who should destroy wolves.

A committee was appointed to collect for permanent preservation the ancient records of the city and also the laws. The proper officials were ordered to "use their utmost endeavors and care at the day of Election that none appeare but ffree holders." Surveyors were chosen to see that "all new buildings bee uniform and of party walls." A constable was appointed to see that the laws were obeyed, also a haven-master was chosen to look after the shipping and collect the bills. The sheriff was placed in charge of the markets, and ordered to strictly observe the rules for regulating them. There was a public chimney-sweep, who made his presence known by crying through the streets, and cleaned the chimneys at the rate of one shilling or eighteen pence each, according to the height of the house. An "inviter to funerals" was likewise a public official; and no one, unless formally asked, thought of attending a funeral. This service was rendered free to those who were unable to pay.

In nothing, however, did the masterly diplomacy of Governor Dongan show itself to greater advantage than in his relations with the French. His predecessor, Sir Edmund Andros, had

claimed in 1677 that New York included all the territory south of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, but this claim was one that the French could not sanction. Christianity had been planted among the Indians by French missionaries long before any other Europeans had penetrated into the wilds of the northwest. Jean Nicollet, Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle were famous discovers and also ardent Catholics. With them came missionaries who devoted their lives to the conversion of the Indians.

Antoine Joseph Lefevre de la Barré had been appointed to succeed Count Frontenac as Governor of Canada, and one of the earliest of his plans was to compel the Indians to trade with Montreal rather than New York. Early in 1684, the Senecas and Cayugas having plundered certain French parties, De la Barré determined to punish them, and refused to regard them as British subjects. This information seems to have been conveyed to Dongan, for he writes: "I do believe that you have bin misinformed as to the Irequois, they having traded with this Government above forty years and nowhere else, unlesse they did it by stealth. I am sure they are nearer to this place than yours, and all to the south and southwest of the Lake of Canada; wee have pretences too, and it seems a cleare demonstration that those lands belong to the King of England, haveing all his Colonies close upon them, those Indians who have pipes through their noses would fain come to trade at Yorke, did not other Indians hinder them, haveing from hence such trade as they want which is in no other Government and that you have none but what you have from us. As for any dispute about them, I suppose Your people and ours may trade amongst them without any difference. I give you thanks for the passes you sent, and assure you nobody hath a greater desire to have a strict union with you and good correspondence than myself who served long time in France and was much obliged by the King and Gentry of that Country; and I am sure no man hath a greater respect for them than myself, and would never do anything that may cause a misunderstanding, but I am a servant in this place, and therefore need say no more."

De la Barré was not appeased by this letter, and at once directed the Jesuit missionaries then at Oneida and Onondaga to so intrigue as to divide the Indians among themselves. It was this policy, which Dongan endeavored to oppose by replacing French Jesuits by English Jesuits, which caused the enmity of Protestants in New York. In June, 1684, De la Barré advised Dongan of his intention to attack the Indians, and asked that the people of Albany be forbidden to sell arms and ammunition to the Iroquois, which he said "can alone intimidate them, and when they see the Christians united on this subject they will show them more

respect than they have done hitherto."

To this Dongan quickly replied that the Senecas were under the government of New York; that the duke's territories must not be invaded; that he had ordered the coats of arms of the Duke of York to be placed in the Indian castles, "which may dissuade you from acting anything that may create a misunderstanding between us;" moreover, all differences between the French in Canada and the New York Iroquois ought to be settled by their masters in Europe; finally, in order "to promote the quiet and tranquillity of this country and yours," he proposed to visit Albany and investigate the matter.

This decision was timely, for certain of the Iroquois, instigated (as charged) by the French missionaries, had early in the spring of 1684 committed outrages on the northern boundary of Maryland and Virginia which violated the compact made in August, 1682. Lord Effingham, Governor of Virginia, with two members of his Council, came to New York in June to persuade Dongan to aid him in a war against the Indians. Effingham was received with distinction. He became a guest of the Governor, and was entertained by many of the prominent citizens. The City Corporation made him a freeman of the metropolis, and he is said to have been the first British peer upon whom this distinction was conferred.

He accepted Dongan's invitation to go to Albany, and on July 30th met in council deputies from the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas. A firm peace was concluded, in recognition of which an ax was buried for each party; but as the Mohawks had not broken the earlier compact, no ax was needed for them. Five axes, representing Maryland, Virginia, the Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, were buried in the southeast corner of the courtyard, and the Indians threw earth upon them. Then jointly the Indians sang a peace-song with demonstrations of much joy, and thanked Dongan for his effectual mediation in their favor with the Governor of Virginia. Some days later (August 5th) delegates from the more remote Senecas arrived, and confirmed the action of their allies by giving a belt.

It was at this time that Dongan obtained from the Iroquois their written submission to the Great Sachem Charles. This was recorded on two white dressed deerskins, which were to be sent to the great sachem in England, that he "may write on them and put a great red seal to them." By this treaty all the Susquehanna River above the "Washinta" or Wyalusing Falls, and all the rest of the land of the Iroquois, were confirmed to the Duke of York as within the limits of New York. Thus Governor Dongan established the northern and western boundaries of our great commonwealth, and, as has

been well said, "in our day the visitor to the Great Lakes and Falls of Niagara sees the American flag proudly floating where Dongan planted its English predecessor."

At the close of the conference the Sieur de Salvaye, a representative of De la Barré, arrived in Albany and informed Dongan that the Indians would be attacked towards the end of August. A force of twelve hundred men proceeded against the natives, but exposure and disease so reduced their ranks that De la Barré gladly concluded a treaty of peace with them on September 5th. He reported to France that his campaign had "not been bloody," and referred to Dongan as one "who fain would assume to be Sovereign Lord of the whole of North America, south of the River Saint Lawrence." The French king had made request of the Duke of York, through his ambassador in London, to prohibit Dongan from aiding the Iroquois and to order him to act in concert with De la Barré, "to the common advantage of both nations," but no such orders could be given by the duke, who fully sustained Dongan's policy, save alone that he should be prudent, "always avoiding, as much as possible, any proceedings on our part that may run us into disputes with the French, who, in our present circumstances, are not to be made enemies."

The religious freedom of New York was well known. At a time when a catholic priest would meet only with imprisonment and death in the New England colonies, Jesuit fathers were freely received in New York while it was under the Dutch government. Indeed, they were openly entertained by the Governor himself, as it was the case with Father Isaac Jogues, who was rescued from the Mohawk Indians and entertained at the fort by Director Kieft in 1643.

During the greater part of Dongan's administration there were resident in New York three Jesuit fathers. These undoubtedly were destined by him to replace similar French missionaries among the Iroquois Indians. Indeed he distinctly writes to the Indians, "Therefore I desire the Brethern not to receive him or any French Priests any more, haveing sent for English Priests, whom you can be supplied with, all to con-

P. Fr. X. de Charlevoix

tent." In a letter to Denonville, written on December 1, 1686, he says: "I have written the King, my Master, who hath as much zeal as any prince liveing to propagate the Christian faith, and assure him how necessary it is to send hither some fathers to preach the Gospell to the nations allyed to us, and care would then be taken to dissuade them from their drunken debauches, though certainly our Rum doth as little hurt as your Brandy, and in the opinion of Christians is much more wholesome; however, to keep the Indians temperate and sober is a very good and Christian performance, but to prohibit them all strong liquors seems a little hard and a little turkish." His advice to that effect, sent to his royal patron, was not heeded, and Brodhead adds: "The English disciples of Loyola do not seem to have had the manly spirit of adventure among the savages which distinguished their order in France."

Early in February Charles II. died, and the Duke of York succeeded him as James II. This brought about a peculiar condition of affairs. New York became a dependency of the crown and no longer a proprietary government. Shortly after the accession of James to the throne, he ordered the records belonging to the province to be sent to the Plantation Office. These included the various acts passed by the New York Assembly, and the Charter of Franchises and Privileges, which, though ordered to be delivered, had been kept back and was not yet perfected.

Failing to confirm the charter, the king wrote on March 3d to Dongan, concerning the government of the colony: "And as we have been pleased by our Royal Proclamation to direct that all men being in office of government shall so continue therein until further order, so we do hereby charge and require you to pursue such powers and instructions as we have formerly given you, and such further powers, authority, and instructions as you shall at any time hereafter receive under our royal signet and sign manual, or by our order in our Privy Council. And that you likewise give our said loving subjects to understand that, having committed to our said Privy Council the care of our said Province, with the consideration of several Bills and Addresses lately presented unto us from our Assembly there, they may shortly expect such a generous and suitable return, by the settlement of fitting privileges and confirmation of their rights, as shall be found most expedient for our service and the welfare of our said Province."

This letter and further orders from the Privy Council were brought to America by Captain Jervis Baxter, who reached New York towards the end of April. Early in May the Corporation prepared an address to the new king, congratulating him on his accession, and wishing him "a long, peaceable, and prosperous reign." At

the same time they desired his Majesty "to enlarge this government Eastward, and confirm and grant to this his Citty such privileges and immunities as may again make it flourish, and increase his Majesty's revenue."

The acquisition of wealth at the expense of the government seems to have prevailed in New York at even this early date. Lucas Santen, who had been appointed Collector of the port in April, 1683, made charges against the Governor of taking perquisites and of sharing in the booty of privateers, many of whom came to New York in order to dispose of their plunder. These charges Dongan denied, and wrote: "I have been so put to it to make things doe, that what small perquisites I have got I have disbursed; and I have pledged my credit and pawned my plate for money to carry on the King's affairs;" also, "Concerning my covetousness, as he is pleased to term it (if Mr. Santen speaks true in saying I have been covetous), it was in the management of the small revenue to the best advantage, and had Mr. Santen been as just as I have been careful, the King had not been in debt and I had more in my pocket than I now have." Santen, however, was unwilling to give any satisfactory explanation of his affairs, and was ordered to produce his books of revenue before the council. Finally he was suspended for peculation, arrested, and sent to England, where his commission was revoked.

Throughout his career Dongan showed himself an able diplomat. The boundary disputes between New York and the adjoining colonies he settled with credit to himself and advantage to his patron. His firm stand against the advances made by the French on the northern border have already been alluded to. His policy with the Indians was a masterly one. Prior to his arrival in New York much of the trade with the natives had found its outlet through Canada, but recognizing the value of the fur trade he gave permission during the summer of 1685 to a number of traders to visit the western Indians, who lived beyond the Senecas, and to collect beaver-skins. They were well received by the Indians, whom they found more inclined to trade with them than with the French. In one of his reports to Europe he described the means by which he intended to secure the beaver and other Indian trade for the province. As evidence of his success it appears that the Seneca Indians alone carried more than ten thousand beaver-skins to Albany instead of sending them to Canada as they had agreed to do in their treaty with De la Barré at the Salmon River the year previous. Dongan's success with the Indians gave distinct umbrage to the French, and early in the year De la Barré was superseded by the Marquis de Denonville. Dongan's desires to Christianize the Indians have already been referred to, and his efforts have been closely

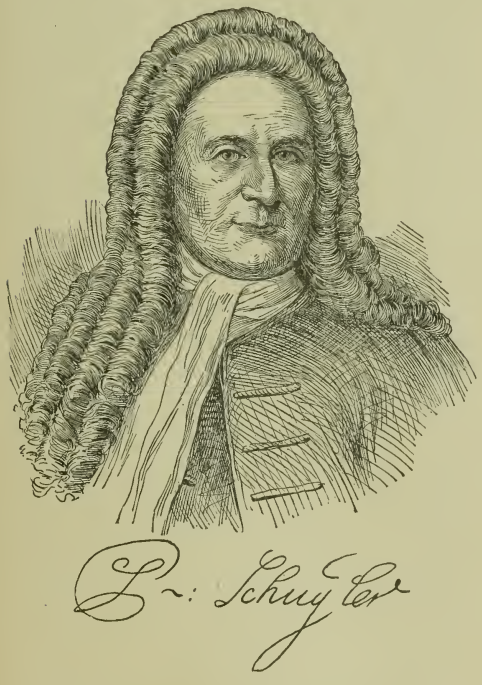
studied by representatives of his church in recent times, one of whom has written: "By his masterly policy Dongan controlled the Five Nations, broke up the French influence, and used the confederacy as the great bulwark of New York, making it, with English support, a terror to Canada and the Western tribes."

The western boundary of New York had not been defined in the instructions given to Dongan by the Duke of York, but the far-sighted policy of the Governor is abundantly shown in the following communication sent to the Lords of the Board of Trade in 1687. He says: "I send a Map by Mr. Spragg whereby your Lords may see the several governments, etc., how they lye; . . . alsoe it points where theres a great River, discovered by one Lassal, a Frenchman from Canada, who thereupon went into France, and as its reported brought two or three vessels with people to settle there, which (if true) will prove not only very inconvenient to us but to the Spanish alsoe (the river running all along from our Lakes by the Back of Virginia and Carolina into the Bay of Mexico), and its beleeved Nova Mexico cannot be far from the mountains adjoyning to it, that place being 36 d North Latitude, if your Lords thought fit I could send a Sloop or two from this place to discover that River." In other words, Dongan distinctly sought permission to send an expedition up the Mississippi River in order to take possession for the English of the great valley through which that stream courses, but his superiors failed to appreciate the value of such a possession at that time, and apparently agreed with the French king, who found La Salle's explorations "very useless and [that] such enterprises must be prevented hereafter."

For some time the Corporation of New York had been desirous of obtaining a new charter from the king which should confirm their old privilege and grant to them all the vacant land in and about the city. By the aid of Nicholas Bayard, who was then Mayor and also one of the Council, and James Graham, who was Recorder and also Attorney-General of the province, a draft of the desired charter was submitted to the municipal authorities. The engrossed charter was then read and allowed in Council, and on April 27, duly signed by the Governor, who caused it to be sealed with the old provincial seal which the Duke of York sent out in 1669.

The charter declares New York to be "an ancient city; and that the citizens of said city have, anciently, been a body politic and corporate; and have had various rights, grants, and immunities under several governors, and under the Nether Dutch Nation; and have received the same, either under the name of Schout, Burgomasters, and Schepens, or in their name as Mayor, Alderman, and Commonalty." Moreover, the charter

confirmed to the city all prior grants, liberties, and franchises; also specially the right of the municipality to its City Hall, two market-houses, the bridge into the dock, the wharves or dock, the new burial-place out of the city gate, and the ferry from the city to Long Island. It contains a grant



of all the streets and highways for the public use, and a right to lay out others. Prior grants to inhabitants are confirmed. An important item is the grant made to the city of "all the waste, vacant and unappropriated lands on Manhattan Island, extending to low-water mark, and all waters, creeks etc., not theretofore granted." Hunting and mining privileges were conferred, for which one beaver-skin was to be rendered annually. Jurisdiction was given over all the Island of Manhattan and its waters to low-water mark.

The city officers were to include a Mayor, recorder, town clerk, six aldermen and six assistants, a chamberlain, a sheriff, and some minor officers. The aldermen and assistants were to be elected by the people annually, one from each ward. The mayor, sheriff, and town clerk were to be appointed by the Governor, and the city was made a body corporate and politic under the name of "the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of New York," and was to have perpetual succession, with power to get, receive, and hold lands, rents, liberties, franchises, and chattels, and to transfer the same. The charter also gave to the mayor, recorder, and aldermen the right to hold a court of common pleas for cases of debt and other personal actions. Out of the grants made there was excepted Fort James, a piece of ground by the gate called the Governor's Garden, "and the land without the gate called the King's Farm, with the swamp next to the same land, by the Fresh Water."

Concerning the localities mentioned in the charter, the dock, which was the only landing-place of importance in the city, extended along the East River from the present Broad street to Whitehall street; the ferry was the one that ran from the foot of the

present Peck Slip to "Breuckelen." The new burial-place was located where Trinity Churchyard now is, and the Governor's Garden adjoined it, extending from Broadway to low-water mark. The King's Farm extended at that time from Fulton to Chambers's street, and subsequently formed much of the land given to Columbia College by Trinity Church. This charter has since continued to be the basis of the municipal laws, rights, privileges, public property, and franchises of the city. It was worded with care, and shows that those who framed it were "possessed of a broad and enlightened sense of the sanctity of corporate and private rights." Following the example of New York, Albany, on July 22, 1686, was incorporated as a city, with large franchises, including the management of the Indian trade. Peter Schuyler, the most conspicuous of the early representatives of that family, became its first Mayor. Dongan was promised £300 for this charter.

The relations with the French continued to be disturbed, owing to the persistence with which they still interfered with the Iroquois Indians. A meeting of representatives of the Five Nations and Dongan took place in Albany on April 15, 1686. The French had determined to erect a strong post at Niagara, and Dongan warned the Indians of Denonville's intention of attacking them, and, promising his friendship, advised retaliation. Some correspondence between the two Governors ensued, in which Dongan promised to do all that he could "to prevent the Iroquois harming the French missionaries, and also to surrender all refugees from Canada." Another conference was held at Fort James on August 30th, at which the Indians were told not to meet the French, and assured by Dongan that if they were attacked by the French to "let me know; I will come; it will be with me he shall have to settle." During the summer months trading parties again visited the western Indians with Dongan's permission, and were successful in gaining much valuable material. Denonville, irritated at Dongan's success, and unable to cope with his policy, wrote to France towards the close of the year asking for specific orders, saying, "for I am disposed to go straight to Orange, storm their fort, and burn the whole concern." Meanwhile important changes in the government of the colonies had occurred. Those in the east had been consolidated into the "Territory and Dominion of New England in America," over which Sir Edmund Andros had been commissioned "Captain-General and Governor-in-chief."

A new commission similar to that issued to Andros was sent to Dongan, and he became on June 10, 1686, the king's Captain-General and Governor-in-chief over his "Province of New York and the territories depending thereon in North America." Dongan

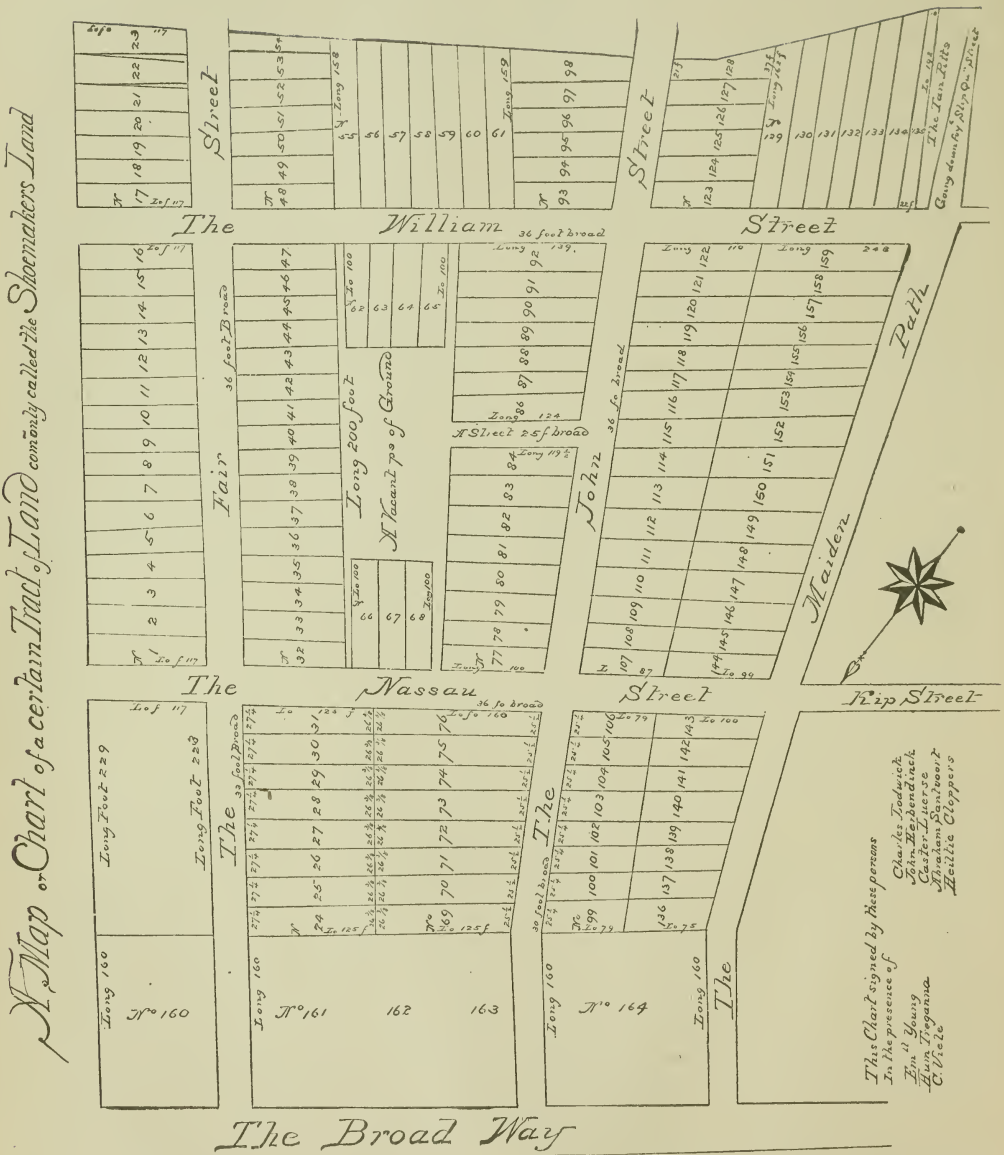
was empowered to appoint judges, pardon offenders, collate any person or persons in any churches which might be vacant, levy and command the military force of the province, execute martial laws, build forts, act as Vice- Admiral, grant lands, appoint fairs, and regulate ports, harbors, and custom-houses; and he was required "to take all possible care for the discountenance of vice and encouragement of virtue and good living, that by such example the infidels may be invited and desire to partake of the Christian Religion."

The new commission and instructions duly reached Dongan on September 14, 1686, when he at once took oath "to execute the office and trust of His Majesty's Captain-General and Governor-in-chief in and over the Province of New York, and the territories depending thereon." The new counselors were sworn excepting Santen, who was deemed "wholly unfit for business."

The difficulty with East Jersey continued, and in February Dongan wrote to the Plantations Committee that, the inhabitants there "paying noe Custom and having likewise the advantage of having better land and most of the Settlers there out of this Government, Wee are like to be deserted by a great many of our Merchants whoe intend to settle there if not annexed to this Government." He complains of the smuggling and of the trade with the Indians, who find a better market in Jersey, because the people there pay "noe Custom nor Excise inwards nor outwards;" also how "very often shipps bound to this place break bulk there and run their goods into that Colony with intent afterwards to import the same privately and at more leisure into this Province notwithstanding their Oath, they salving themselves with this evasion that that place is not in this Government." To prevent all further inconveniences, he asks for an order "to make up a small Fort with twelve guns upon Sandys Hook, the Channell there being soe near the shore that noe vessel can goe in nor out but she must come soe near the Point that from on board one might toss a biscuit cake on shore." He discusses the desirability of annexation at some length, and then abruptly closes with, "To bee short, there is an absolute necessity those Provinces and that of Connecticut be annexed."

It was about this time that Lucas Santen was sent as a prisoner to England, and in the same ship John Spragg and Jervis Baxter conveyed important dispatches to the home government. In place of Santen, Dongan begged the king to allow him to name a Collector from among those who lived in New York, for those who came from England expect "to run suddenly into a great estate, which this small place cannot afford them."

The Governor's report, which was sent to the Plantations Committee at



This hitherto unpublished map is a fac-simile of one made by order of Colonel Dongan. The original is dated Sept. 14, 1699, and acknowledged Jan. 20, 1700. The map was recorded Jan 2, 1715.

their request, was conveyed by the two messengers just mentioned, and the document itself has been referred to as "a masterly production." Brodhead calls it "one of the most careful as well as most honest pictures of his provincial government which an American subordinate ever sent home to his English Sovereign."

It gave full descriptions of the judiciary of New York and of its workings, and of the military resources of the colony, the conditions of the fortifications in New York, Albany and Pemaquid. The annexation of Pemaquid to Massachusetts and of Connecticut to New York was advocated. Concerning immigration he wrote: "I believe for these seven years last past there has not come over into this Province twenty English, Scotch, or Irish families. But on the contrary on Long Island the people increased soe fast that they complain for want of land, and many remove from thence into the neighbouring province. But of French, there have, since my coming here, severall families come both from St. Christophers and England, and a great many more are expected; as alsoe from Holland are come several Dutch families, which is another great argument of the necessity of adding to this government the neighboring English Colonies, that a more equal ballance may bee kept here between his Majesty's naturall born subjects and Foreigners, which latter are the most prevailing part of this government." Reference is made to the religious beliefs of the colonists and he adds: "Every town and county are obliged to maintain their own poor, which makes them bee soe careful that noe vagabonds, beggars, nor idle persons are suffered to live here. But as for the King's natural born-subjects that live on Long Island and other parts of Government, I find it a hard task to make them pay their ministers." The relations with the Indians were described, and his own policy discussed at some length with important recommendations.

Meanwhile, on December 19, 1686, Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New England, had arrived in Boston, and the possession of Connecticut soon became a question of dispute between himself and Dongan. On the one hand, Connecticut was asked to surrender her charter and become part of New England, while on the other, Dongan, feeling that the giving up of Pemaquid to New England entitled him to some compensation, strongly urged that Connecticut be annexed to New York. Finally on October 31, 1687, Andros "took into his hands the government of this Colony of Connecticut, it being by his Majesty annexed to Massachusetts and other Colonys under his Excellency's Government."

On the nothern frontier the French persisted in their efforts to obtain control of the traffic with the Indians and to compel their submission to

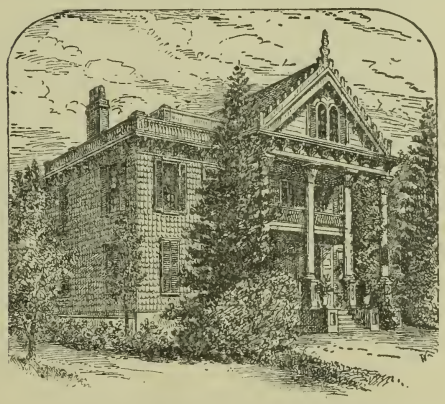
the Governor of Canada, but Dongan maintained a strong stand against their encroachments, even after the passing of the treaty of neutrality between France and England, by which it was agreed that firm peace and neutrality should exist between the English and French subjects in America. A copy of this treaty was received by Dongan early in June. Denonville was not slow to act on the advantage promised by this agreement between the two kings, and very promptly seized fifty Indians who had come to Catarocony to confer with the Governor of Canada, and sent them to France to serve in the galleys there. Many trading parties from Albany were seized and the territory of the Senecas occupied by the French, who had defeated the Indians in several battles. In August a conference was held in Albany between the Indians and Dongan, and the latter then felt justified in supplying the red men with arms and ammunition, although he declined to assist them with soldiers. Matters failed to improve, and Dongan then decided to spend the winter in Albany.

Before leaving New York he appointed Stephanus Van Cortlandt to be Mayor of the city, and James Graham was admitted to the council. On October 25, 1687, it was ordered in Council "that Major Brokholls sign all warrants, papers and licenses, usually signed by his Excellency, and that all public business be managed by him and the Council as if his Excellency was present." He reached Albany early in November, and there found the inhabitants of that place in considerable alarm owing to the fact that the destruction of that place and Schenectady was threatened by the French.

Meanwhile, in September, John Palmer had been sent to England with full instructions from Dongan to lay before the king the condition of affairs in New York and the conduct of the French in Canada. He reached London at about the same time that Dongan arrived at Albany. It was soon made apparent that a treaty of neutrality in America was not for the interest of England. The claim put forward originally by Andros, and adhered to by Dongan, that the Five Nations were British subjects, was now accepted by James, who on November 10, 1687, instructed Dongan to defend and protect the Iroquois Indians from the Canadians; to build necessary forts; to employ the militia of New York, and to call on all the neighboring English colonies for assistance. The French king, however, complained to James of the behaviour of Dongan, and, to appease the French monarch, an agreement was signed to the effect that until the first day of January, 1689, and afterwards, no English or French commander in America should commit any act of hostility against the territory of either sovereign.

In May, news came from Albany that the French were again troublesome, and it was deemed necessary by the Council that Dongan should go there at once and that soldiers be sent up the river to watch the enemy. He returned in July and then found the king's letter of April 22d awaiting him, which informed him of Andros's appointment, also advising him that on the arrival of the new Governor in New York the seal and records of that province must be delivered to him. This communication was read in Council and ordered to be recorded amongst the records of the province of New York. Dongan, however, continued in the active administration of affairs for some weeks longer, and among the last acts of his Council is one passed on July 30th "for the care of his Majesty's Province, which it is his Majesty's pleasure should be annexed to his Government of New England, Ordered that all further proceedings towards the levying the late tax and imposition of £2555, to be paid by the first day of November next, do cease, and it is hereby suspended till further order." The last law passed by him, on August 2d, was one "to prohibit shoemakers from using the mystery of tanning hides." Andros in the meantime had set out for New York, and on August 11, 1688, reached the city, where he was received by Colonel Nicholas Bayard's regiment of foot and a troop of horse.

Thus the administration of Thomas Dongan came to an end. It has been well said that "his firm and judicious policy, his steadfast integrity, and his pleasing and courteous address soon won the affections of the people and made him one of the most popular of the Royal Governors." Even Thomas Hinckley, who was Governor of Plymouth, said of him that "he was of a noble, praiseworthy mind and spirit, taking care that all the people in each town do their duty in maintaining the minister of the place though himself of a different opinion from their way."



DONGAN'S HOUSE ON STATEN ISLAND.

The subsequent career of Dongan is not without interest. The king offered him the command of a regiment with the rank of major-general, but these evidences of royal satisfaction were declined, and the late Governor determined to remain in the vicinity of New York. He owned considerable property within what are now the city limits of New York, and

a farm in Hempstead, Long Island, to which he retired when Andros left the city. Also, in 1687, he had purchased a manor-house and some twenty-five thousand acres of ground on Staten Island, which he formed into "the lordship and manor of Cassiltowne." It is also said that he owned land in Martha's Vineyard. His governorship had not been a source of profit to him, and he remained in New York in order to care for his property.

With the news of the flight of James to France there came troubled times to New York. It was feared that the adherents of the late king would seize the colony, and it was said that Dongan was the instigator of a plot to burn the city. It was noised about that Staten Island was full of roaming Papists, and later, when Jacob Leisler assumed the control of the government, Dongan's residence on that island was searched for arms. The finding of four guns there was regarded as great evidence against him. Hunted from place to place, he finally took refuge on a brigantine belonging to him, and remained hidden there in the bay for a fortnight, seeking to sail for England, but the weather being unfavorable he returned to the colony and made his way to New London. There he was joined by Andros, who had escaped from prison, and it was said that he was engaged in a scheme to sell Martha's Vineyard. Subsequently he returned to Hempstead, Long Island, but early in 1690 writs were issued for the apprehension of various Papists, including Dongan. He then made his way to New Jersey, and finally reached Boston, where he remained (as far as is known) until some time in 1691, when he sailed for England.

His brother, who had been made Earl of Limerick in 1685, followed James into exile and died in Saint Germains in 1698, but the estates in Ireland were confiscated and made over to the Earl of Athlone. The title passed to Thomas Dongan, who was then introduced to William at Kensington, "whose hand he kissed on the occasion of succeeding to the Earldom of Limerick."

Greatly reduced in circumstances, the late Governor made frequent applications to the government, asking that his family estates be restored to him. He also endeavored to secure the payment of long arrears of his pensions as well as for the advances made by him to the government while in America. It was not, however, until 1702 that he was allowed £2500 in tallies, being part payment of advances made by him while Governor of New York. In May of the same year, an act of Parliament was passed recognizing his succession to his brother's estates; but he was only to be permitted to redeem these on the payment of claims of purchasers from the Earl of Athlone. His property in America was at first left in the charge of agents for rental or sale, and ultimately passed into the hands

of his nephews, Thomas, John and Walter Dongan. In the deed making over the estate to his relatives he says that it is given to them "in order that they may preserve, advance, and uphold the name of Dongan." The farm at Hempstead was sold by Thomas Dongan to pay the Governor's debts. The estate on Staten Island seems to have been retained as a family residence, and passed to the heirs of Walter Dongan, as the other kinsmen died without issue. In 1704 Dongan made an appeal to Queen Anne, saying that if a third of what was due him were paid he would release the rest, and that it would be better, under the circumstances, to live in Turkey than in England; but no attention appears to have been paid to this request. Ten years later, in a petition to the Commissioners of the Treasury, he writes that, after paying his brother's debts and his own, he had little left for his support. He never married, and finally died in London, and his remains were interred in St. Pancras Churchyard, Middlesex. On his tombstone appears the following inscription:

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS DONGAN
EARL OF LYMERICK
DIED DECEMBER 14TH
AGED EIGHTY-ONE YEARS, 1715,
REQUIESCAT IN PACE. AMEN.

"The highest eulogy," says Dealy, "that can be pronounced upon him is that it was he, beyond even and above his able predecessors, who by his magnanimous statesmanship, moderation of temperament, and unaffected respect for the rights and liberties of others prepared the way for all that is most admirable in the constitution and policy of our great Republic, which arose from out the ruins of a neglected and ill-governed colony to be glorious in the future with the brilliant records of conquest in the domains of peace, liberty, and religious freedom."

FORT LAURENS.

THE FIRST FORT ERECTED IN OHIO BY THE UNITED STATES.

Sir Walter Scott was fascinated by the thought of the boundless forests of America, and there was a grand attraction to him in imagining himself in the midst of such a wilderness of trees, with hundreds of miles of unbroken solitude about him.

For Dickens, on the contrary, it was the vast, bare prairies of our land that possessed a fascinating charm, and when he visited America he could not rest till he had viewed such a level and treeless expanse as he had so often thought of.

But with Scott it was the forests. "These vast aboriginal trees, that have sheltered the Indians before the intrusion of the white men, are the monuments and antiquities of your country," exclaimed he to Washington Irving, but the great forests have already almost vanished, and America has found other monuments and antiquities.

There is one in particular—a large mound, which was constructed many years before the forests began to disappear—which would have been to Scott of most absorbing interest, for it is a memorial of a combat most strangely resembling that of which he made such splendid use in the "Fair Maid of Perth."

"It was appointit," so runs the quaint old Scotch chronicle, "betwix the heidis-men of thir two clannis, that XXX of the principall men of the ta clan sal cum, with othir XXX of the tothir clan, arrayit in thair best avise; and sall convene afore the king at Perth; and fecht with scharp swerdis to the deith; and that clan quhare the victory succedit to have perpetuall empire above the tothir."—and the combat in the American backwoods was wonderfully like this.

The Senecas and Wyandots, after having been friends for a long period, had become bitter enemies and lost no opportunity to slaughter each other. The feud arose through the scornful refusal, by a beautiful Seneca girl of the love of a Wyandot. He had never taken a scalp, and she would not deign to look upon him, and so, stung by bitter mortification and burning with hot anger, he left her presence, determined to show how little he deserved such taunts. He sought out her brother, furiously attacked him, struck him lifeless to the earth, and then, tearing off his

scalp, bore the bloody trophy to her whom he had loved, and with ferocious exultation tossed it into her lap!

This act set the two tribes at mortal enmity. When Braddock entered the Indian country, indeed, they fought side by side to repel him, but their mutual danger over, the quarrel broke out afresh.

And then Ogista, an old and honored leader of the Senecas, offered a plan by which the terrible feud could be ended, and both tribes, with such wild fierceness as we may fancy, hailed the proposition with delight.

Each tribe was to choose twenty brave warriors, willing to suffer certain death. These warriors were then to meet in mortal strife, and, none other of either tribe interfering, were to fight until all were slain. What an awful grimness of conception was that!

Then all were to be placed in one common grave, and, a tomahawk in each dead man's hand, were to be covered with earth, and thenceforth neither Seneca nor Wyandot was ever to consider the other an enemy.

The braves were selected. With passionate fervor were the war dances performed. Drearily arose the wierd lamentations for the living who so soon were to be dead.

And the awful fight began! For hour after hour the warriors desperately contested, and, as the sun was about to sink from sight, the last but one fell in the death agony. And that one, bleeding but triumphant, looked about him with the fierce pride of victory, and calmly awaited his doom.

(The one left! How curiously like the chief of the Scotch clan Quhele!)

The warrior who stood there was the son of Ogista, and even among the stern men who so stoically gazed at him there was none to step forward and fulfil the dreadful agreement by striking him down.

There was an awful shivering silence, and then Ogista himself, with hard, set face, paced slowly toward his son, who with folded arms and steady eye awaited him. The old chief raised his weapon, it flashed a moment in the air, and his son fell dead at his feet!

Then the slain warriors were all buried; a great mound, which is still standing, was raised above the bodies, and it was close by this very mound that, twenty-four years later, Fort Laurens was erected.

A party of seventeen men were one day sent from the fort to gather wood. They disappeared from sight behind the mound, and were never afterwards seen alive. A party of Wyandots and Senecas were, unknown to the garrison, at that very time at the mound, performing solemn rites where their relations lay buried. They hid themselves as the soldiers approached, and from their ambush killed every man.

Both Wyandots and Senecas were dreaded and redoubtable warriors. That the Senecas were members of

the powerful and warlike Iroquois confederacy is alone sufficient proof of the fact as regards them, and for the Wyandots it will be necessary to give but one characteristic anecdote. General Wayne in the course of his decisive campaign in Ohio, told one of his captains of scouts that he was desirous of securing a Wyandot prisoner. The scout replied that such a captive could not not be had, and to Wayne's surprised inquiry replied that no Wyandot would allow himself to be taken alive.

It was in 1778 that Fort Laurens was erected and before that time there had been two forts in Ohio, one on Sandusky Bay, erected by the French in 1754, and subsequently occupied by the British until it was captured and destroyed by the Indians, and the other a temporary enclosure, erected in Athens County by Lord Dunmore in 1774. But Fort Laurens was the first Fort built by the government of the revolted colonies within Ohio, or, in fact, the entire Northwest Territory.

It was in the valley of the Tuscarawas that it was erected—that valley so ardently beloved by the Indians, and of a solemn and entrancing lovliness that even now captivates the imagination of the traveler who passes through that splendid region.

The glorious hills, the dark and mysterious stream, almost imperceptibly moving on its quiet way, the beautiful trees and sweet fields—unite to make the valley a dream of beauty. There is a subtle attractiveness, as of hidden mystery, in that sombre river, and it haunts one like the memory of a vision.

Old Tuscarora Town, one of the famous Indian capitals—where now is but a cultivated field, on a low bluff overlooking the junction of the Sandy and Tuscarawas—was something over a mile from the fort, and between the two sites has since grown up the little town of Bolivar.

During the Revolutionary War there were many Indians who favored the American cause and many who favored that of the British, and among the Ohio tribes this difference of feeling caused much of antagonism and conflict. To protect friends and overawe enemies, Congress in 1778, appropriated $900,000.00 for the expenses of a strong military expedition into the Indian country of Ohio, and General McIntosh was given command of the force.

From his conduct it would seem that he was a somewhat nervous man, liable to be easily imposed upon by tales of ambushments and secret Indian forces, and after considerable inefficient and tedious marching he at length found himself in the Tuscarawas valley with nothing accomplished, and confronted by a serious lack of provisions.

To return with his entire force would, as he wrote to Washington, cause himself to be justly reflected upon after so much expense, "and confirm the savage in the opinion the

enemy inculcates of our weakness, and unite all of them to a man against us." From which it appears that he justly appreciated the unfortunate fact that even with his large force of twelve hundred men, he had failed to overawe the savages in the slightest degree.

Then, rather than do nothing, he designed the building of Fort Laurens, and, the construction completed, left Colonel John Gibson in charge with a garrison of one hundred and fifty men, while he himself, with the main body, returned to the east.

The fort was viewed by the Indians with furious anger or sullen disapproval. Even such as favored the American cause looked gloomily upon a fort erected within the very heart of their country and on the banks of the river that they loved.

But there was one exception. White Eyes, a great Delaware chief, a grave and far-seeing leader, of powerful mind and magnetic qualities of leadership, had before this hoped that a fort would be built in the valley by the colonial forces.

He was a remarkable man, and had ideas in advance of most of his race. The policy by which the British had conquered India and by which white men have so often tried to gain their ends in America—that of setting rival native forces against each other, for the white men to gain by their mutual strife—he actually tried to operate against the white men themselves.

He saw, as the profound Pontiac had recognized before him, that there was no hope for the Indians except in the keeping up of two rival civilized powers. There was no longer a possibility of French dominion, yet the Colonial government might take its place. Were England to rule all, there would no longer be cajolings of the Indians by both powers. There would no longer be respect and deference and gifts, to induce them to favor one side more than the other. There would no longer be some regard for treaty rights, based upon fear of the Indians going over to the enemy.

Their only hope lay in the confronting each other of two jealous and hostile governments, with the Indians largely holding the balance of power between them. Under such conditions the permanence of savage independence would be by no means impossible. So thought White Eyes, and therefore it was that he on all occasions favored the Americans, and that he wished them to have a fort in the Tuscarawas region to menace and control such Indians as favored the British.

Directly opposed to him was a chief known among the white men as Captain Pipe, a brave leader, fiercely combative, who knew no policy except that of strenuously opposing white aggression of any sort, and who opposed the Americans rather than British from a well-founded belief that it was from the revolutionary

colonies that the greatest menace to Indian dominion arose.

White Eyes was at Fort Pitt when he learned that an expedition was to be sent into the interior, and, overjoyed by the intelligence, he at once offered himself as a guide and set out with the soldiers upon the march. But he was not to see whether or not his anxious hopes for the future were to be fulfilled. Smallpox, that awful scourge, which claimed as its victims so many brave chiefs and warriors, struck him down and he perished in the immediate neighborhood of Fort Laurens and while still with the American army.

Smallpox was unknown among the Indians until after the advent of the whites, and is one of the evils which savagery owes to civilization. And the whites well knew its destructive power among the Indians, ignorant as they were of how to check and control it, and it was but fifteen years before this time that the commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America wrote to Bouquet, reputed a humane soldier, asking him if he could not contrive "to send the small-pox among the disaffected tribes," and that Bouquet replied that he would try to inoculate them by means of blankets that would fall into their hands.

Fort Laurens, built by a disappointed general as a substitute for some successful operation, and with the sad association of the death of White Eyes, was destined to have a far from proud and brilliant history. Its first commander, Gibson, was a remarkable man. We see him as a member of General Forbes's expedition against the Indians; then as a trader at Fort Pitt; next as a captive dragged into the wilderness; then condemned to be burned at the stake with savage tortures, and only saved at the last moment by being adopted into the tribe; next as an active soldier in Lord Dunmore's campaign, and the very one who received from the lips of the great Logan the famous speech that so sadly immortalized the name of that unfortunate chief; then as commander at Fort Laurens; still later as a government peace agent, carrying from Congress to the Indians an immense peace belt six feet in length; then sitting up until midnight with the missionary Zeisberger and discussing with him the grave mysteries of religion; and finally, after a life so eventful and varied, quietly dying when more than eighty years of age.

In a sudden conflict with a party of Indians he struck off, with a blow of his sword, the head of Little Eagle, a Mingo chief, and, known thereafter, from this occurence, as "Long Knife," was dreaded by the Indians as a terrible foe, and it is said that it was from giving him this name that it became at length customary among the savages to denominate all soldiers as "Long Knives."

He was a fit man to put in command of the fort, and it might well

have been expected that something striking would be accomplished.

The Indians, as soon as the main army was fairly on its return journey, began a regular siege, and it was not only dangerous for one of the garrison to step outside of the walls, but even to show his head or body at any exposed spot.

An Indian siege was always a peculiar procedure. There was no digging of trenches ; no forming of regular lines about the beleagured spot; no pacing up and down of sentinels. The savages took up their position in clumps of trees, and behind logs or bushes or stumps, and, hidden and patient, waited for an opportunity to pick off some careless soldier. No relief, unless it were some body large enough to defy attack, could reach the fort, for the forest paths were guarded with a marvelous care that seldom allowed any sign to be overlooked.

Within the walls of the fort the garrison could but watch and tremble, and speculate on how long it would be before help could arrive. A sortie would be useless, for it would be impossible to find an enemy: — the men could but march among the trees, seeking in vain for the viewless savages, and then march back again, fortunate if they escaped, as they retreated, without hearing the deadly report of a rifle or the whiz of a barbed and pointed arrow.

Indians seldom attacked in the night time; partly from a fear that many of them had that a warrior who died in darkness would be in darkness throughout all eternity, and partly because in a night engagement they would be sure to lose some of their own force. This latter reason was of even greater weight in keeping them from making open attacks in the day time. Indians would not deliberately seek a battle when they were sure to lose some of their own number, even if they were certain at the same time of killing far more of the enemy and winning a great victory. The dreadful lamentations over the slain would hush the exultant cries of joy, and therefore it was that they chose to fight by stealth and to destroy their enemies without losing warriors of their own. This feeling often saved garrisons and armies from destruction, when certain victory was within reach of the savages had they been willing to lose but a small proportion of their own force.

How many Indians were engaged in the siege of Fort Laurens is not known. With the view of striking terror into the hearts of the garrison, they paraded in front of the fort, at the beginning of the siege, and their number, as Doddridge reports, was eight hundred and forty-seven.

This, however, is almost incredible. It was seldom, indeed, that such a number of warriors was gathered together to assist in the carrying out of even the most momentous plan, and, further than this, it must be remembered that the Indians of that

region were divided against themselves. And Doddridge cannot always be implicitly relied upon. His work, valuable as it is to the student of backwoods life and manners, and rich in curious information, must be cautiously examined when dates or names or the size of an army are referred to. He himself modestly states that there may be errors regarding such points, because, as he explains, he writes from memory, regarding events which took place when he was very young, or else depends upon information received from sources, that could not always be implicitly trusted.

The Indians themselves afterwards claimed that they had not over two hundred warriors at the fort, and the chances are that while this may perhaps be somewhat of an understatement, yet it is much nearer the truth than the number given by Doddridge. Likely enough the discrepancy may be explained by believing that the Indians so maneuvered their force as to have all their warriors counted more than once.

There is a very general misapprehension regarding the numbers of the Indians who inhabited our land. Such widespread fear did they inspire, and so impossible did it seem for small bodies to commit such terrible devastations and repel such powerful armies, that most of the inhabitants of the time fancied them to be almost as numerous as the very trees, and such ideas have been carried down to our own day. Yet at the great siege of Detroit, when the mighty Ottawa chieftain gathered about him a confederacy of widely separated tribes, it is doubtful if there were at any time more than one thousand warriors; and Sir William Johnson, who had better opportunities for being well informed on such a point than had any other white man, estimated in 1763 that the mighty Six Nations, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras and Senecas, could muster in all but nineteen hundred and fifty warriors, and that the tribes that were allied with them, including some two hundred Wyandots, numbered but two thousand and ten.

With the savages who surrounded Fort Laurens there were some few white men who were in the British interest, but the besiegers had no artillery. Had it been otherwise the fort could not have held out a day, for a commanding battery could have been placed upon an elevation that overlooked the enclosure from the farther bank of the river. The builders of the fort well knew, however, that there was nothing to fear from the possibility of artillery, yet could the redoubtable Dalgetty have appeared there he would doubtless have held forth on the subject as he did at the Castle of Ardenvohr, against which, also, artillery could not have been brought, and would have exclaimed about the chance that the enemy might "stell a battery of cannon," and make the garrison "glad to beat

a chamade, unless it pleased the Lord extraordinarily to show mercy."

For some six weeks of bitter winter weather the Indians kept up their tireless watch. The garrison were running dangerously short of provisions, and it was necessary to put them on very short allowance, but the savages suffered even more. Glaring day after day at the fort that they so hated, they hoped against hope that it might fall into their hands, while at the same time game became scarcer and scarcer, and cold and starvation struggled to overcome their resolution.

"Hungry was the air around them,
Hungry was the sky above them,
And the hungry stars in heaven
Like the eyes of wolves glared at them."

And at length even their iron endurance could bear no more, and they found it necessary to relinquish the siege. They sent word to Gibson that they wished to make peace, and that if he would send them a barrel of floor they would, upon the next day, let him know what they would be willing to do. Gibson, too wise to let them know of his own lack of provisions, promptly sent them the flour and some meat, and then awaited their proposals. But the savages announced their intentions in another way. They took the flour and the meat — and then quietly vanished!

The garrison were overjoyed, when at length they discovered that the siege was actually over, and that they might once more move about with somewhat of liberty, yet the commander himself was shortly afterwards guilty of carelessness, such as his training should have guarded him against.

He allowed some dozen of sick men to start for the east under guard of a squad of soldiers, but, as he should have foreseen, there were still strolling parties of hostile savages about, and several miles from the fort such a party was encountered, and it was with difficulty that a few of the whites escaped the slaughter and made their way once more to the fort.

As soon as it was possible to do so a runner was sent to Fort Pitt with news of the precarious condition of the garrison, and a force of seven hundred soldiers, under command of General McIntosh, at length reached the weary and starving men.

But, even as the relief appeared, another misfortune had to occur which, serious as it was, was yet ludicrous in the extreme. As the army appeared, the garrison gave way to wild demonstrations of delight, and as the long train of packhorses, laden with food, came slowly on, the hungry men shouted and screamed and fired their rifles in the ecstasy of their joy.

But the commotion was too much for the nerves of even sober packhorses! A few of them took fright, broke away, and dashed wildly into the forest. In an instant all was confusion. The other horses caught the

infection of fear, and, despite the most strenuous efforts of their drivers, also dashed away and galloped off into the woods. The packs were torn and thrown off in the wild rush, and the provisions were scattered in every direction and the greater part hopelessly lost. Enough, however, was left, to make extremely sick some forty men who at once ate up the entire share alloted them, and who were not able to stand such indulgence after a period of semi-starvation.

A peculiar and gruesome wolf-hunt was held as soon as it was safe for the soldiers to go outside of the walls. A burial party was sent to inter a number of their comrades who had been ambushed and slain some weeks previous, and to their anger, more than horror, they found the bodies more than half devoured by wolves.

Wolves were difficult game to kill, so wary were they, and even ordinary wolf traps were not of very much consequence. Most heartily disliked as the animals were by backwoods soldiers and hunters, yet it was but seldom that this dislike could find means for its satisfaction. But here was a great opportunity!

The burial party dug a large pit, and in it placed what remained of the bodies. Then, instead of filling the pit with earth, they covered its top with sticks and branches and bark so weak as to easily give way, and then, the awful trap thus set, returned to the fort.

Next morning they returned, and, to their joy, found seven wolves in the bottom of the pit? "They were shot and the pit filled up:" — so the simple narrative of the time reads, and we are left to believe that, likely enough, after such callousness as had already been shown, wolves and men were covered up together.

Gibson and his men returned to the Ohio River with the force of McIntosh, leaving behind a new garrison under command of Major Varnum.

For some months more the fort continued to be occupied, but nothing of any consequence occurred there. There were rumors from time to time of expected Indian attacks, and the records of the period give glimpses of a hard-beset and hungry garrison; as, for example, a letter stating that the men were almost too weak from starvation to keep their feet, and another stating that the fort was again threatened by a large war party.

Just when the fort was finally given up is not known. A letter of August 4th, 1779, informed Washington that two soldiers had just been killed there, and on August 6th, Colonel Brodhead wrote to General Sullivan that he "was daily expecting the garrison from Fort Laurens," and that when it reached him he would start on a projected expedition, and it is known that he did start within a short time thereafter.

From this it is certain that the fort was garrisoned as late as August 4th,

but also certain that it was held for not more than a few days thereafter, for orders to evacuate it must have been received before the 4th, or Brodhead could not have been expecting them as soon as the 6th, and the soldiers were not so happily situated as to remain a day beyond the time actually required to make preparations for their march.

The Indians of that region had a great antipathy to paper money, and their solution of a financial problem that has puzzled many citizens of a later day was to refuse to accept such currency at all. Their objection, perhaps, was founded mainly upon their intense dislike to paper with marks upon it, so bitter having been their experience with mysterious deeds and contracts which took away their land.

There was no coin at the fort, and what to do was at first a serious question, as, when there was no actual seige, the garrison expected to be able to obtain food of friendly Indians. Yet the savages were at length induced to overcome to some extent their objections to paper, and to receive, instead of the suspicious money, certificates, officially signed, stating that they were entitled to a certain number of skins. At first they took these certificates with great hesitation, but their doubts disappeared when they found that traders would freely accept them and give ammunition and whisky in return.

The following is a copy of such a certificate :

"I do certify that I am indebted to the bearer, Captain Johnny, seven bucks and one doe, for the use of the States, this 12th day of April, 1779.

Signed.

Samuel Sample,

Assistant Quartermaster."

"The above is due to him for pork, for the use of the garrison at Fort Laurens.

Signed.

John Gibson, Colonel."

Odd though such an expedient was, it was not so noteworthy as that adopted by Pontiac when, needing to obtain provisions of the French to support his warriors in their struggle against the British, he yet had no money with which to make payment. He issued certificates, drawn upon birch bark, and signed with the figure of an otter, the totem to which he belonged, and afterwards honorably redeemed them.

Fort Laurens was but a small enclosure, about half an acre in area, but was carefully built, with earthwork walls, and with bastions at the corners, while the earthworks were everywhere surmounted by pickets made of the split halves of the trunks of large trees. Amid the growth that covers the level field in which the enclosure was erected, the lines may still be traced, but for the most part faintly.

One end of the fort was cut off

years ago, by the running through it of the channel of the Ohio Canal, and the sluggish current, choked as it there is with weedy, swamp growth, intervenes between what is left and the river of the Indians.

The soil within the fortification lines, so the present owner of the land told the writer, is much richer than that outside, and he thought the explanation to be that the fort had been for a considerable period the home of a number of men and horses. Yet it has been seriously doubted whether, in spite of some reports to the contrary, the garrison had any horses at all with them, and in any event there were certainly not more than a few. It would seem unlikely, considering everything, that such a permanent effect could be produced by an occupancy which, after all, was considerably less than a year.

Some spots which were occupied as villages by the Indians for generation after generation, show the same peculiarity in soil, and the same difference from that round about, as does the soil within Fort Laurens, but it must be remembered that nothing but a lengthy occupancy was sufficient for this, and the writer has examined sites where villages undoubtedly stood, but where no such permanent effect had been produced.

The explanation, however, of the Fort Laurens soil, seemed to be easily made. For centuries past, the Tuscarawas River was lined with the habitations of the wilderness dwellers. From time to time villages were abandoned, and new sites selected, and the level ground upon which Fort Laurens was built must, in time past, have been covered with the wigwams and huts of one of their towns.

It was a gloomy day upon which we visited the old fort. The sky was drearily overcast, and as we stood by the quiet river there arose strange thoughts of the people who so long since disappeared. The sombre, mysterious stream flowed silently on, and as we gazed upon its impenetrable waters we saw there the villages and camp fires, the hunters and warriors that have so hopelessly vanished.

Robert Shackleton Jr.

THE EXTRADITION AND RENDITION OF FUGITIVE CRIMINALS IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

PART I. 1643 TO 1693.

DURING the whole colonial period, from the earliest settlements down to the independence of the United States, there was never any well defined system in operation throughout the colonies governing the recovery of criminals seeking to evade the justice of one colony or province by flight to another.

In 1643 certain of the new England colonies formed a Confederation under the name of the "United English Colonies" and established a mode of procedure, in such cases, both effectual and simple, which was observed and followed with entire success and satisfaction during the existence of the Confederation. In 1648 the confederated colonies and the Dutch in New Amsterdam entered into a treaty by which they mutually bound themselves to the observance of the same method of surrendering fugitives as that in vogue in the New England Colonies, and during the entire period of Dutch rule in North America the system so established was maintained as between the English and Dutch. But the provinces of Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, the "Jerseys" (as they were called), New York and Rhode Island, were never members of the confederation, and none of them ever adopted a uniform practice of rendition, although the great advantage of such a course was repeatedly urged upon them, and several plans from time to time presented. However, in the absence of an established system, fugitives did not find refuge in neighboring colonies, but were arrested and sent back in recognition of the duty of each colony as a part of a common government to surrender offenders for trial in the place having jurisdiction over the offense.

It may be fairly inferred from the colonial records, that the colonies followed in each case the course best adapted to the circumstances and necessities of that particular case, ignoring technical rules and regarding only their moral obligation to aid their sister colonies in the administration of justice. Rarely did any difficulty beset the attempt to recover a fugitive, and there is no record of any case in which the duty to surrender was denied. Occasionally complaint was made of the apparent

neglect of some colony to do its full duty in the apprehension and delivery of fugitives from sister colonies, but as a rule, the practice was unattended by difficulties of any kind, and fugitives were recovered with comparative ease, despatch and certainty. The Dutch and New England Colonies conscientiously adhered to the agreement of 1643, and there is no history of any dispute between them during its operation, though prior to it the question of absconding lawbreakers from one jurisdiction to the other had been the occasion of mutual complaints. The Dutch and the other English and French Colonies, and the English and French followed a most liberal system of extradition, based upon the principles of comity and reciprocity, but excluding the requirement of proof of the fugitive's guilt.

The writer has thought that a collection of such information upon the subject, and of particular instances of rendition and extradition in the colonies as could be gathered from the colonial records and manuscripts, or from other sources, might prove of general interest.

The subject has not been confined to the cases and practice between the colonies alone, but such information as was obtainable, concerning the treatment of fugitives from the justice of foreign states seeking an asylum in the colonies, is also presented.

The collection and proper arrangement of this material required the examination, page by page, of the colonial documents printed under the authority of the States of New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, of original documents on file in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany, and a careful review of the numerous colonial histories and other works relating to colonial times. Every allusion to the subject of the recovery of fugitive offenders has been noted, and the documentary history of the colonies in this regard is given chronologically.

Thus, an effort has been made to trace the evolution of the colonial system, to illustrate its actual working by the narration of recorded cases, collected by a laborious investigation of unarranged and disordered matter; thereby showing, from the original records and by a reproduction of the documentary proceedings, the method by which fugitive offenders were pursued from one province to another, and returned for trial in the place where the crime was committed, or were apprehended in the colonies at the request of the foreign government whose laws they had infringed.

In this way much historical matter has been brought to light which the writer ventures to hope will prove of value and interest.

I. THE DUTY OF MUTUAL SURRENDER OF FUGITIVE CRIMINALS BETWEEN SUBORDINATE DIVISIONS OF A SOVEREIGN POWER.

That it is the duty of subordinate

political divisions of a sovereign power to mutually surrender fugitive criminals, for trial in the place having jurisdiction of the offense, is a principle recognized from time immemorial, in nearly all civilized countries. Before extradition became an established system, it was the practice in various countries, and between states more or less closely confederated, to deliver over fugitive criminals, from one part or State to another for trial.[1] It was so as between the German States, and among the Swiss Cantons, and the same rule prevailed in Sweden and Norway;[2] and it was held in England that a person could be arrested in that country and transferred to Scotland, or Ireland,[3] or the colonies,[4] for trial for an offense committed within their respective jurisdictions.[5]

So also there is reason to believe a similar system prevailed in ancient times among the Romans, by which criminals who fled from one part of the Empire to another, were sent back, for trial in the place where the crime had been committed, although the Romans in some cases exercised the right of trying the fugitive in the place where he was found.[1]

"The principle of these cases" says Chief Justice Tilghman[2] "is plain and undeniable. The territories where the crime was committed, and to which the criminal fled, were parts of the same empire, and under one common sovereign. The King of England could have no privilege against the King of Ireland; being one and the same person. Calcutta is part of the British Empire. The common good of the whole forbids an asylum in one part for crimes committed in another."

The duty of such surrender has been called a principle of the common law,[3] but that it was likewise recognized by the civil system is apparent from the practice of the Romans and the decision of the French Court of Cassation in the O'Done case, in 1808.[4]

"It is well known" says W. W. Thornton,[5] "that the power of extraditing criminals who had fled from one state to another, existed previous to the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. In a celebrated case,[6] Mr. Justice Catron said: 'The

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[1] Moore on Extradition § 516.

[2] Revue de droit int. (1870) p. 179, *note*.

[3] Col. Lundy's case, 2 Ventris 314; Rex. v Kimberly, 2 Strange 848; I Barnard K. B. 225, and Fitzg. III.

[4] East India Co., v. Campbell, I Vesey, 246; see also Mure v Kaye, 4 Taunt, 34; I Chit. Cr. L. 14, 46.

[5] Clarke on Extradition p. 24; W. B. Lawrence, 14 Alb. L. J. 88.

[1] Twiss' Law of Nations in Time of Peace, 375.

[2] Com. v. Deacon, 10 Serg. & Rawle, 129.

[3] Ch. J. Booth, in State v Buzine, 4. Harrington, 574.

[4] 2 Hall's Law Journ, 112.

[5] 3 Crim. Law Mag, 787.

[6] Holmes v. Jennison, 14 Pet. (U.S.) 540, 597.

uniform opinion heretofore has been that the States, on the formation of the constitution, had the power of arrest and surrender in such cases, and that so far from taking it away, the Constitution had provided for its exercise contrary to the will of a State in case of a refusal, thereby settling, as amongst the states, the contested question whether, on demand, the obligation to surrender was perfect and imperative, or whether it rested on comity and was discretionary.' In another case it was said; 'In considering this question it is material to observe, that this clause of the Constitution does not contain a grant of power. It confers no right. It is the regulation of a previously existing right.'[1] This power was frequently exercised at an early day, and criminals seeking an asylum in one colony, province or State, were delivered up to the government or sister state or colony making a demand or request for their bodies and alleging that they had committed a crime within the jurisdiction of the demanding government."[2]

Again the same author says: "It was the practice of the colonies to deliver up fugitives from justice, and *quasi* treaties existed between the thirteen colonies previous to the adoption of the Articles of Confederation and to the adoption of the Constitution.[3] It is therefore usually conceded that the Constitution and Laws of the United States only regulated the practice of delivering up fugitives, and made obligatory what was merely comity."[4]

In 1842, Governor Porter, of Pennsylvania, addressed a "requisition" to Hon. Thomas S. Bell, as President Judge of the 15th Judicial District of Pennsylvania, and to the other Judges and Justices of the Peace of that Commonwealth, reciting that "a certain Henry Jackson stands indicted in the State of Maryland," for having aided certain negroes to run away from their owner, that being a "crime, punishable as such by the laws of Maryland," and requesting that Jackson "might be arrested and delivered up" to the agent of Maryland "agreeably to the Constitution of the United States and the Act of Congress of the 12th of February, 1793," and authorizing and requiring Judge Bell "to issue a warrant, *in due form of law*, for apprehending and securing the said Henry Jackson," etc., that he might be removed to Maryland.

Judge Bell declined to comply with the requisition, upon the ground that the right to cause the fugitive's arrest and delivery, after a demand by another State, under the Constitution

[1] In re Fetter, 3 Zab. (N. J.) 311.

[2] 3 Crim. Law Mag. 787.

[3] 5 Crim. Law Mag. 257 (Note to Knowlton's case).

[4] 5 Crim. Law Mag. 257 (Citing Kentucky v. Dennison, 24 How. 66; In re Certain Fugitives, 24 Am. Jur. 226; Prigg v. Com. 16 Pet. [U. S.]; 612).

and Act of Congress, lay with the Executive and that judicial interposition was therefore no longer necessary. In a letter to Governor Porter, dated November 1, 1842, explaining his position, he refers to the practice in the colonies as follows:

"Prior to the American Revolution, a criminal flying from one English colony into another, found no protection, but was arrested by the authorities of the territory into which he fled, and was delivered up for trial within the jurisdiction where the offense was committed, and this, because the several colonies formed but parts of the same Empire, under a common sovereign, and therefore presented no opportunities for the conflict of the right and duties of independent sovereigns."[1]

II. THIS DUTY ALWAYS RECOGNIZED IN THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA.

Upon the settlement and establishment of the English colonies in America, the necessity arose of enforcing the obligation to surrender fugitives from one colony to another. So well was the duty to surrender in such cases understood that, in the history of the whole colonial period, there is no record of its denial. When a criminal, charged with a violation of the laws of one English colony, was discovered within the territory of another he was taken into custody, and delivered over, as a matter of course, for trial in the colony whose laws he had offended.

If this practice had not been followed, offenders might easily have escaped punishment.

The colonies, like the states of the Union, possessed no extra territorial jurisdiction and could not reach offenders against their laws, who had withdrawn from their limits, except by the aid of the authorities of the colony to which they fled, and the colony to which such an offender might flee possessed no authority to try him.

III. THE CONFEDERATION OF 1643.

While as between the several colonies of the English, the moral duty of surrendering fugitives to the justice of the colony having jurisdiction of the offense would have doubtless made the practice imperative from motives of self protection and the orderly administration of criminal justice, without any formal regulation on the subject, some of the older settlements deemed it wise to establish a properly defined system of rendition, and the earliest compact between the English colonies in New England contained a provision whose principal features have been followed to the present time.

On the 19th of May, 1643, by the articles of Confederation entered into by the plantations of Massachusetts, of New Plymouth, of Connecticut, and the government of New Haven, with the plantations in combination

[1] 2 Pa. Law Journ. 151-153.

therewith, these four colonies formed a union for mutual protection against the encroachments of the Dutch and French, and for better security against the hostility of the Indians. The union lasted nearly fifty years, and the colonies within it were known as the "United English Colonies."

The articles numbered twelve in all, and the eighth contained, among other things, the following stipulations:[1]

"It is also agreed that if any servant run away from his master, into any of these confederate jurisdictions, that in such case, upon the certificate of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled, or upon other due proof, the said servant shall be delivered either to his master or any other that pursues and brings such certificate or proof. And that upon the escape of any fugitive or prisoner for any criminal cause, whether breaking prison, or getting from the officer, or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of two magistrates of the jurisdiction out of which the escape is made, that he was a prisoner, or such an offender at the time of the escape, the magistrates, or some of them of the jurisdiction where, for the present the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grant such a warrant as the case will bear, for the apprehending of any such person and the delivery of him into the hand of the officer or such person who pursueth him; and if there be help required for the safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted unto him that craves the same, he paying the charges thereof."

Mr. I. T. Hoague, in his admirable article on inter-state rendition matters[1] says:

"This provision is of interest, from the fact that it appears to be the forerunner of the corresponding provisions in the Articles of Confederation and in the Constitution; and the framers of those instruments were undoubtedly familiar with it, as that under which these colonies had maintained their relations in this regard. Like the provisions in the later instruments, the language of this compact is absolute and unqualified. No discretion is lodged either expressly or by implication in the government on which the demand is made, but upon the production of the certificate of two magistrates a warrant shall be granted in all cases."

Spear says:[2] "The necessity for

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[1] Hazard, Hist. Coll. Vol. II, 1. 5; Winthrop, Hist. Mass. Vol. II, 101. Spear on Extradition (2nd Ed.), Part II, 283 § I, Moore on Extradition § 517; 13 Am. Law Rev: 181–183; Increase Mather's New England Troubles; Neal; Hutchinson; Pitkin's Hist.. Grahame's Col. Hist. of U. S.

[1] 13 Am. Law Review, 181.

[2] Spear on Extradition (2nd Ed.), Part II, 284, § I.

Note. "Every province renounced the right of protecting fugitive debtors or criminals from the legal process of the particular community which they might have wronged and deserted." Grahame's Col. Hist. of U. S.

this early compact grew out of the fact that the colonies of New England were contiguous to each other, and that criminals might easily flee from one to another, in order to escape punishment for their offenses. The jurisdiction of each colony was confined to its own territory and could not reach a criminal who had escaped to the territory of another colony, unless he was brought back to the jurisdiction from which he had fled. To secure this result an extradition compact between these colonies was formed, alike in the interests of public justice, and for mutual protection."

The agreement was renewed in 1670 as Article seven of the new Articles of Confederation, with the single change that the certificate of one magistrate was declared sufficient, instead of that of two.[1]

It seems, therefore, that after an experience of nearly thirty years, the colonies within the confederation, instead of being dissatisfied with this provision on the ground that it was too arbitrary, or gave a colony too much power over persons beyond its own jurisdiction, were willing to readopt it, with a reduction in the amount of proof required to authorize the surrender. Rendition between the colonies belonging to the the confederation was governed by this article during the existence of the union.

[1] Mass. Rec. Vol. IV, pt. 2, 471, 473; 13 Am. Law Rev. 181.

IV. PRACTICE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH.

At this time the Dutch province of New Netherland might have afforded a convenient refuge for law-breakers from the English colonies had the ancient principles of the law of nations relative to the extradition of fugitive criminals been strictly adhered to. A most liberal policy, however, appears to have been pursued, both by the English and by the Dutch in the surrender and recovery of fugitives, and instead of requiring the *prima facie* evidence of criminality, required by nearly all the treaties in force between nations at the present time, offenders were mutually delivered up to justice upon proof of the existence of a charge of crime against them.

During the conflict between the English and Dutch, concerning the Eastern boundaries of New Netherlands, three of Stuyvesant's servants escaped from New Amsterdam and fled to New Haven. Stuyvesant demanded their rendition addressing his letter, Winthrop says, to "New Haven in New Netherlands." [1]

Immediately before this, Stuyvesant, by means of a strategy, had seized a Dutch ship at New Haven because the vessel had taken in a cargo there without a permit from the New Amsterdam government, and Stuyvesant had pronounced her a smuggler upon the claim that New

[1] Bryant's History, Vol II, 126.

Haven was within the territory of New Netherland, asserting with some considerable extension of his former claim that New Netherland embraced the whole country from Cape Cod to Cape Henlopen.[1] A hot and furious correspondence followed until finally Stuyvesant refused to hold further communication with Governor Eaton and retorted by complaining of him to the New England authorities.

Upon the demand for the rendition of the Dutch fugitives, Eaton was able to retaliate in acts, as well as words. It was not wise to ask a favor with the air of a sovereign. Eaton refused to return the fugitives contrary however to the advice of Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, who considered that such an act of courtesy though asked for in this objectionable way, could be assented to without prejudice to the territorial title of the English.

On Eaton's refusal to surrender the fugitives, Stuyvesant's conduct was characteristic. It was of no little importance to all the colonies that fugitives from justice or from labor in any one of them should not find an asylum in another, and to retaliate in kind upon Governor Eaton was a most unpopular proceeding even in New Netherland. Nevertheless Stuyvesant issued a proclamation, every word of which flashed with indignation, declaring that "if any person, noble or ignoble, freeman or slave, debtor or creditor, yea to the lowest prisoner included, run away from the colony of New Haven, or seek refuge in our limits, he shall remain free under our protection on taking oath of allegiance." It was at least a bold act if not a masterly stroke of policy.

Governor Winthrop lamented the more that New Haven had not followed the advice of Massachusetts, instead of obstinately adhering to its own judgment, "in pursuit whereof this damage and reproach befell them."

But it was as easy to recapture a prisoner as to cut out a ship, and Stuyvesant was not a man to satisfy himself with proclamations or let his actions lag behind his wrath. However loud he barked his bite was always worse than his bark. He contrived to get letters conveyed to the refugees in New Haven, both from himself and from the Dominie of New Amsterdam. They were assured of a full pardon for offenses in the past and plied with promises of good treatment in the future. The men were persuaded by his assurance and returned to New Netherland. It was then easy enough to recall with dignity his offer of protection to offenders against the laws of New Haven, which he had already explained to Massachusetts and Virginia was only intended to apply to that colony.[1]

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[1] Bryant's History Vol. II. 125.

[1] Id, 125–127.

The publication of this proclamation was set forth as one of the grievances of the people against Stuyvesant's government in the remonstrances submitted to the States General under the date of the 28th of July, 1649, as follows:

"The publication of a placard offering freedom and protection here to those liable to civil or criminal prosecution in New England, hath also greatly embittered the minds of the English, and it was considered to be one of evil consequence." [1]

In the answer of the West India Company the following explanation was made:

"We are informed that the English in the Colony of New Haven, in New England, had, contrary to ancient custom, protected the company's servants and freemen who had run away, and, though requested, would not allow them to return to their Lords and Masters. A proclamation was then issued, with the advice of the Council, that whosoever would come over to us from thence, should be protected in like manner, on Governor Eton letting some fugitives go, who returned back to us, the proclamation was annulled" &c.[1] In a paper drawn up by Cornelius Van Tienhoven, Secretary to the Director and Council of New Netherland, the incident is spoken of as follows:

"As the English of New England harbored and employed all fugitives, whether persons in the Company's service or freemen, who fled to them from the Manhatans without a pass, which is required by the custom of the country, the Commissioners endeavored to induce the English to restore the fugitives according to a previous agreement entered into with Governors Eton (sic) and Hopkins. But as the former declined to surrender the runaways to us, although earnestly solicited so to do, the Director and Council, pursuant to a previous resolution, issued a proclamation by way of retaliation, to the effect that all persons who should come to New Netherland from the province of New Haven (all other places being excepted), should be protected, and as the Governor delivered up to us some fugitives, the Director and Council revoked the proclamation, and since

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. 1. p. 271; Id. p. 312.

Note.—The remonstrances were exhibited to the States General on the 27th of January, 1650, and in "short digest" the incident is thus spoken of:

"The English were highly indignant at that atrocious proclamation in which he" (Stuyvesant) "offered free refuge to all those who had fallen into the hands of justice in New England, no matter what their crime was." Id. 332, 335.

[1] "Answer" (of the W. I. Co.) dated at the Hague, Jan. 31. 1650, "to the remonstrance delivered by the delegates from New Netherland on the 27th of January, 1650, to the High and Mighty Lords States General of the United Netherlands," (From the Royal Archives at the Hague; *Loketkas* of the States General; Rubric *West Indische* Compagnie, No. 30; 7th Division of the Bundle) N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. 1, (Holland Documents 1603–1656) p. 342 (38).

then matters have gone on peaceably," &c.[1]

It thus appears that the system between the English and Dutch up to this time was based upon the law of nations, so far at least as to requiring and assuring reciprocity: and for a breach of compliance recourse was had to retaliation; but the main requisite, namely the production of absolute proof of guilt, recognized by the law of nations as necessary for the basis of a demand for surrender, was entirely disregarded.

V. THE TREATY OF HARTFORD.

But even this liberal system was changed for a simpler one, and from the year 1650 until New Netherland passed into the hands of the English the same manner of surrendering fugitives was followed between the Dutch and the English as that provided by the confederation of 1643 among the New England colonies. By the treaty of Hartford, concluded September 19th, 1650, the following stipulation was entered into between the United English Colonies and "Petrus Stuyvesant, Director General of New Netherland":

"Respecting fugitives: It is agreed that the same method shall be observed between the United English Colonies and the Dutch Nation in this country of New Netherland, agreeably to the eighth article of the Confederation between the United English Colonies in that case provided."[1] The treaty was approved and ratified by the States General at the Hague, Feb. 22, 1656.[2]

O'Callaghan in the preface to his compilation of the Laws and Ordiances of New Netherland says:

"The only law ever derived from New England was that against 'Fugitives from Service' which was engrafted, in the year 1650, on the Laws of New Netherland, by the treaty of Hartford whereby it was stipulated," &c[3]

VI. CASE OF THE PIRATE RAEF.

A case of some interest is that of the pirate Sebastian Raef and his lieutenant Van Kampen, whose arrest in New Netherland was requested by the Spanish Government in 1655. The following references will show the practice of those times, in regard to fugitives amenable to justice abroad who sought refuge in the colonies.

On Saturday July 10th, 1655, the States General, having received from Don Estevan de Gamarra y Contreras, the Spanish Ambassador, an appli-

[1] "Secretary van Tienhoven's answer to the Remonstrance from New Netherland,"—Ady. 29 Nov. 1650, The Hague: (From MS. in the Royal Archives at the Hague: Loketkas of the States General; Rubric West Indische Compagnie No. 30: 15th Division of the Bundle.) N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. I, (Holland Documents 1603–1656) p. 442–428.

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV, 611.

[2] Id. 339,

[3] O'Callaghan's Laws and Ord. of New Neth. preface p. VII.

cation for Raef's arrest, passed a resolution in the following language: [1]

"Read at the assembly, a certain Memorial from the Spanish Ambassador, requesting the magistrate of the City of Amsterdam be written to, to apprehend and seize the goods of Sebastian Raef, a captain or privateer committing piracies in the West Indies on the subjects of the Most Illustrious King, and who is at present sojourning at Amsterdam, aforesaid; also that the Governor of New Netherland be instructed to arrest in their harbors, Joan van Kampen, his lieutenant, together with his ship and effects; that law and justice be administered to the one and the other, for the behoof of the interested, with infliction of exemplary punishment for the piracies they have committed; which being considered it is hereby resolved and concluded to request the Lords of Holland to recommend to the said magistrate to administer good, brief and prompt justice in the premises aforesaid; also to afford the interested full justice."

On the 11th of December, 1655, the Spanish Ambassador, wrote to the States General as follows: [2]

"The undersigned Ambassador of Spain, represents to Messrs. the States General, that notwithstanding their Lordships were pleased, on the request he had made in his memorial of the 10th of July last, to order the magistrates of the City of Amsterdam, to apprehend the person and effects of Captain Sebastian de Raeff, (sic) who, on his own confession, (exhibited at the same time to their Lordships in an authenticative form), acknowledged having committed piracies in the West Indies, on the subjects of the King, his master, and that his lieutenant, Jan van Campen (sic) continued the same robberies with his ship, and by his orders; . . . Yet their Lordships just resolution was of no avail, inasmuch as the said Pirate, having been released by the magistrate of Amsterdam from the prison in which he had been confined for four or five months on his own sworn security, contrary to all forms of law, notwithstanding the objections of his Majesty's Consul, resident at Amsterdam, without any punishment for the robberies and crimes he confessed he had committed, returned in the month of April to New Netherland, doubtless for the purpose of their (sic) continuing his piracies with his Lieutenant, or at least withdrawing himself from the chastisement he knew he merited; so that the said Juan Gallardo has not been able to obtain any other satisfaction than an act, copy whereof is annexed, from Sierre Grand Escontette of the said city, who promises to have justice done him, when the Pirate will return thither. But having been notified, apparently, by his wife or friends of this promise, he will take very good care not to return to these

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. 1, 576.

[2] Ibid 576.

provinces, where the said Gallardo has been, in vain, waiting several months for him at considerable expense; their Lordships are most earnestly entreated and required to be pleased to dispatch requisitory letters in favor of said Juan Gallardo, addressed to the Governor or Magistrate of the said New Netherland to arrest said Captain Sebastian de Raeff (alias Martin Bastiaenssen), with his Lieutenant Jan van Campen, on their arrival at the port of said country, where 'tis stated they ordinarily retire with their plunder; to seize their ships and effects for the satisfaction and indemnification of said Gallardo, and other his Majesty's subjects interested in their prizes, and afterwards to send both those Pirates prisoners to these provinces for trial and exemplary punishment as disturbers of the public peace, with orders, in case the Pirates should not be found there, to cause to be restored without delay to said Juan Gallardo, (as law and justice dictate, leaving to the purchasers their recourse against those Pirates), his nine negroes, and all the others he will recognize there belonging to the said prize . . . ; a demand as equitable that the said Ambassador will not doubt but their Lordships will most willingly grant it, as a proof that they do not approve such piracies, and to prevent the impunity thereto being an encouragement to the disturbance of the public tranquility."

On the 16th of January, 1656, Gamarra again wrote to the States General[1] reminding them of his former request and urgently entreating compliance therewith.

Upon this the States General, on the same day, resolved "to request Messrs. the Deputies from Holland, to take information at their convenience, upon the matter aforesaid, and acquaint their High Mightinesses thereof.[2]

On the 10th of January, 1656, the States General passed another resolution in the following language:[3]

"The additional Memorial of the Ambassadors of Spain, presented to their High Mightinesses, on the 6th instant, rejecting the case of Johan Gaillardo (sic) a Spanish pilot, against Captain Sebastian Raeff and his lieutenant Jan van Campen, . . . is again brought before the Assembly; and the same being considered, it is resolved and concluded hereby to request and commission Mr. Vogelsaugh to inform this Ambassador that the said Captain was duly and legally discharged at Amsterdam; copy of the aforesaid memoir and of that presented to their High Mightinesses on the same subject on the 11th of December, shall be transmitted to the Director-General Stuyvesant with orders, in case he find, on due inquiry, the matter to be as narrated in

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. 1, 580.

[2] Ibid 581.

[3] Ibid.

the aforesaid memorial, to send the above named Jan van Campen hither, *pede ligato*, and, moreover, to allow those interested in the reclaimed slaves, to obtain good, brief, prompt and full justice."

Accordingly and on the same day a letter accompanied by copies of the memorials of the Spanish Ambassador and an extract of the above resolution, was sent to Director Stuyvesant[1] "with order and command that" he "regulate" himself "precisely according to the tenor thereof without in any wise failing therein."

Nothing appears to have been done in the matter, for on the 27th of April, 1656, the Council of Amsterdam addressed a letter to the "Governor and other officers of justice in New Netherland, as follows:[2]

"Honorable, wise, prudent, right discreet Gentlemen.

Jan Gaillardo Verrara (sic) a native of St. Lucas of Barameda, a subject of his Royal Majesty of Spain, hath represented to us that he, some years ago, sued for the restitution of several slaves and other property taken from him by a certain privateer and brought into New Netherland without his being able, up to this time, to procure satisfaction therefor, requesting our letters recommendatory thereunto; wherefore we have consented to recommend the matter hereby to your Honors, to the end that you may render prompt and expeditious justice to the above named Gaillardo. Which will insure our friendship, and we shall be always ready to reciprocate."

On the 3d of January, 1657, Gamarra again wrote to the States General requesting them to order anew the arrest of Captain de Raeff and his lieutenant.[1] After reminding the States General of the matter, he says "This poor man, having proceeded thither in the belief that their Lordships orders would be obeyed, and having discovered the said negroes and presented the petition. . . for restitution or at least attachment thereof has derived no other benefit from all the fatigue and expense of so long and dangerous a voyage, and from all his diligence, than the illusory resolutions of the Director and Council . . . who, their Lordships will perceive, acted with so much passion as even to refuse to examine the witnesses he was willing to produce to prove his right," etc.

On the 4th day of January, 1657, the States General ordered the Governor of the Island of Curaçoa to imprison the pirates should they go there, and further "Mr. Huygens and the other their High Mightinesses Deputies for the affairs of the West Indian Company" were directed to inquire and report upon the matter.[2]

On the 25th of January, 1657, upon

[1] Ibid 581.

[2] Ibid 617.

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. II, I.

[2] Ibid. 2.

the report of the deputies, the States General ordered that the Director General and Council of New Netherland be again written to and that the Governor of Curaçoa be instructed "to imprison said Captain and Lieutenant and to seize their ships and effects, whenever they came there, in order to be sent hither *pede ligato* for punishment, being guilty of divers piracies committed against the King of Spain's subjects." [1]

On the 12th of April, 1657, the Common Council of New Amsterdam requested "Mr. P. S. Stuyvesandt (sic) Director General, &c, to let him, said Gallardo, against Captain Sebastiaen Rast (sic) and his Lieutenant, J. A. Campen, (sic) or others, obtain quick and speedy justice." [2]

On the 20th of October, 1657, the Director-General and Council wrote to the States General a complete review of the case. In their letter they say that to read and examine all the "papers and documents relative to the affair" will too much interrupt your High Mightinesses' application to higher and weightier affairs, in the same manner as the bold and shameless impertinence of the aforesaid Gaillardo, to the effect that we merely glance at your High Mightinesses' recommendations without correcting the complaint, has troubled and disturbed not a little our small occupations. The Ambassador has been very much imposed on by the aforesaid Gaillardo, and consequently your High Mightinesses', by the Ambassador, in regard to the merits of the case, in representing that we had demeaned ourselves angrily towards him, Gaillardo, in refusing of justice and examination of witnesses whom the said Gaillardo was willing to propose. The contrary appears by the papers. . . The truth of the matter is, that Sebastiaen Raaf (sic) and Jan van Campen have never been here, at least not in our time." [1]

On the 26th of April, 1658, the States General referred the letters and enclosures to the Deputies of the West India Company.[2]

VII. DISPUTE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH CONCERNING THE SOUTHERN BOUNDARIES OF NEW NETHERLAND.

At this time the southern boundary of the Dutch possessions was in question. The Dutch had several settlements within territory claimed by the English. One of these was located on Delaware Bay, then called the South River, and this territory the English contended was a part of the province of Maryland. Accordingly both the Dutch and English insisted upon their right to prosecute offenses committed in the disputed territory. The English refused to surrender to the Dutch, offenders charged with the

[1] Ibid. 3.

[2] Ibid. 4.

[1] Ibid. 23.

[2] Ibid. 47.

commission of crimes in these settlements, and in retaliation, the Dutch harbored fugitives fleeing from the English Colonies to New Netherland. In 1658 the English accused the officials of New Amsterdam of secretly sheltering fugitives from Virginia, and Vice-Director Alrichs was accordingly called upon to meet the accusation which he did in this manner:

"As to what concerns some fugitives who came with two boats from Virginia, and were stranded on Cape Hinlopen (sic), there was nothing secret in the matter, which was simply thus: They have been here, one, two or three months, and on further inquiry, mostly left this place for the Manhattans and the north, except one whom I arrested and sent back." [1]

In June, 1659, Vice-Director Alrichs addressed the following letter to Governor Fendall of Maryland:

"Honorable, Worshipful, Wise Right Prudent Sir:

Having understood here that some delinquents and fugitives from this place are harbored and skulking within your jurisdiction, domain or district, we have therefore resolved by this, our letter, to make declaration and give notice who those persons are, and how named, to wit: Hans Roeloff, of Stockholm, Andries Thomasen, of Jutland in Denmark, Cornelius Jurriaeuren of Winseren in Sweden, Jacob Jansen, of Antwerp, Jan Hinge of Utrecht, and Evert Brants of Amersfort, all soldiers, who have enlisted in such service for a considerable time. Some of them have deserted from here without a pass, on consequence of bad climate, others through rebellion and wicked disobedience. And being informed that they are skulking within your Honor's jurisdiction we were unwilling to neglect to greet your Honor herewith by the bearer of this letter, and also respectfully to request for the maintenance of justice, that those persons, as well as all such who, to get rid of the payment of their debts have absconded from hence, whom we shall from time to time, make further known, may, at our expense, be sent back, as we have heretofore done by the Governor of Virginia, on his Excellency's request, who has also promised to reciprocate; for which reason we trust that equity and policy proper to maintain neighborly friendship, have a place in your Honor's breast, and that your Honor will condescend to grant us this request. We further ask, in order to prevent such desertion, that henceforth none of our nation may be permitted to come from this place within your Honor's jurisdiction, except such as can exhibit a pass or free leave under our hand; on this, our special friendship, and the service of this State depend, and we shall reciprocate in like manner, and even much farther; desiring your Honor will please to allow us to receive a note in answer to this,

[1] Ibid, 54.

awaiting which, we remain after suitable compliment and commendation unto God's protection, Your obedient neighbor and servant,

CORNELIUS VAN GESEL, Secretary.

New Amstel, the 25th of June, 1659.[1]

On the 3d of August, 1659, Governor Fendall replied as follows:[2]

"SR.—I receaved a letter from you, directed to mee, as to Lord Baltemores Leiftenandt of the Province of Maryland wehere in you seeme to suppose yo^r selfe to bee Governo^r off a people seated in a part off Delaware Bay, w^ch I am very well informed lyeth to the soveth ward off the degree ffourty Aand therefore, can by noe meanes owne or acknowledge any for Governo^r there, but myselfe who am by his Lordschip appointed Leiutenandt of his whole Province leying between the degreas of thirty eight & ffourty. But doe otherwise desyre you to hould me excused, iff I use my uttmost endeavour to reduce that part off his Lordschips Province unto itts due obedience under him."

The refusal was based simply on the ground that the offence was committed within the English jurisdiction, and therefore was not within the cognizance of the Dutch authorities.

This question of the boundaries of the Dutch possessions was the cause of several other complications arising out of the escape of fugitives to the disputed territory.

The journal of Augustyn Heermans, appointed Ambassador from New Netherland to Maryland in the same year to treat with the "Honorable Governor General and Council of Maryland" concerning "the pretensions set up by Colonel Nathaniel Utie to the South River" &c. contains the following entry:

"October 18, Saturday——

We further inquired what was to be the understanding on the subject of our fugitives, and received for answer that they should, by law oblige such as were in debt to pay, but they did not mean to send them back, in as much as they considered the people in Delowar (sic) Bay to be under their jurisdiction, and consequently were not fugitives from the General and Council of the Manhattans. Whereupon we replied, that we too would adhere to the *Lex Talionis* in order to act in like manner."[1]

VIII. GOVERNOR STUYVESANT REQUESTED TO CAUSE THE APPREHENSION OF A MURDERER FOR THE ENGLISH.

On the 7th of May 1661, Governor

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. II (Holland Documents 1657–1678) 64.

[2] Ibid. 67; I N. Y. Hist. Coll. III, 369.

[1] Journal kept by Augustyn Heermans during his embassy from Director General &c. Petrus Stuyvesant and Supreme Council of New Netherland to Honorable Governor General and Council of Maryland, (from the original in N. Y. Col. MSS, Secretary's office, Albany, XVIII;) N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. II., (Holland Documents 1657–1678) p. 88–97.

Endicott of Massachusetts transmitted to Governor Stuyvesant the following:

"Boston 7 May 1661

Sir—Having receaved a letter from the Kings Maty our gracious Soveraigne, a true copie whereof I have heere inclosed to yourself, and judge it no lesse than my duty by these bearers, gentᵉⁿ of knowne creditt and fidellity to his Majty & unto us, to desire in case that Colonell Whalley and Colonell Goffe be come into your parts, as we understand they are, fled from hence, especially from the justice of the English Nation, thinking to shroud themselves in these remote parts; that you would be pleased to deliver them to these beareres, wiᵗʰ meete helpe to convey them out of yoʳ limitts into the English jurisdiction, to be conveyed to Boston to be sent as by his Majty is required. In doing whereof you will not only doe an act worthy the amity and correspondency that is between our Nation & yours but such as you shall finde us ready on the like occasion to serve, and be Sir youʳ thankfull & much obliged Servant.

John Endecott Govʳnʳ.

To the much hounored Peter Stuwessant Esq

Govʳnʳ of the New Netherlands, these."[1]

The following was the enclosure:

"The Governoʳ of the Massachusetts Jurisdiction in New England having receaved a letter from his most Excellent Maty Charles the Second &c bearing date the 5th of March 1660 directed to the Govenʳ or Chiefe Magistrate or Magistrates of his plantation of New England requiring the diligent searching for & apprehending of Colonell Edward Whally and Colonell William Goffe &c:—Having sent for the magistrates adjoyning & proceeded to make choice of & send Mʳ Thomas Kirke & Mʳ Thomas Kelond (A John Chapin as their guide to attend on them) as meete messengˢ to carry not only true copies of His Matyes letter to the Governʳ of Conecticott Depᵗ Governʳ of New Haven & also to the Govʳ of the Manhatoes, or New Netherlands wᵗʰ particular letters to each of them, for the best, most speedy and faithfull executing His Matˢ cômmands and gave the said messengers severall letters instructions and directions to attayne the end & are as followeth:"

Then came the letter sent to the Governor of Connecticut, the Deputy Governor of New Haven and the Governor of Plymouth:

"To yᵉ Govʳ of Conecticott Dep. Gov. New Haven & Gov. of Plymouth *mutatis mutandis.*

Sir—Having received a letter from the Kings Maty our gracious Soveraigne, a true copie whereof I have heere enclosed, finding by the superscription hereof that it is of equall concernemᵗ to yoʳ self & such of the

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. III, 41.

magistrates as are assisting to you, as it is to us or any heere, and at present more, because the Gent^en^ rendered in his Ma^ties^ letter guilty of so execrable a murther hath some whiles since departed this jurisdiction, wee have not beene wanting to ourselves in endeavouring the apprehending of them by an order of our Councill which hath bin issued out two moneths since, & now after my advising w^th^ our Magistrates as many as such a time would permitt, I thought it meete in discharge of our duty to His Ma^ty^ by these bearers to send the same to yow, not doubting of your faithfull effectual & speedy discharge of your duty to His Ma^ty^ as is desired & therein required, not els, but my due respects to yo^r^ self & not doubting of yo^r^ readiness to comply w^th^ so just & necessary a cômand, remaine, Sir

yo^r^ assured lovinge friend

JOHN ENDECOTT."

IX. ORDINANCE OF NEW NETHERLAND.

The following ordinance of the Director General and Council of New Netherland, "Prohibiting the bringing of Quakers and other strollers into New Netherland," was passed May 17th, 1663:

"The Director General and Council of New Netherland, To all those who shall see these Presents or hear them read, Greeting, make known.

Whereas we daily find that many Vagabonds, Quakers, and other Fugitives, are, without the previous knowledge and consent of the Director General and Council, conveyed, brought and landed in this Government, and sojourn and remain in the respective Villages of this Province without those bringing them giving notice thereof, or such persons addressing themselves to the Government and showing whence they come, as they ought to do, or that they have taken the oath of fidelity the same as other Inhabitants; the Director General and Council therefore do hereby order and command all Skippers, Sloop Captains and others, whomsoever they may be, not to convey or bring, much less to land within this Government, any such Vagabonds, Quakers and other Fugitives, whether Men or Women, unless they have first addressed themselves to the Government, have given information thereof and asked and obtained consent, on pain of the Importers forfeiting a fine of Twenty Pounds Flemish for every person, whether Man or Woman, whom they will have brought in and landed without the consent or previous knowledge of the Director General and Council, and in addition, be obliged immediately to depart again out of this Government with such persons, the fine to be applied one-third for the Fiscal, one-third for the Informer, and the remaining third at the discretion of the Court.

Thus done at the meeting of the Director General and Council holden

in Fort Amsterdam in New Netherland, the 17th May A. D. 1663."[1]

The passage of this ordinance was the last step taken with reference to the subject during the period of Dutch rule in New York.[2]

X. COMMISSIONERS INSTRUCTED BY THE CROWN TO INQUIRE CONCERNING FUGITIVES FROM ENGLAND IN THE COLONIES.

In April, 1664, Colonel Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carre, George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick, appointed by Charles II., Special Commissioners to visit the colonies, were instructed, among other things, as follows:

"You shall make due inquiry, whether any persons who stand attainted here in Parliam^{t} of High Treason, have transported themselves thither, & doe now inhabite or recyde or are sheltered there, and if any such persons are there, you shall cause them to be apprehended and to be put on shipboard and sent hither; to y^{e} end that they may be proceded wth according to law. And you shall likewise examine whether any such persons have been entertained & received there since our returne into England, & what is become of them, & by whom they were received & entertained there; to y^{e} end & for no other (for wee will not suffer y^{e} Act of Indempnity to be in any degree violated) that those persons may be taken y^{e} more notice of, & may hold themselves to take y^{e} more care for their future behavior."[1]

XI. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN GOVERNOR DONGAN AND THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA.

In a letter to the Marquis de Denonville, Governor-General of Canada, dated at New York, October 13th, 1685 (shortly after the re-establishment of English rule in the Colony), Governor Dongan makes the following reference to a demand for the surrender of certain persons who had fled from Canada and sought an asylum in New York:

"In regard to your fugitives I assure you that such persons as you will think proper to send, who are acquainted with them, will not want for any aid or assistance that this Government can supply to recover them. As for Jacques Vigor, this place shall not afford him a refuge. The woman's father is at full liberty

[1] O'Callaghan's Laws & Ord. of New York 439; N. Y. Col. MSS. Secretary's office, Albany X, Part II. 105.

[2] In a paper entitled "Vindication of Captain John Onderhill, in the name of as many of the Dutch and English as the matter concerns, which justly compells us to renounce the iniquitous government of Peter Stuyvesant over the inhabitants living on Long Island in America," it was charged among other grievances that he (Stuyvesant) "hath acted treacherously toward Thomas Wilton, for, notwithstanding the government hath promised him safe and secure conduct, he hath ordered his arrest and extradition." N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. II. 151.

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. III, 51, 54.

to come in quest of his daughter, and we will assist him in whatsoever is necessary." [1]

In a letter to Governor Dongan, of June 5th, 1686, M. de Denonville wrote:

"I have been informed that several vagabonds, rogues & worthless rascals have, through a spirit of avarice, gone from this colony, and in order to draw some peltries from the savages, tell them lies and falsehoods to conciliate them and insinuate themselves into their confidence. I remarkt that they are alarmed and uneasy without any reason. I thought, sir, I ought to advise you of it, and that several of those worthless characters have repaired to you of whom you ought to have as much distrust as I, as they are capable only of bad acts which sooner or later they will commit among you. I should like much that you would consent to act in concert to expel those vagabonds, assuring you that I will, on my part, employ myself faithfully in having sought for and arrested all those who will be found coming into this colony amongst us without your permission." [1]

On the 26th of July, 1686, Governor Dongan replied: "The strictest care shall be taken concerning runaways from you and those who are here, if you please to send for them, shall be all conveyed to you, but if there be any soldiers who have deserted, I desire you to give me the assurance that they shall not loose (sic) their lives." [2]

Governor Dongan's assurances do not appear to have resulted in the restoration of the fugitives, for on the 1st of October, 1686, M. de Denonville indicated his displeasure in this language:

"You were so good, sir, as to tell me that you will give me up all the deserters who, to escape the chastisement of their knavery, have fled to you; yet, sir, you cannot but know those who are there, but as they are all for the most part Bankrupts and Thieves, I hope that they will finally give you cause to repent having afforded them shelter, and that your merchants who employ them will be punished for having confided in rogues who will not be more faithful to them than they have been to our people." [3]

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[1] Gov. Dongan to Marquis de Denonville, N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IX, 292.

Note.—In 1684 the Council of Pennsylvania considered a bill for "a union between us and West Jersey, to have liberty to prosecute offenders in the said West Jersey" so as to provide "for all warrants to apprehend all persons by law punishable." The matter was at that time "left to a treaty with them." Minutes of Council of Penn. Vol. I, 141, 147. 13 Am. Law Rev. 181.

In 1685 a "hue and cry from East Jersie" was allowed by the Council to "pass this Province and Territoryes." Id: Hurd Hab. Corp. (2nd Ed.), 598.

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. III, 458.

[2] Ibid, 460.

[3] Ibid, 461.

This called forth the following under date of December 1st, 1686:

"I have desired you to send for the deserters, I know not who they are, but had rather such Rascalls and Bankrouts (sic) as you call them, were amongst their own countrymen than this people, and will, when you send word who they are, expell, not detain them, and use all possible means to prevent your good wishes and hopes that our merchants may suffer by them." [1]

XII. AN "ANOINTED ROGUE AND VILLAINE" FROM CONNECTICUT.

In 1686, Governor Treat, of Connecticut, wrote as follows to Governor Dongan:

"MILFORD, July ye 3d, 1686.

Honorll Sr,

I haveing so greate experience of your neighborly courtesies am imboldened to request yor honors favor and justice for a neighbor, vid. David Bull, of Seabrook, who was as he saith Constable there ye last yeare and had a prisoner comitted to him and he charging a man wth him while seeking a second to have charge also, the first let him escape, and can not recover him, who is known to be anointed Rogue and villaine for stealing horses et cet. And this bearer tells me he is greatly damnified in one of our Courts for his letting him run away and he hears he is fled westward, he humbly craves yr honors good countenance and order to any of your inferior officers for his aid and assistance if he proves to need it & desire it for his apprehending and securing him for justice if he proves to light on him within yor province and you shall assure your selfe of the like readiness to serve yor honor and it hath been no small trouble yt could not answer yor desires of the same kinde wch I alwayes stand ready to doe but ye wilderness is wide and so many rogues that entertaines and conseales them yt we cannot serve our friends as we would." [1]

XIII. CASE OF ABRAHAM GOVERNEUR.[2]

On the 7th of January, 1693, Governor Fletcher, of New York, demanded of Sir William Phips, Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, the surrender of one Abraham Governeur as a fugitive from justice. He forwarded to Phips a copy of a letter in Dutch written at Boston by Governeur to his parents, in which Governeur told of an interview he had had with Sir William Phips, concerning Governor Fletcher's administration, and according to the translation accompanying Fletcher's letter, had recounted how Sir William had said: "This old King James Council that is at York spoils all, and they must be out; the Governor is a

[1] Ibid, 463.

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. III, 386.

[2] Abraham Governeur was clerk of the "Committee of Safety" in 1689; a supporter of Leisler; was imprisoned and condemned as a traitor in 1691, but was afterward pardoned.

poor beggar and seekes nothing but money and not the good of the country." [1]

Fletcher in demanding Governeur's return, said: "Possibly you may not know the person, but the ill consequences which this letter has produced, being sent from one hand to another of y^e^ discontents in these parts of their majesties domains, and your name being used as a voucher to what he asserts, I thought myself obliged to lett you know, if the things alleged be true, you have forgott your duty to their majesties and your manners to gentlemen. If you have not discoursed these things to that fugitive who has fled from this province, after conviction and sentence passed upon him (for) murder, and what he says be ficticious, invented by himselfe, you will think fitt for your own vindication to secure his person and return him to this place being that of his former residence and from whence he has fled with apparent designs of disturbing the peace of this government." [2]

Thomas Clarke was appointed messenger to convey the demand to Phips.

On January 20th, 1693, Governeur himself wrote to Governor Fletcher as follows:

"I am informed by Mr. Clarke's message fro' yourselfe to his Excell. Sir William Phipps (sic) of your demands to have sent me to New Yorke a prisoner for the writeing of a certain letter y^e^ contents whereof are construed by yourselfe as y^e^ words of his Excell. to me. I doe p'sume y^e^ originall is not well examined, for if any such matter be written, it is w^ht^ I have been informed of by others and not relating to his Excell; you are also pleased to term me a fugitive from y^e^ hands of justice, w^ch^ by an order from yourself and Councill dated y^e^ first of Sept^r^ last is contradicted, wherein you were pleased to insist that myselfe and others y^e^ prisoners were sett at liberty by virtue of Her Majesties order in council dated y^e^ 13th May last directed to yourself." [1]

On January 27th, 1693, Sir William Phips declined to comply with Gov. Fletcher's demand, saying: "I see noe cause to deliver Mr. Governeur unto your Jayler for I have examined him concerning his being sett att liberty and it appears by a certificate fro' the Clerk of your Councill by your order given that in pursuance of the Queen's command you were obliged to lett him out of prison." [2]

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[1] Abr. Governeur to his parents, N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV, 4. (N. Y. Papers III, E 25.)

[2] Gov. Fletcher to Sir Wm. Phips, Ibid. 3. (N. Y. Papers III E. 24.)

Note.—A reference to this case is contained in the N. Y. Law Journal of March 16, 1891.

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV, 5. In a letter to Mr. Blathwayt, of Feby. 14th, 1693, Gov. Fletcher speaks of Governeur as "a pardoned criminal." Id. 2.

[2] Sir Wm. Phips to Gov. Fletcher, Ibid. 5. (N. Y. Papers III E. 47.)

In an account of his interview with Sir William Phips, Clarke says:

"I demanded again y^{tt} Governeur might be seized and delivered to me, according to Governor Fletcher's lett^{r} . . . He said he would take it into consideration and speak with him, and then give me an answer. . . . S^{r}. Wm. Phips declared y^{tt} Governor Fletcher had orders from the Queen to release y^{e} prisson^{rs} butt contrary thereunto keptt them prisson^{rs} while he forced them to petition." [1]

Again in a "sworne narrative" Clarke states that Sir William Phips refused to deliver Governeur on the ground of his pardon and told him that "if Governeur had done any wrong" (in respect to the letter) "Coll. Fletcher might prosecute him at Boston." [2]

JOHN DOUGLAS LINDSAY.

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV, 8. (N. Y. Bundle S. P. O.)

[2] Ibid. 9. (N. Y. Papers III, E. 49.)

WAS COLUMBUS AN ADVENTURER OR A DISCOVERER?*

ANNIVERSARIES are useful; they project events of the past, more or less distant, into the life and thought of the present. The "days we celebrate" transport us back among the great things which made them worth celebrating; and for every succeeding generation or age these will be found to have an admonition, a lesson of encouragement or of rebuke. In this year of grace, 1892, the voyage of Columbus, made four hundred years ago, is more of a "live" question, is more thought about, talked of, written on, than it was in the summer of 1492. A veritable avalanche of publications—books, newspaper articles and editorials, magazine essays, paragraphs and pamphlets of various kinds—is falling from the laboring press upon a long suffering public. And as one might as well be out of the world as out of the fashion, we must e'en undertake our part, and offer our mite in these pages.

The rather ungracious question which forms our caption would suggest that the more hostile views of Columbus which have lately come to light in these fresh issues from the press, have had their influence upon us. If they have, it is not necessarily because they have impressed us as more true. It is the startling rather than the true that awakens attention; and it is a cheap way to startle the reading public by attacking some prominent character, which everybody had comfortably settled down into believing good or great. Hence the books that have for their aim to remove the world's high — perhaps too high, let us confess—estimate of Columbus, attract consideration first. We may be willing to lend an ear. We may prefer fact to panegyric; we may be willing to

*"CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, AND HOW HE RECEIVED AND IMPARTED THE SPIRIT OF DISCOVERY," Justin Winsor, (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York, 1892.)

"THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA," John Fiske, (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York, 1895, 2 vols.)

"CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, HIS LIFE AND WORK," Charles Kendall Adams, LL. D., (Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1892; Makers of America Series.)

"THE STORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD BY COLUMBUS," Frederick Saunders, (Thomas Whittaker, New York, 1892.)

weigh a great man over again in scales more strictly impartial. It is not necessarily hostility to a great name which leaves the mind open to considerations which will place him on a lower level of greatness, if his position or character has been unduly exaggerated. Indeed it may be the best service we can do him. For excessive admiration, an estimate far above the right one, is apt to create a reaction, and to tempt men to cast him down to a level below that which he may truly occupy.

This has been exactly the case with Columbus. We have learned to read his character under the fascination of Irving's charming pages and warm admiration. We shall have occasion to observe that Irving did not recklessly exaggerate his hero's merits. But still he has provoked a reactionary state of mind; to which no little contribution was made by later writers of a French school who have gone to the ridiculous extreme of wishing to canonize Columbus, and thus are diligent to point out the action of a saint in every detail of his conduct, even where his warmest admirers would hardly sustain his saintliness. The result of the canonizing has been, as in so many other instances, to raise up a school of cannonaders, who have riddled poor Columbus's character in a most unconscionable manner.

Latest among the cannonaders is the author of the first book on our list as given above. We must pause to give it our special attention. Historical criticism is one thing; but here is something quite apart from that; here there is discoverable a decided "animus," almost a personal "ill will," as one critic properly characterizes it. And while we have declared ourselves open to conviction regarding faults and blemishes in Columbus, we not only do not consider it incumbent upon a truly historical spirit to suffer a bitter assault to be made upon him, but, on the other hand, in that case we deem it a duty on the part of the historical critic to denounce the onslaught, and to expose its "animus." We can appreciate how an honest, original investigator, getting at some new facts or incidents, or reading some hitherto unpublished and damaging document, will grow impatient at the "received opinion," the prevalent prejudice in favor of Columbus. But there is such a thing as being prejudiced against a prejudice. And that too being a prejudice, it destroys the balance of mind just as surely as the thing against which the resentment or opposition was excited. With the deepest admiration for Mr. Winsor's scholarship, we fear we shall be able to prove that his work exhibits the baneful influence of this prejudice. Our only consolation in confronting such a discouraging and unhappy conclusion will be, that since his scholarship was tainted with an undue bias, his splendid labors need not wholly impair our confi-

dence in the merits of Columbus. We may still go on and believe there is some greatness left.

Classic story furnishes us with the incident of a bucolic youth whose resentment was excited against a toad at his feet; or else (what is worse) in mere wantonness of cruelty he proceeded to dash out its life with the handle of his scythe. Unfortunately, however, he forgot all about the "business end" of the implement, and as the scythe descended to strike the toad, the youth cut off his own head with neatness and despatch. This allusion to classic lore is suggested by Mr. Winsor's citation of Washington Irving's well-known arraignment of destructive criticism: "There is a certain meddlesome spirit which, in the garb of learned research goes prying about the traces of history, casting down its monuments, and marring and mutilating its fairest trophies. Care should be taken to vindicate great names from such pernicious erudition." Mr. Winsor thinks by this to prove triumphantly that Irving repudiated as well as rebuked all scholarship. He thinks that the citation shows up Irving, the eulogizer, so badly, that no one will notice the scathing reproof, deserved and true, of Winsor, the detractor. Before we are quite through with him we hope to show that Winsor's erudition has really something pernicious about it, and that he has "marred and mutilated" a fair trophy, instead of placing it in a true light, delivered from a too fond and partial admiration.

We need to make a somewhat minute comparison between Irving and Winsor for the reason that each is so prominent an example of his school. The Winsor school claims all the prestige of the modern scientific method, and finds great fault with Irving as being unscholarly, uncritical, careless. As Winsor coolly observes of Irving's "Columbus," "it has lost ground in these later years among scholarly inquirers. They have, by their collation of its narrative with the original sources, discovered its flaccid character. They have outgrown the witcheries of its graceful style. They have learned to put at their value the repetitionary changes of stock sentiment, which swell the body of the text, sometimes provokingly." Now then, who are the "they"? How many of them are there beside Mr. Justin Winsor? And suppose there are a few more besides himself; what if there be some other individuals also who may lay claim to the title of scholars, who are yet a little "bewitched;" who can read Irving's narrative without finding it all baseless or "flaccid"? "Provoking" is Irving to Winsor and his ilk? Yes, how apt are our modern *savants*—who are nothing but that—to despise the man who is quite respectably correct as to his facts but who has the genius to clothe his narration of them in a truly literary style!

Since it has come to a comparison between Irving and Winsor, in order to satisfy our historical criticism as to whose estimate a modern student may the more safely accept, determining whether Columbus was merely a low adventurer, or a lofty-minded discoverer—let us observe that the sources which Irving had at his command were not so very deficient as we are made to believe. Navarrete's "Colleccion," the preparation of which drew our historian to Madrid, contained pretty much everything that the modern scholars have since been able to get into their hands. And so we discover that all the great, and the smaller facts also, in Columbus's career receive a place and mention in Irving's narrative. We read some of those damaging circumstances which form the "stock" of Winsor and his class; and we come away from the perusal convinced that now there is an end of the greatness of Columbus. These must have come to view since Irving wrote; or if they were patent to him from the sources he studied, he must have passed them over, refusing to acknowledge the force of their argument against his laudatory theory. But when we turn again to Irving to refresh our minds with that antiquated old "literary" story—in Congress too, we understand, that "them literary fellers," are looked upon as poor stuff—we are astonished to find there the same facts, not slurred over, but given their full value in the conduct of the narrative. Now in the first place this speaks well for Irving's scholarship, since modern scholars have not many—if any—more of the important facts. And then in the second place, the facts being equal, the estimate of the character they illustrate becomes a mere matter of interpretation. That is not a question of scholarship but of human feeling; not a question of historical criticism, but of kindliness or venom; of judicious or "pernicious" erudition.

For instance, President Adams, who also has made a point to "emancipate" himself "from the thraldom of that uncritical admiration, in which it has been fashionable to hold the discoverer, ever since Washington Irving threw over the subject the romantic and bewitching charm of his literary style," presents a vivid account of Bartholomew Columbus's expedition to Xaragua, in Hispaniola. In plain terms he wanted to see the women of that province, and lascivious desire was the mainspring of that undertaking. We should have thought that Irving would avoid the mention of this expedition, if there were nothing but this to be said of it. But he does mention it, he even gives us a picture of the frightened beauty, Anacaona, falling back into Bartholomew's arms. But, "*honi soit qui mal y pense.*" There is not a suggestion of evil, and why need there be? Each reader can be left to draw the conclusion he pre-

fers; unfortunately the more sinister theory is apt to strike the imagination. Bartholomew, even if he must yield to the softer impeachment, did more than admire the women. He secured lasting results. Irving's interpretation of the identical expedition in which Adams sees so much—nay only—naughtiness, is this: "Thus by amicable and sagacious management, one of the most extensive provinces of the island was brought into cheerful subjection." We have an idea that Irving is correct, and that the "cheerful subjection" lasted till about the time that Ovando, who was sent out to improve upon the government of the Columbus brothers, committed the outrageous crime against this very people which we cannot even read of without a shudder. Observe again the treaty with Roldan. Adams says: "an elaborate agreement was reached, the details of which reveal at once the weakness of Columbus." Taking that same hard fact, "the details of which" were equally familiar to Irving, he remarks: "Thus critically situated, disregarding every consideration of personal pride and dignity, and determined at any individual sacrifice, to secure the interests of an ungrateful sovereign, Columbus forced himself to sign this humiliating capitulation." A quite different atmosphere surrounds us after the utterance of the one sentiment or the other.

Scholarship being about equal (or not so violently deficient in Irving) we wish to dispose of his unscholarly, *i. e.*, uncritical hero-worship, as it is charged against him, by exhibiting the quite as unscholarly bias against Columbus on the part of Mr. Winsor. A prejudice is a prejudice to whichever side it leans; and it is always incompatible with real scholarship, or the true historical spirit. Mr. Winsor's prejudice, his desire to mar and mutilate, is too plainly evident, and must be shown, painful as is the duty, to save an estimate of Columbus that shall be in accordance with genuine criticism. We make then, after a careful, and we trust impartial reading of his book, this severe but deliberate charge against him: Where the contrary of anything favorable to Columbus can not be directly proved, Mr. Winsor insinuates suspicions of the account. Even in the remarkable instance when of a whole fleet bound for Spain, only one vessel escaped a hurricane and reached the mother country, and that the one carrying Columbus's gold, and that (again) the poorest vessel of them all; doubt must be thrown upon the narrative. In spite of ourselves, no matter how materialistic we are, we will be struck by this event as a Providential justification of Columbus over against his enemies; Bobadilla who had sent him in chains to the sovereigns being among those who perished. But even such an indirect or involuntary impression in favor of Columbus must be checked, nipped in the bud, by Mr. Winsor.

While President Adams accepts the account, and allows the impression; while there seems to be no special need to call it into question; yet Mr. Winsor remarks, "if the testimony is to be believed, this was the weakest of them all" (p. 441).

Further, we are well aware that even a baseless story against a man has a peril in it for his reputation. No matter how untrue, when told it is told, and the law of association connects it invariably with his name. So then when we wish to hurt a man's character we deliberately tell such stories. If we are not absolute liars we may guard ourselves by saying, "it is said," and without vouching for the truth; nay, we may even cast serious doubts upon the evil tale we tell. But nevertheless the harm is done. And hence we are forced to charge Mr. Winsor with mentioning the worst hints with the intention of lodging their poison in our minds, even though baseless. It is no palliation to introduce an "it is said," or "if we may believe." For instance (pp. 241–242) he observes: "if we may believe Columbus himself, in a letter which he subsequently wrote, he did not escape being suspected in Spain of having thus put himself in the power of the Portuguese in order to surrender the Indies to them." How disingenuous to make Columbus his own accuser in this case! The base suspicion is started; who will stop its influence? It may be argued, if this suspicion was a fact of history, why should it not be mentioned? But if while the suspicion were a fact, the ground of it were a mere venomous imagination, it would be the part of a fair biographer (without bias) to indicate the utter want of evidence for the foul intention, by the side of such a dark hint. Mr. Winsor leaves it to stand alone, to work its worst effects upon minds easily turned against Columbus, and with an uncomfortable impression even upon minds prejudiced in his favor.

So in this same connection he leaves us to infer (again by one of those diabolical hints) that Columbus himself was responsible for the dastardly project to assassinate him on the part of the Portuguese. "He is represented [thus the sting of this thought enters our cranium] as launching these rebukes [of the king] so vehemently that the attending nobles were provoked to a degree which prompted whispers of assassination" (p. 241). And this affords an instance too of Mr. Winsor's historical criticism. He and his school charge Irving with being uncritical. Is it critical, or scientific, to quote in support of any statement or of any view of a certain act, the assertion of one single historian, and one who, on account of national prejudices is almost sure to color his account in favor of his own countrymen. This Portuguese scheme to murder Columbus was not a very creditable thing. We would hardly look to a Portuguese historian therefore, to learn

the true explanation of it. And surely our suspicions of his accuracy or sincerity would be confirmed, when his ingenuity had contrived to make the subject of the outrageous scheme responsible for it. Yet Mr. Winsor does not repudiate this unworthy explanation; he quotes it; we cannot help thinking it is with approval. When he says of Irving: "He glorified what was heroic, palliated what was unheroic, and minimized the doubtful aspects of Columbus's character," we seem entirely justified in using this very sentence, with some slight transpositions and alterations, against Mr. Winsor himself, and make it read: "He intensifies what was unheroic, palliates what was heroic, and magnifies the doubtful aspects of Columbus's character." We have already justified this verdict against Mr. Winsor by what we have adduced. We have still more to adduce.

King John's nobles are no longer so base as they seemed. Columbus provoked their murderous intentions. So as we look through Mr. Winsor's eyes at the other people with whom Columbus came into contact, strange metamorphoses take place. The good people who befriended him sink with him into the mire industriously spread out by his biographer. Those men (some of whom Mr. John Fiske does not hesitate to call "wretches,"—to which we say amen,) who harassed and degraded him, come forth into an unwonted halo of light and "sweet reasonableness." Isabella, whom, (even after taking Prescott with some allowance) we had supposed to be quite a respectable character, by the hand of Mr. Winsor is written down "an unlovely woman at the best, an obstructor of christian charity;" and "in her wiles she had allured Columbus to a belief in her countenance of him." This is enough to take our breath away, and really paralyzes all comment. *Per contra*, we look in vain through Mr. Winsor's pages for a trace of condemnation of Pinzon's base purpose in deserting Columbus on the Cuba coast; but we are told that through Columbus's sinister influence he was refused a chance to appear at court. His second offense in seeking to circumvent Columbus in announcing the discovery in Spain, receives no mention at all. Pinzon dies of chagrin at being kept from court by Columbus, not of mortification at the exposure of his attempt to rob Columbus of the glory of a discoverer.

Of course in line with all this "the wretch," Fonseca, (really Mr. Fiske is very plain-spoken and vivid) is not nearly so black as we had been foolishly led to suppose. His persistent persecution and petty annoyance of Columbus; his secret encouragement of all the revolts that made Columbus appear so poor an administrator, and without which the conduct of some of these insurrectionists is simply inexplicable; must not be

too readily taken for granted. "It is not always just to single out a single victim for condemnation," sweetly and charitably remarks Mr. Winsor (p. 256), "as is done by Irving and the canonizers." According to Mr. Winsor it would seem that this is only just in case the single victim be Columbus himself; but the angel Fonseca must not be too harshly judged. Naturally, too, that exemplar of monumental folly and vanity, Bobadilla, comes in for a share of whitewash. "It may be that he will not bear with discredit a comparison with Columbus himself" (p. 395). It is significant that in treating of this crisis of Columbus's affairs, no account is taken of the criminal character of the Spanish colonists whom it fell to the Admiral's lot to govern. For aught Mr. Winsor implies to the contrary, they were like an exemplary band of Sunday-school children, whom it was an unpardonable offense not to be able to control and guide peacefully. It is likewise a suspicious circumstance that Winsor's pages hardly, if at all, cast up into the view that dominating factor of trouble, the jealousy and hatred of Columbus aroused among these despicable hordes of desperate fortune hunters and scum of the jails, by the mere fact that he was a foreigner. This ought to have a place in the processes of a scientific historical criticism. Mr. Winsor gives it no place, or not a sufficiently prominent one.

Once more we are compelled to make a note of one matter. It may not be intentional on Mr. Winsor's part; it may not be fair to put an evil construction upon it. But in view of all the rest that construction would appear to be warrantable. It is this, that even in the account of the pitiful (not pitiable) death of Columbus, Mr. Winsor pursues the subject of his biography with a shaft of contempt or disrespect. We are told that "uttering, 'Into thy hands, O Lord, I commit my spirit,' he gasped his last" (p. 490). Now that gasp grates unpleasantly on the ear. He might have been let "breathe" his last, as most people do. We may be deemed finical, silly, or harsh in this judgment. But not so when we read (p. 512) the peroration of his travesty of Columbus: "We have seen a pitiable man meet a pitiable death. . . . The triumph of Barcelona led down to the ignominy of Valladolid, with every step in the degradation palpable and resultant."

Bobadilla's chains upon the hands of Columbus created a reaction in his favor which utterly defeated the end for which he had been sent to Hispaniola. If Columbus were indeed to blame, no one would now patiently listen to even a trial or a judgment. So the labors of Mr. Winsor pursued with the bias, the animus which are too apparent, defeat the ends of scholarship; for he creates such a reaction in the minds of the average or even the scholarly reader, that he can hardly bring himself to

undertake an impartial weighing of this character, or to come to a conclusion based on facts. Men rise up at once in the spirit of advocacy, and cease to be judges.

We are far from being hero worshippers, but neither do we wish to be hero detractors. To point out wherein a great character has been overestimated is one thing; to diligently labor to show that there is nothing great in it whatever is another thing. When we are forced to correct such an overestimate, we do it with hesitation, it is a painful and an ungrateful task. The fault we find with Mr. Winsor is that he seems to enjoy it, and drags in his hits at Columbus when there appears but the slightest occasion for it. Before he ever gets to the story of his life at all, he has already drawn an "odious" comparison between Prince Henry the Navigator and Columbus—people quite sufficiently distinct in situation we would think, to escape such a jumbling of their names and missions. Facts are facts, hard, obstinate, unmanageable things. When we all possess the same facts about a man's life, or substantially the same ones, then you and I may go about making up our minds as to motives. Within certain limits we may judge of these as we please—we usually do judge according to our own temperaments, most frequently are directed irresistibly by our prejudices. But in this exercise scientific criticism or historical acumen very naturally are held in abeyance. When prejudice rules, these qualities, ordinarily so conspicuous in Mr. Winsor, are dormant even in him.

For, setting aside Irving—so provoking to Mr. Winsor in his unscholarly admiration—other scholars besides Mr. Winsor have discovered something more than a pitiable creature in Columbus, coming deservedly to a pitiable death. President Adams (p. 73) observes: "His knowledge, his courage, his faith, his tact, and his persistency were enough to hold a band of powerful advocates firmly to his great cause and, in the end, bring it to success. Whatever abatement from an unreasonable glorification of Columbus modern research may feel compelled to make, these are great qualities, which the progress of time can never efface or obscure." John Fiske, too, in his "Discovery of America" (of which book we shall have much more to say in the next number) joins issue with Justin Winsor. He asks: "How could Las Casas ever have respected the feeble, mean-spirited driveller whose portrait Mr. Winsor asks us to accept as that of the Discoverer of America?" In Mr. Frederick Saunders' pleasing little volume, the chapter on "Estimates of His Character," is particularly useful and instructive in bringing together the many men with their many minds on this topic. He introduces his convenient garland of quotations with the remark: "Looking through the hazy distance

of four centuries, it is difficult to form any adequate estimate of a character so complex as that of Columbus. In some respects it seems unique, and not to be judged by any modern standard of criticism." And from Mr. Saunders' citations we select that which furnishes us with Harrisse's estimate of Columbus. Harrisse certainly is a scholar, and the fame of Columbus has not been treated very tenderly at his hands; yet says he: "Nor must you believe that I am inclined to lessen the real merits of the great Genoese, or fail to admire him; but my admiration is the result of reflection, and not a blind hero-worship. Columbus removed out of the range of mere speculation the idea that beyond the Atlantic Ocean lands existed, and could be reached by sea, and made of the notion a fixed fact, and linked forever the two worlds. That event, which is unquestionably the greatest of modern times, secures to Columbus a place in the pantheon dedicated to the worthies whose courageous deeds mankind will always admire." So then even Harrisse can admire; even he can discern a greatness in Columbus. Therefore it does not seem to be the general conclusion of modern scholarship (except as represented in the individual personality or brain of Mr. Justin Winsor) that in Columbus nothing is admirable, nothing is great; that we have here only a pitiable man meeting a pitiable death, and deservedly so!

And after all, why make such an ado about the character of Columbus, some one may ask. What did that have to do with his discovery of land beyond the illimitable Sea of Darkness? It is as if we had under discussion the propagator of a new religion, instead of the pioneer voyager to a new world. As an acute critic remarks: "Columbus might have been an extremely lofty character, and yet have been incompetent to discover America." Speaking of Winsor's book this same writer says: "His quarrel with Columbus appears to arise from a disappointment at not finding in a man who did so great a deed a private character of equal supremacy; in other words, besides discovering America he would have had Columbus as eminent as Washington for humanity, as eminent as Cromwell for administration, and as pure and disinterested in his labors as St. Vincent de Paul."

There does indeed appear to be some irrelevancy in getting so heated in a controversy about the personal character of Columbus. The canonizers seem an inconsequential lot, and the cannonaders quite as much so, to permit themselves to be hurled headlong to the other extreme. Yet there is a use and an interest in the inquiry so far as it will answer the query of our caption, whether Columbus was merely an adventurer, or whether he is entitled to the higher consideration of a discoverer? Mr. Winsor touches a practical question

with his denunciatory spirit when it induces him to say: "From the moment when he turned his mule back at the instance of Isabella's message, the lofty purpose had degenerated to a besetting cupidity, in which he made even the Divinity a constant abettor." Is that true, then even the merit, or rather the glory, of the discoverer must be denied to Columbus, together with every other personal worthiness. There are many things that have a look of the mere fortune-hunter. Rewards were set high by Columbus, and rewards—material rewards—were made a *sine qua non*, quite apart from the usefulness or advantage of the hoped-for discovery to Spain or to the world. We grow a little wearied at times, we get rather indignant more than once, at the persistent search for gold and riches, and the promise of larger financial returns if only more of the country shall be brought to light. All this smacks too strongly of the adventurer. Perhaps there was no noble purpose, or scientific ardor pure and lofty to sustain Columbus, but only the hope of sordid gain. If Winsor's estimate of Columbus is the correct one, if it can not be upset, nay even if, without such an important consideration, it be recklessly accepted—that is, if Columbus had nothing great about him—then we can interpret these actions and promises and bargains of his no otherwise. But if we as honest scholars, as truly scientific, philosophic, historical critics may yet cling to some vestiges of greatness in Columbus, then the possibility arises that even these suspicious actions, promises and bargains may be interpreted on the higher plane. That they are capable of such interpretation is proved not only by the fact that Irving can look at them, and find a loftier purpose and desire around them and above them. We will not "provoke" Mr. Winsor by citing Irving's example. But the possibility of the conclusion that Columbus was a discoverer beyond and above an adventurer, is proved also by the fact that "modern scholars" like Harrisse and Fiske can still admire him.

The world has a right to its great characters. It is a serious thing to rob it of these. In the sphere of individual experience we see so much that is mean and unworthy in men, that we need our great men to keep up our faith in humanity. If we can possibly believe that Columbus was more than a sordid adventurer, let us do so. If we may at all legitimately believe that he was great, let us cherish that faith still.

LEONARD IRVING.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT—LETTER OF COLUMBUS TO SANT ANGEL.

THE important event which is repeatedly described by unbiased scholars as "without a parallel in history," and as "unquestionably the greatest of modern times" (Harrisse), had taken place. Columbus had sailed across the dread, unknown Western ocean, had verified his theory that land could thus be reached, had confuted the wise theories of self-satisfied scientists, and baffled the conclusions of Biblical interpreters. Better than all, above all spiteful reflections, he had (although unconscious of it himself) "linked forever two worlds." In wandering about among the strange coasts and islands he had run aground his largest vessel, so that for the return voyage there remained but two insignificant caravels, without a deck in the center. Imagine such craft exposed to fierce storms upon an unfamiliar sea, in an exceptionally tempestuous winter, and one may conceive how precarious seemed the chance that the world should ever know what had taken place.

Still while there were two caravels, there were at least two frail shreds of possibility that the important news should reach the civilized world. What then must have been the anxiety of Columbus, when after a particularly fierce tempest, no signs of his companion vessel could be discovered, and day after day the horizon was keenly scanned in vain? Now the sole hope of the world's knowledge of his achievement rested in the precarious bottom of the leaking Nina, the "little one," alone. Irving graphically sets forth the situation: "During this long and awful conflict of the elements, the mind of Columbus was a prey to the most distressing anxiety. He feared that the Pinta had foundered in the storm. In such case the whole history of his discovery, the secret of the New World, depended upon his own feeble bark and one surge of the ocean might bury it forever in oblivion. The tumult of his thoughts may be judged from his own letter to the sovereigns: 'I could have supported this evil fortune with less grief, had my person alone been in jeopardy. . . . But it was a cause of infinite sorrow and trouble, to think

that, after having been illuminated from on high with faith and certainty to undertake this enterprise, after having victoriously achieved it, and when on the point of convincing my opponents, and securing to your highnesses great glory and vast increase of dominions, it should please the divine Majesty to defeat all by my death."

Such were the harrowing fears of Columbus while the tempest raged and the waves were ruthlessly tossing up and down his nutshell of a boat. What was to be done? On February 15th an expedient suggested itself and was acted on at once. Two accounts were prepared by Columbus of his voyage and its achievements. One of these was wrapped in waxed cloth, then placed in a large cake of wax, and introduced into a small cask carefully closed. The cask was thrown into the sea, in the hope that even if he and his crew should all perish, in this manner the account might be saved and washed ashore on some of the coasts of civilization. But not satisfied with this precaution, Columbus bethought himself of another. The company might all perish, and the vessel be beaten to pieces by the waves, yet not sink to the bottom. Then it would be well to let even a fragment of the ship bear the great news to Europe. Hence at the same time with the former cask he prepared a similar one to be lashed to the deck and placed the other parchment in this.

Did either of these casks or their contents come to light afterwards? It would be a most momentous find for any one to happen upon the cask cast into the sea. Is it a hopeless case that some mariner or voyager may come upon it yet? Why should it be? That cask must have gone somewhere; it may have been thrown upon some sharp rock and cut to pieces within the last century. It may have become imbedded in some iceberg on Arctic or Antarctic shores. But imagination may just as legitimately suppose it to have been cast into some snug corner on some gentle coast, kept sufficiently under water to prevent rotting, without worms to gnaw, or sea serpents to swallow, waiting in this very year of grace to be picked up by some enterprising Chicago man, indubitably the biggest curiosity yet collected, and worth a mint of money to the finder.

And what of the other cask, lashed to the deck? Historians lament that of this too, there remains no trace. But what does it matter as regards the cask itself? When land was reached it was doubtless broken up, and the letter or report taken out, and sent to the proper address. In either case there seems to be no question that we possess the documents, or the very contents of them, that were placed in the cake of wax. The tossing boat upon a raging sea was hardly the place to indulge in the pleasures of composition or letter writ-

ing, greatly addicted as Columbus is known to have been to the epistolary habit. So having written one account for the barrel on the deck, and arriving safely in port, Columbus in all likelihood utilized it as a letter to be sent to court. And as to the account put into the barrel thrown into the sea, there is every probabiltiy that this was duplicated. We know that on February 15th and 18th two letters were written, one to Gabriel Sanchez, Treasurer of Castile, the other to Luis de Sant Angel, Treasurer of Arragon. Now, composition during the tempest being so difficult, we may well conclude that one of these letters was duplicated and placed in the cask to be cast away. But it is not likely that the same trouble would be taken (of making another copy) for the one to be placed in the other cask, which on safe arrival in port could simply be taken out and sent to the person addressed. Thus the only uncertainty that abides is, which letter was thrown into the sea? a not very important question since we possess the contents of both of them.

The letter to Sant Angel appears, in a fac-simile of its earliest printed form, on following page. For a long time it was believed to have been lost, while that to Sanchez alone was thought to have come down to posterity. The latter was translated into Latin. "Its publication," says Mr. Saunders, of the Astor Library, "created a profound sensation throughout the States of Europe, six editions of the Latin text having been exhausted within the year of its first appearance." It is so rare now that two years ago a copy was sold in New York for only a little less than three thousand dollars. One of the four copies now known to exist is in the Astor Library, and was bestowed upon it as a gift by the Hon. W. W. Astor about twenty years ago.

But a deeper interest centers about the letter to Sant Angel, in the first place because only three genuine copies of it are known to be in existence, and in the second place because it presents the original Spanish in which Columbus composed it. In 1852 a copy of it was bequeathed by an Italian collector to the Ambrosian Library. But its real value was not discovered till very lately. It was supposed to be the Spanish original of the Latin edition of the letter to Sanchez. When it was found to be the letter to Sant Angel which was thought not to have been preserved at all, it awakened intense interest. And when shortly after this discovery another copy of it was thrown upon the market at the sale of the Ives collection in New York, an opportunity occurred of testing its worth in money. It was sold for $4300; as it consists of only eight pages of the size of the fac-simile, it is beyond comparison the dearest book in the world. Indeed it is held at a higher price than even this by Quaritch of London, who puts it

Señor por que se que aure is plazer de la grand victoria que nro señor me ha dado en mi yr vos escriuo esta por la qual sabreys como ẽ xxxiij dias pase alas jndias cõla armada que los illustrissimos Rey y reyna nros señores me dio donde y falle muy muchas Jslas pobladas con gẽte sin numero y delas todas he tomado posessiõ por sus alteza con pregon y vãdera real estẽdida y nõ me fue contradicho. Ala primera q̃ yo falle puse nõbre sant saluador a cuya conmemoraciõn de su alta magestad el qual marauillosamẽte todo esto andado los jndios la llamã guanahani. Ala secũda puse nõbre la ysla de stã maria de cõcepcio. ala tercera fernãdina. ala quarta ysabella. Ala quinta la isla Jnana y a cada una nõbre nueno Quãdo yo legue ala juana segui yo la costa della al poniẽte y la falle tan grãde q̃ pense q̃ seria tierra firma. la puincia de catayo y como no falle ali villas y lugares en la costa dela mar saluo pequẽnas poblanes con la gẽte delas q̃les nos podia hauer fabla por q̃ luego fuyã todos. andaua yo adelãte por el dicho camino pesando de no errar grãdes Ciudades o villas y al cabo dõ muchas leguas visto q̃ no auia ĩnouacion y q̃ la costa me e uaua al sette trion de adõde mi volũta era contraria por q̃ el yuierno era ya encarnado yo tema posito de bazer oll al austro y tambie el viẽto me dio adelante determiẽ de no aguardar otro tiẽpo y bolui atras fasta vn señalado puerto dadõde enbie dos hõbres por la tierra saber si auia rey o grãdes ciudades andouierõ tres iornadas y ballaõ infinitas poblaciõnes pequẽas y gẽte sin numero mas no cosa de regimiẽto por lo qual se boluierõ yo entẽdia bata de otros jndios q̃ ya tenia tomados como cõtinua mẽte esta tierra ara ista y asi segui la costa della al oriẽte ciẽto y siete leguas fasta dõde fazia fin del qual cabo vi otra issa al oriẽ

FAC-SIMILE OF THE FIRST PAGE OF COLUMBUS'S LETTER TO LUIS DE SANT ANGEL.

down in his catalogue (April 16, 1891) at the comfortable figure of £1,750 or $8,500 in round numbers. As Mr. John Fiske observes: "Evidently most book-lovers will have to content themselves with the fac-simile published in London, 1891, price two guineas." The fac-simile in this number was taken from a copy of this London fac-simile, which is accompanied by a reprint of the Spanish in modern type and also a translation in English.

TRANSLATION OF THE FAC-SIMILE PAGE OF THE COLUMBUS LETTER.

"Sir: — As I know you will be rejoiced at the glorious success that our Lord has given to me in my voyage, I write this to tell you how in thirty-three days I sailed to the Indies with the fleet the Illustrious King and Queen, our Sovereigns gave me, where I discovered a great many islands inhabited by innumerable people, and of all I have taken possession for their Highness by proclamation and display of the Royal Standard, without opposition. To the first Island I discovered I gave the name of San Salvador, in commemoration of His Divine Majesty, who has wonderfully granted all this. The Indians call it Guanaham. The second I named the Island of Santa Maria de Concepcion; the third, Fernandina; the fourth, Ysabella; the fifth, Juana; and thus to each one I gave a new name. When I came to Juana, I followed the coast of that Isle towards the west, and found it so extensive that I thought it might be mainland, the province of Cathay; and as I found no towns nor villages on the sea-coast, except a few small settlements where it was impossible to speak to the people, because they fled at once, I continued the said route thinking I could not fail to see some great cities or towns; and finding at the end of many leagues that nothing new appeared, and that the coast led northward contrary to my wish, because the winter had already set in, I decided to make for the south, and as the wind also was against my proceeding, I determined not to wait there longer, and turned back to a certain port, from whence I sent two men on shore to find out whether there was any king or large city. They explored for three days, and found numerous small communities and innumerable people but could hear of no kind of Government so they returned. I heard from other Indians I had already taken that this land was an island, and thus followed the eastern coast for one hundred and seven leagues, until I came to the end of it. From that point I saw another isle to the east.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Juan Perez' Share in Discovering America.

Really too much credit cannot be given to the good prior Juan Perez for his share in the discovery of America. He may have been a small link in the chain of events leading up to the supreme result, but if that small link had failed to do its part in holding the chain together there would not have been any chain at all. He was but a humble priest, a country parson, so to speak, very likely poor, possibly not brilliant or learned. Even the nineteenth century, and a faith allowing more liberty of intellect, has its ministers in rural parts whose prejudices of the cloth comfortably shield them from all the discomforts of thinking or judging independent of tradition and creed; to whom every new idea, whether in geography or geology, if it has the remotest bearing on theology of a corrective tendency—is a temptation of the devil. Juan Perez, in the fifteenth century and a Catholic priest, must have had his dense traditions and a carefully prescribed theological conception of the earth and the universe. But he was a man who had used his opportunities. He had not lived near Palos in vain; he had not associated with sailors and travelers without learning something of the world. He had "dabbled" a little in science; he and the country physician understood each other, and may have been fascinated by the exciting pastime of walking on the verge of heresy. To such a man, or to such a mind, the story of Columbus was at once of interest. The scientific portion of him was all aroused to enthusiasm by the project which he knew would upset Augustine and a half-dozen or so of owlish, church fathers. But he astutely employed the devout portion of himself—the priest—to gain the ear of the pious and priest-ridden queen. The enthusiasm and conviction of the scientist supported the pleadings of the priest, and these succeeded in arousing the interest and enthusiasm of the queen. And now the project of Columbus was bound to have a trial. As a recent writer truly remarks: "When he was once face to face with Isabella, the matter was settled. When a good

priest is in earnest, when a good woman is in earnest, and when they are leagued together, the mountains might as well move at once." All honor then to good Juan Perez, the country priest, theologically hide-bound, but capable of scientific thinking.

* * *

Yankee "Notions" Too Much For Cooper.

Anyone at all familiar with Cooper's delightful tales will have noticed that he is always bound to have his fling at the New Englanders. He does not exactly make his "villains" hail from that section of the country, but they are certainly not "heroes" in any of his novels. "David Gamut," in the "Last of the Mohicans," may be a very worthy person who has his "gift," according to Leatherstocking's expression. But he does not especially win our admiration. In "Satanstoe," the representative of New England is Jason Newcome, and he is only a somewhat improved edition of Irving's Ichabod Crane, of the same ilk, the Yankee schoolmaster. Cooper makes these creations the occasion for preaching sermons against certain dreadful New England habits of speech or action: the pronunciation of new as *noo*, produce as *prodoos*, duty as *dooty*, etc., etc.; the custom of invariably calling military gentlemen by their rank, as Captain, or Major so-and-so, when encountered in civic circles, whereas such persons were addressed as Mr. under those conditions, according to approved English style. Then Jason created quite a tremor of indignation in the noble bosoms of Cooper's fine New York ladies by offering to pay for them when they went with him to some public entertainment. But now we all know well enough that in spite of Cooper's diatribes or satires, these Yankee notions have greatly prevailed in all this land. Many a graduate of country colleges sturdily disregards the proper pronunciation of *new*, *assume*, *traduce*, and such words. We would feel very mean if the lady whom we accompanied to a theatre or concert, should bring forth her purse and pay for herself. And how titles of a military nature flourish among us! Gentlemen who have been in civil life for a generation, and from whom every vestige of soldierliness has long departed, still glory in the appellation of General, or Major, or Captain, or Colonel, much to the amusement of visitors from nations where it does amount to something to be a military man, and where yet on "superfluous" occasions, or under incongruous conditions, the title proper to their rank is modestly dropped.

It is really an interesting historico-social question as to how this state of things has come about. Most probably because the race of Yankee schoolmaster was a prolific one, and at an early date had gained posses-

sion of all the school teaching that was ever done in any part of the rural or backwoods regions. In those regions too he would be the teacher of "propriety" as well as of pronunciation. While the unfortunate awkwardness of our prefix Mr. makes people naturally resort to the more convenient title, if there be but the slightest apology for applying one, giving the street gamin the inexpressible relief afforded by the elegant appellation "Boss."

* * *

Commission of Daniel Akhurst as Secretary of North Carolina in 1692.

While in Raleigh, N. C., in September, 1890 (writes Prof. Weeks of Trinity College), I received from Mrs. Thomas D. Martin the original of the following commission of Daniel Akhurst as secretary of North Carolina. It is written on parchment and was signed, as the two kinds of ink indicate, on February 9, 1692 [1693]. It came to Mrs. Martin as a part of the property of her cousin, Mrs. Frances Blount Hill, the relict of William Hill, who was Secretary of State for North Carolina, 1811–1857. There is no mention of this commission in the Colonial Records of North Carolina, nor do we find mention of Akhurst in those records until November, 1694, when he appears to acknowledge a bill of sale. He was an attorney and a member of both the General Court and the Court of Chancery of the province. In January, 1699, we find him coming into court with a case against Stephen Manwaring who is ordered to pay him 8£, 1*s.*, 1*d.* in "poork," Akhurst probably remained in office up to or near the time of his death. The manuscript records of the Quakers contain the simple statement of his decease with a word of comment on his career. "Daniel Acorst: A publick friend departed this life in ye 9th or 10th month in ye year 1699 he being A man of A powerful testimony And frequent in prayer and that labored much in the ministre of our Lord Jesus in the necessity of this province."

The commission is as follows:

William Earle of Craven Lord Viscount Craven Marshall Palatine and the rest of the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors of Carolina.

To Daniell Akhurst, Esqr.:

Wee being well assured of the wisdome, Prudence and Integrity [?] of the said Daniel Akhurst Have thought fitt and Doe by these presents during our pleasure Constitute and appoint the said Daniel Akhurst Secretary of that part of our province of Carolina that is scituate North and East of Cape [Fear] . . . giving full power

to be present at all meetings of the Governor or Deputy Governor and Councill and alsoe to help them enact legally all [?] their acts and orders and also to receive from the Surveyor Generall all Certificates of land by him layd out and Surveyed according to the warrants Issued out by the person or persons we have Impowered or shall hereafter Impower to grant such warrants and to draw up such Lease or Leases conveyance or assurance of land as by our Instructions is or shall be hereafter directed which being signed and seal by the person or persons wee have or shall hereafter Impower soe to doe you shall carefully Inroll the same and Doe and performe all other acts and things that have been usually done by the former Secretarys in that part of our province aforesaid and wee doe Hereby repeale and Revoke make null and voyd all former Commissions for the said office Given under our hands and the great seale of our province this ninth day of February in the year of our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred ninety and Two.

(Signed.)

CRAVEN PALATINE
ASHLEY
J. COLLETON
JOHN ARCHDALE
for THO. ARCHDALE.

* * *

Estimates of Thomas Jefferson.

Whatever may be said, Thomas Jefferson remains one of the colossi of our Revolution and early Republic. He stands forth, and will stand forth as long as we retain a history, as the author of the Declaration of Independence, and as the first President of the real Democracy at the basis of the Federation. We were, after all — under the lead of Washington and Hamilton—a sort of aristocratic republic. It was a rule of the best men. The best men were then—as alas! they are not now—in office. It was natural that these men of high principle, of good breeding, of great intellectual capacity should be a little distrustful of those who had not enjoyed their advantages or attained their plane of thought and action. It is more than likely that our government would never have been given that strength, that regulative conservatism, that

opportunity for the exercise of central power, if just such men with just such natural suspicions had not had the making of it and the earliest execution of it. But then after all there was the people, and the government was to be of, for, and by them. That element of our republican existence was bound to be recognized; the very education, politically, which that existence would afford, would lift up the people to a position in which they could be trusted with their own welfare, which was equivalent to the progress and prosperity of the government. It is to the honor of Jefferson that he penetrated to this view of the case, and shaped his actions and expressions in accordance with it. We may blame him for his course towards Washington in not discouraging Freneau's abuse of that exalted man; we may deplore his dense ignorance of finance and his consequent misapprehension and distrust of Hamilton. We may grieve over the folly of his thoughtless admiration of the French Revolution when it had become a "red republicanism." But in that he understood the destiny of the people, he merited to become the idol of the people. His Presidency was the triumph of his own theory, and the best Federalist of us all, at this distance of time, can not but concede that it was about time for Republicanism to come in and have its share in modifying our institutions. There was then no danger that the Federalistic principle of the constitution would be choked or eliminated. And there may have been some danger that without a counterbalancing Republicanism such as that for which Jefferson stood, it might have been carried to an evolution of intenser centralization, leaning backward towards monarchy.

* * *

The Birthday of Jefferson.

The celebration of the birthday of Jefferson brought into fresh notice the confusion that has long prevailed in the public mind with reference to the birthday of Thomas Jefferson. It is still celebrated by some on the 2d and by others on the 13th of April. This appears singular when contrasted with the uniformity with which the 22d of February is observed as the anniversary of the birth of Washington.

Nearly all our books of reference say that Jefferson was born on the 2d of April, 1743; and so he was, according to the chronology then in use in England and her colonies. The reason why the birthday of Jefferson was once involved in some doubt is that that stalwart republican was opposed to celebrating the birthday of living statesmen. He did not believe in hero worship in a republic, fearing it might lead to the establishment of a monarchy. Hence, he refused to disclose the date of his birth, not desiring that his admirers

should follow an example which he believed to antagonize the best interests of the republic. In 1803, when the Democrats of Boston desired to have a celebration of his birthday, he wrote as follows to Levi Lincoln:

"With respect to the day on which they wish to fix their anniversary they may be told that, disapproving myself of transferring the honors and veneration for the great birthday of our Republic to any individual or of dividing them with individuals, I have declined letting my own birthday be known and have engaged my family not to communicate it. This has been the uniform answer to every communication of the kind."

* * *

The New England Town Meeting Once More:

That the New England Town meeting was a far-reaching power in the trying times before the Revolution was amply, illustrated in the June number in connection with the historic town of Dedham. It was there shown that the town meeting was the real nursery of those patriotic forces that finally made for open revolt and established our national independence.

It is pleasant to notice that this thoroughly patriotic topic has been the inspiration of a thoughtful and pleasant little essay on "The Town Meeting" by Edward Everett Hale. Some one, recurring to the influence of the town meeting upon the course of our earlier history, wrote him a letter, inquiring what advice he could give in respect to reviving the institution in these (politically) degenerate days. The doctor reminds his correspondent that the old New England meeting was a quite *sui generis* affair, not easily reproduced where the environment does not exist that made it a power of yore. But yet he makes a few practical suggestions as to what helps obtain to make something like it at the present time. He mentions a few characteristic holidays which might be to start the movement. "Could not the new Arbor Day, (April 30), be made use of in this way?" he asks. "Could we not set out our hundred trees on the highways, and then adjourn to the town hall to hear a set of reports from the town officers, and to discuss the best improvements for the future?" He next intimates that a time be set apart to give a formal welcome to the Assemblymen for the district, and thinks, not without reason, that such a practice would improve the calibre of the members sent to that body. A third hint lights upon the "glorious Fourth" for the town meeting. "How could we better celebrate independence than to take a day which nobody knows exactly what to do with, for a meeting in good spirits . . . which should begin early in the morning and should last till late in the afternoon?" He also makes a suggestion as to topics. "The first year I would not bring up the most annoying subjects . . . everybody wants good

health, everybody wants good drainage, everybody wants the town to be the best town in the county, the county the best county in the state, the state the best state in the nation, the nation the best nation in the world." A last hint as to a day whose customs or associations might help along the reinstatement of the town meeting, Dr. Hale furnishes to his correspondent in the following terms: "I am not at all certain but that, in a union of the churches, say on Thanksgiving day or some other religious festival, a good deal might be done in bringing about a steady working town meeting." In conclusion we present Dr. Hale's vivid and amusing picture, illustrating the healthy effect upon bossism and jobbery, which a real, old-fashioned, thoroughgoing New England town meeting would have: "There is no possible ring where there is a town meeting. There is not a boss in this world who has brass enough to stand the interrogatory of that grand jury when it is in session. When the selectmen have made their report about that business of the crossways, what has been done and what has not been done, then Nahum Smith may rise, whoever he be, and put the fatal question, 'I should like to be informed why the selectmen took the stone from the Red Hill quarry and did not take it from the cross-roads quarry which was nearer?' If there is any cat beneath that meal, that cat will appear."

THE CONFEDERATE VETERAN CAMP OF NEW YORK.

THE Confederate Veteran Camp of New York enjoys the distinction of being the first organization of old ex-Confederate soldiers north of Mason and Dixon's line. It is peculiar, also, in that it originated not merely in a desire to afford better facilities for social intercourse and fellowship between Southerners, but to meet the necessity for some benevolent agency to lend a helping hand to the suffering and decrepit survivors of a lost cause.

The victorious soldier may expect a recompense for every sacrifice, at the hands of those he served; but he who fights in a losing struggle can look for no rewards. There can be no official pension for him, and if he be in need of help he cannot expect his scars to gain him a hearing before any audience except one composed of his own more fortunate and prosperous comrades in arms. It was the consideration of these facts in the minds of Southern soldiers in New York City which led to the organization, a brief outline of whose history I am about to present.

On the 25th day of February, 1890, a meeting of the officers of the "Harlem Southern Auld Lang Syne"—a social organization—was held in the study of Rev. Dr. W. W. Page, in the Rectory of the New York Church, in West One Hundred and Twenty-eighth street. The meeting had adjourned, and the members stood on the sidewalk, preparatory to going to their several homes, when Major J. R. McNulty called their attention to an article he had read in the *New York Sun* of a recent date, telling how a poor but worthy Confederate

veteran, sick and destitute, whom some of them had known in the war, was being cared for by a Grand Army Post. Major McNulty proposed that something be done for him, and a generous sum of money was raised on the spot. S. W. Jones, one of this group of tender-hearted ex-soldiers, suggested that they meet some evening soon and discuss some systematic plan for helping Southern Vet-

W. W. PAGE.

erans who had become destitute and helpless. From this small beginning, and upon the grand and broad platform of charity for old and unfortunate comrades, sprang a sturdy young giant in the shape of the Confederate Veteran Camp of New York. The persons present on this occasion were Rev. Dr. W. W. Page, J. R. McNulty, S. W. Jones, John F. Black and W. S. Keiley.

Upon the following 8th day of March this same body of men, with the addition of Jos. H. Stewart and Edward Owen, met at the room of the Young Men's Christian Association of Harlem. Major McNulty was elected temporary chairman and W. S. Keiley temporary secretary. The propriety of starting an organization of Confederate veterans was exhaustively argued. While it was not at this meeting definitely decided to organize, yet a committee composed of Jos. H. Stewart, Dr. W. W. Page and Edward Owen, was appointed to draft a constitution and prepare a circular letter to be sent to persons likely to be in sympathy with such a movement as that proposed. The meeting adjourned to meet again on the 21st day of March in Dr. Page's study.

At this meeting the handful of men was increased by a few additions. Col. J. J. Garnett was made temporary chairman, and S. Calhoun Smith chosen temporary secretary. The committee previously appointed to prepare a circular letter, made their report, and their letter was adopted, ordered printed and arranged to be distributed. The meeting then adjourned to convene again on April 11, at the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association of Harlem.

It will be observed that all the meetings, so far, were in the nature of mere discussions of the feasibility of the project, with no decided step toward permanent organization.

The importance and serious nature of the plan was realized, and undue haste and precipitancy carefully guarded against. It was thought that if the scheme of a Confederate veteran organization were doomed to become a failure, it were better never to be undertaken. Accordingly delay was made to give opportunity for a sufficient accession of strength and numbers to guarantee a hopeful beginning; while at the same time means were employed to place the idea before the minds of those who would naturally be interested in such a movement.

At the meeting of April 11th twenty-one persons were present, J. R. McNulty presiding. After a full explanation of the events which had led up to this meeting by the chairman, the idea was enthusiastically received, and the Confederate Veteran Camp of New York duly organized by the election of provisional officers. The Constitution, prepared by the committee of a previous meeting, was submitted and so much of it adopted as covered the election of officers and specified the name and objects of the organization. Article II., following, defined the objects:

"Article II.—The object shall be to perpetuate the memories of our fallen comrades; to minister to the wants of needy and worthy Confederate soldiers and sailors, and their widows and orphans, and to preserve and maintain the sentiment of fraternity that was born amid the pleasures, hardships and dangers of the march, bivouac and battlefield.

"Having long since buried the animosities engendered by the war, it is our desire to extend to our late adversaries in arms on every fitting occasion, courtesies which characterize intercourse between soldiers and dignify a common citizenship.

"Avoiding everything that partakes of partisanship in religion or politics, we shall lend our aid to the maintenance of law and the preservation of order."

The provisional officers elected were as follows: Commander, A. G. Dickinson; First Lieutenant-Commander, Thos. L. Snead; Second Lieutenant-Commander, J. J. Garnett; Third Lieutenant-Commander, Jos H. Stewart; Adjutant, Wm. S. Keiley; Pay Master, Edward Owen; Quarter Master, Stephen W. Jones; Chaplain, Rev. Dr. W. W. Page; Officer of the Day, S. Calhoun Smith.

Under its provisional organization the Camp held meetings at Washington Hall, at the corner of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street and Seventh Avenue, and steadily increased in numbers. During this period occurred one of the most striking and memorable affairs in its history. It was decided that the Camp should be present as a body at Richmond, Virginia, on the 28th day of May, 1890, to participate in the ceremonies attending the unveiling of the statue of General Robert E. Lee. Accordingly the Camp left

New York on the evening of May 27th, arriving in Richmond the following morning.

As the men disembarked they formed in line, and with national colors flying, and led by Beck's Philadelphia Band, one hundred and twenty battle-scarred Confederate veterans from New York marched to the residence of Col. Dickinson's daughter, Mrs. R. L. Norris, where the Commander had established his headquarters. Here the command was drawn up in line, in the presence of hundreds of interested spectators, and supported by the "Stewart Light Horse," a superb body of men commanded by the gallant Captain Register. The latter assisted in the ceremonies which followed, attending the presentation of a handsome stand of Camp colors typical of the "Bonnie Blue Flag,"—a graceful offering from the Commander to the Camp. The presentation was made in an inspiring speech by the beautiful young daughter of the Commander, Miss Fannie R. Dickinson, in the following words:

JOHN R. McNULTY.

To you, Confederate veterans of New York, I have been deputized by my father, Col. A. G. Dickinson, your commander, to present this beautiful flag. It is apparent at once, that this gift represents a sentiment dear to the heart of every Confederate soldier. It is not national in character, for it is neither "red, white and red," nor "red, white and blue." It is merely typical of "The Bonny blue flag that bears a single star." Yes, already the sentiment is explained, and no doubt has touched every old Southern soldier's heart, and as the emblem of your Camp, in your Northern homes, when assembled beneath its folds it will remind you of your unparalleled heroism on a hundred battlefields, in close proximity to the very spot where you now stand, central in which has been erected by loving hearts, the bronze equestrian statue of your great leader, General Robert E. Lee, whose honor and glory you are assembled at this moment to commemorate. Take it and wreathe it in graceful folds with the flag of your country, as I do now, and love the one as a sentiment, that awakened in your souls the grandest deeds of daring ever performed by mortal men, and revere the other because you are American patriots, and it is your flag, this is your country, and in your brave keeping it will always be honored, and will cover you with its protecting folds, and will be the forerunner of liberty wherever your posterity may carry it. Bear both these flags back to your Northern homes; place them together conspicuously in your place of meeting, and in remembrance of

this occasion when your hearts are overflowing with tender memories and your fancies carry you back to the Sunny South and your glorious deeds of heroism in defense of principles to which you can only remain "faithful unto death."

The flag was received by Second Lieutenant-Commander J. J. Garnett from whose eloquent speech we quote as follows:

With mingled emotions I accept this beautiful banner which now serves in place of the flag that was emblematic of the cause to which we, my comrades, consecrated our lives, our hopes and aspirations, our all, for four long and bitter years. . . . It speaks to me at this moment a language more eloquent than I can command, a language that speaks of undying love for those brave men who gave their lives for the principles for which they fought, in the days when you and, I my comrades, followed the stars and the bars on the wearisome march, slept while it waved over our bivouacs, and were cheered when it floated above us on the field of battle. That flag, single in its integrity of purpose, was to us in all circumstances a beacon and an inspiration. . . . Under it we tasted the bitterness of defeat—saw all our cherished hopes swept away after a struggle unparalleled for bravery, heroism and devotion on our part and on the part of our antagonists, to whom I cheerfully accord the meed of praise which is their due. . . . Intertwined with the victorious stars and stripes it will still remain to our people an escutcheon upon which is emblazoned never-dying recollections of deeds which will prove after we have passed away an incentive to the best impulses of humanity the world over.

After these ceremonies, at the word of command, the veterans from New York proceeded to the place of rendezvous on Main Street, and joined in the line of march to the statue of Lee. What memories of the distant past were brought vividly to the minds of those who in years gone by had marched through these same streets on the way to the battlefield!

Amid all the thousands of war-worn veterans assembled on this solemn occasion, none presented a better appearance, nor bore themselves more bravely, than the "boys" of the Confederate Veteran Camp of New York. They received one round of cheers from the beginning to the end of the march. After the march Col. Dickinson entertained the entire command at a bountiful dinner given at his daughter's house.

This happy occasion gave an impetus to the growth of the organization, and presently the increase of its members compelled the abandonment of the Harlem headquarters for some more central point. Pending the selection of a permanent headquarters, the St. James Hotel was chosen as a meeting-place.

On the fourth Tuesday of October, 1890, an election was held for permanent officers to serve during the ensuing year. The following ticket was elected:

Officers, 1890–1891. Commander, Andrew G. Dickinson; First Lieutenant-Commander, James H. Parker; Second Lieutenant-Commander, John J. Garnett; Third Lieutenant-Commander, Wm. W. Flannagan; Adjutant, William S. Keiley; Pay-

master, Edward Owen; Quartermaster, Stephen W. Jones; Surgeon, Dr. J. H. Shorter; Assistant Surgeon, Dr. R. C. M. Page; Chaplain, Rev. Dr. William W. Page; Counsel, J. Edward Graybill, Wm. J. Hardy; Officer of the day, James E. Orr; Vidette, Matthew Clark; National Color Bearer, A. Poindexter; Camp Color Bearer, R. Wayne Wilson; Executive Committee, John R. McNulty, Chairman, Thomas A. Young, Dr.

STEPHEN W. JONES.

Wm. H. May, J. H. Cohen, John F. Black, F. G. De Fontaine, Arthur A. Esdra, Edward Owen, Secretary.

January 19, 1891, was another red-letter day in the history of the Camp, it being the occasion of the first subscription banquet held on the anniversary of the birthday of Robert E. Lee. It was decided that henceforth this day should be annually commemorated in a similar manner. The affair in question was held at the New York Hotel, Col. Dickinson presiding, while more than one hundred and fifty persons sat at the tables. The dinner was a great success. It was enlivened by speech and song, while every voice joined in the chorus of the soul-stirring "Dixie," and the sweet "Suwanee River."

During the entertainment the Commander, with the principal officers of the Camp, proceeded to the apartments of Mrs. Jefferson Davis, then stopping at the New York Hotel, and returned accompanied by Miss Winnie Davis. She was conducted to the chair of the Commander and introduced by him amid the greatest enthusiasm. The "boys" made the welkin ring again and again by their vigorous and continued cheers of greeting. While Miss Davis acted as presiding officer, Col. Dickinson proceeded to deliver his address of welcome to the gallant veterans of the war—representative men from North and South—who composed the "goodly company."

Miss Davis presently withdrew upon the arm of the Commander, when the following toasts brought forth an eloquent flow of oratory:

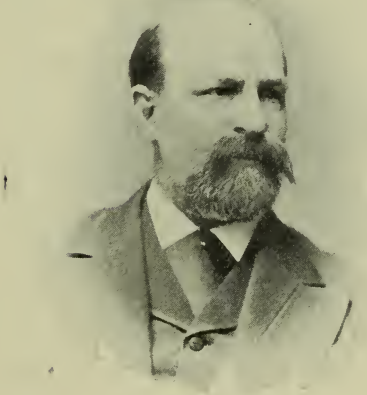
1, The President of the United States. 2, The Memory of Lee, Col. Chas. H. Marshall. 3, Let us have Peace, Gen'l Daniel E. Sickles. 4, The Confederate Veteran, Hon. W. C. Oates. 5, Our Country—The United States, Hon. Chas. T. O'Farrel. 6, The Soldier Journalist 61–65,

Col. Jno. A. Cockerill. 7, The Southern Women in War and Peace, Col. Chas O'B. Cowardin. 8, The City of New York—Our adopted home, Hon. Jno. S. Wise. 9, Our old Home—The South, Hon. Benton M'Millan. 10, Our Sister Organization—The Southern Society, Capt. Hugh R. Garden. 11, Our Soldier Dead.

This dinner was particularly noteworthy, as being the first public assemblage of Confederate veterans in New York City. Among the many distinguished guests present were Bishop Potter, General Fitz John Porter, Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, Hon. C. S. Baker, Hosea B. Perkins. General E. P. Alexander, Major Geo. W. McLean, Judge H. W Bookstaver, Surrogate R. S. Ranson and James Swann.

The next event of importance was the benefit given on May 28, 1891, by Mr. Stuart Robson and his company, for the purpose of increasing the Relief Fund of the Camp, and thus enlarging its facilities for rendering assistance to worthy and needy Confederates. On the date mentioned, a matinee performance of "Henrietta" was given at the Union Square Theatre. Mr. Robson contributed the services of his entire company. Mr. J. M. Hill donated the use of the theatre, providing ushers, gas, music, etc. Many newspapers entirely remitted their bills for advertising, while others reduced their rates. The theatre was crowded, and the benefit netted a handsome sum for the Fund. After the performance, Comrade Samuel B. Paul, accompanied by the Commander and others, appeared upon the stage, and in behalf of the Camp, and as a testimonial of its appreciation, in an eloquent speech, presented to Mr. Robson a beautiful badge of gold, with stars of diamonds. Mr. Robson responded in a speech full of most beautiful and eloquent sentiments, in part, as follows:

"I shall always feel a thrill of pride



JOHN F. BLACK.

hereafter when I recall the share you have let me take in paying the debt of the Confederacy to its Veterans and its Veterans' children. Surely even the most bigoted of your foes will not deny your right to assume the one great obligation left you by the war! You make no appeal to Congress. You put no ravenous hand into the National Treasury. You take nothing from the Nation's surplus

wealth. All you do is to confess your debt to your heroes and pay it, as best you can, with your own money...

"But there are others, whose ears the dust has stopped, who will never hear another trumpet sound. Rank upon rank, regiment after regiment, brigade upon brigade — they lie as they fell, eyes front, facing the heavens. Never forget them! Let your gratitude shine on their graves with the sunlight! Let your tears keep the dew company at nightfall. Dutiful and devoted sons of their several commonwealths were they, and now each sleeps again in the bosom of the mother that bore him. . . . Happy sleepers are they — whose hands are folded on their unheaving breasts, whose labors are over, whose tasks are done, whose slumbers will never more be broken — not even by the dawn of the new day of prosperity that smiles upon their beloved Southland! They sleep sweetly and soundly, lullabied no longer by the boom of cannon, the rattle of musketry, the wail of bereavement and despair. The sacred soil in which they lie, throbs with new energies. The jubilant song of the new Era of the South, drowns the dirge of the Lost Cause. . . Go South, as I have been South this winter, and see for yourself whether it could have been a Lost Cause that in its setting woke so great a people to such magnificent achievements! The ringing picks of Southern miners, the roar of Southern engines and machinery, the rejoicings of Southern trade and commerce — they are the symphony of triumph — not the sound of defeat!

"No! No! No! All of us, the man of the North and the man of the South — we owe to the soldiers of both armies — the soldier of the Union and the soldier of the Confederacy — a debt which none of us has yet measured — a debt which none can ever pay in its entirety. Each, unwittingly, died for the other — and all of them died for all of us. Each sleeps in a grave on which falls equally the benediction of a re-united people. Deep-rooted in their dust there shall blossom over them and of them forever and forever, the roses that stand for love and hope — the lilies that stand for peace!"

Two days after this affair, on the 30th of May, in response to a very cordial and pressing invitation from the U. S. Grant Post G. A. R. of Brooklyn, the Camp joined with them in participation in the memorial ceremonies held at the tomb of General Grant. The Camp turned out in strong numbers, and enjoyed a most delightful trip with "our friends the enemy," on their boat from South Ferry. Hon. John S. Wise, of the Camp, was the orator of the day. On the return trip the Camp disembarked at Twenty-third street, and at the request of their hosts, saluted the departing boat from the landing with a good old "Rebel Yell."

The second annual election of the Camp was held on the fourth Tues-

day of October, 1891, the following regular ticket being elected:

Officers, 1891–92.—Commander, Dr. J. H. Parker; First Lieutenant-Commander, W. W. Flannagan; Second Lieutenant-Commander; A. R. Chisolm; Third Lieutenant-Commander, W. B. Williams; Adjutant, Thomas A. Young; Paymaster, Edward Owen; Quartermaster, Stephen W. Jones; Surgeon, Dr. R. C. M. Page; Assistant Surgeon, Dr. J. Harvie Dew; Chaplain, Rev. Dr. William W. Page; Counsel, J. Edward Graybill, William J. Hardy; Officer of the Day, W. W. Tayleure; Sergeant-Major J. L. De Treville; Vidette, Jno Halbert; National Color Bearer, A. Poindexter; Camp Color Bearer, R. Wayne Wilson; Exective Committee, J. R. McNulty, Chairman. Jno. F. Black, Arthur A. Esdra, J. D. Harby, Samuel B. Paul, Dr. J. J. Rivera, R. E. Freeman. Edward Owen, Secretary.

WM. S. KEILEY.

Under a new clause in the Constitution, Col. Dickinson was made Past Commander, and presented with a handsome badge of gold, studded with diamonds.

The committees appointed by the Executive Committee to serve during the year of 1891–92, were as follows:

Committees, 1891–92.—Membership Committee, Thos, A. Young, Chairman. Stephen W. Jones, William S. Keiley. Auditing Committee, W. W Flannagan, Chairman. H. N. Bullington, J. K. Overton. Relief Committee, S. Calhoun Smith, Chairman. Eugene H. Levy, Dr. William H. May. Employment Committee, Arthur A. Esdra, Chairman. Peter Mallett. J. R. McNulty, Thos. A. Young, W. S. Merritt.

The second annual subscription dinner took place on the 19th of January, 1892, at the Colonnade, First Lieutenant-Commander, W. W. Flannagan, presiding. Eloquent speeches in response to toasts were made by Hon. C. E. Hooker of Mississippi, Hon. John S. Wise, Hon. C. G. F. Wahle, Jr.. Col. John A. Cockerill, General Fitz John Porter, Hon. James W. Ridgway and other distinguished guests.

On the 30th of May last, the Camp, a second time united with the U. S. Grant Post G. A. R. of Brooklyn, in the memorial exercises at the tomb of the Northern chieftain at Riverside

Park. The floral offering contributed on this occasion was distinctly Southern, the Camp having sent to Georgia and Florida for palmetto trees, yucca, Spanish moss, pomegranites and magnolias, with which a beautiful garden was made near the tomb.

In addition to its Annual Lee Anniversary banquet, the Camp occasionally enjoys what it designates as "informal" subscription dinners, where comrades meet comrades, and, shoulder to shoulder attack the choice viands placed before them, while wit, stories and reminiscences flow spontaneously and uninterrupted by any formality. This might be considered as a sort of substitute for the camp-fire of the bivouac.

But the most important and most characteristic feature of the Confederate Camp of New York, has not yet been touched upon. As already explained, the organization grew out of the idea of providing systematic help to deserving ex-soldiers of the Confederacy, its original constitution stipulating that a principal object was "to minister to the wants of needy and worthy Confederate soldiers and sailors, and their widows and orphans."

The Relief Committee, under the management of S. Calhoun Smith, visits all cases brought to its attention of Confederate veterans in sickness or distress, and all proper wants of persons eligible for relief are promptly provided for. The Camp is in the attitude of one searching for the needy and suffering, and yet the strictest care is taken to prevent a mis-application of relief funds. Any case of destitution becoming known to a comrade, or any person applying for help, is referred to the Relief Committee, who investigate the war record of each applicant. If found worthy, and in immediate need of help, a blank requisition for the necessary sum of money is filled up and signed by some member of the Relief Committee. The order must next receive the signature of the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and when this is obtained and the order presented to the paymaster, accompanied by the War Record of the applicant, a check for the specified amount is immediately drawn.

Such cases are explained and passed upon at the next meeting of the Executive Committee, and if approved the further needs of the sufferer are provided for. Where the case is not so urgent, it is referred to the Executive Committee and carefully investigated before any payment is made. By this system of committees and officers held strictly to account, the opportunities for fraudulent applicants are not good, and as a matter of fact, the impositions upon the Camp, among a large number of cases relieved, have been exceedingly rare.

The medical staff of the Camp — a feature especially deserving of praise — is under the direction of the eminent physicians, Dr. R. C. M. Page, as

Surgeon, and Dr. J. Harvie Dew, as Assistant Surgeon. New York City is divided into six districts, Brooklyn into two, Paterson, New Jersey, into one, each district being in charge of a District Surgeon who is a member of the Camp. Cases requiring medical assistance are referred to the Surgeon who in turn notifies the physician in whose district the needy patient resides; while the doctor thus summoned attends the case, without pay, so long as his services are required. A full report of each case is made to the Chief Surgeon, who in turn reports to the Camp at its regular meetings. The various districts, with the surgeons in charge, are as follows:

First District, Dr. J. H. Shorter, 107 E. 12th St. 23d street. South and East of Broadway; Second District, Dr. G. T. Harrison, 221 W. 23d St. 23d Street, South and West of Broadway; Third District, Dr. W. H. May, 50 W. 24th St. 23d St., North to 59th St. and West of 5th Ave.; Fourth District, Dr. Walker A. Hawes, 745 Lexington Ave. 23d St., North to 59th St. and East of 5th Ave.; Fifth District, Dr. Theo. Steele, 571 Park Ave. 59th Street, North and East of 5th Ave.; Sixth District, Dr. W. Warren Talley, 110 W. 104th St. 59th Street, North and West of 5th Ave.: Brooklyn, Dr. J. J. Rivera, 354 4th St., Dr. Jas. H. Patton, 26 Hanover Place. Paterson, N. J., Dr. O. V. Garnett, 154 Straight St. Dentist, Dr. Geo. Howe Winkler, 255 West 44th St.

In the event of death, the poor comrade may be decently buried in the plot belonging to the Camp in Willow Grove Cemetery, on Long Island, the Chaplain of the Camp officiating.

Another interesting feature of the Camp is its Counsel, composed of J. E. Graybill and W. J. Hardy, who stand ready at any time to assist poor veterans by legal advice or their personal services in court, without

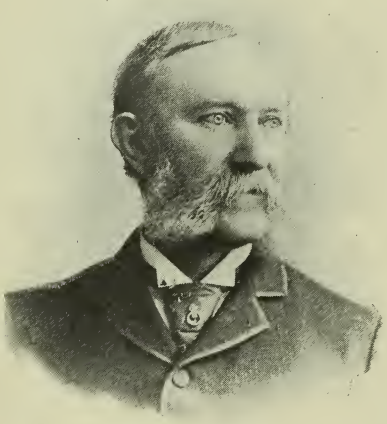
JOS. H. STEWART.

thought of payment. On various occasions their assistance in this way has been of inestimable benefit.

Still another feature, is the Employment Committee, whose object is to obtain work for any veteran desiring it, and unable to procure a position by his own exertions.

Thus it will be seen that needy comrades receive freely and without

cost the most eminent medical attention to be had in the country, with legal advice and prompt financial and other assistance according to their requirements. It is proper to say at this point that the money belonging to the Relief Fund is kept separate from the general fund of the Camp, and is employed solely and entirely in assisting the needy. We might quote from the Relief Record Book numerous striking cases where aid



EDWARD OWEN.

in one or more of these directions has been administered — sometimes just in time to avert serious calamity. We shall, however, confine ourselves to the single case of "W. H. Richardson," as he was known to us, which is, perhaps, especially interesting on account of the unsolved mystery which attaches to it. The record in the Relief Book is as follows:

"W. H. Richardson, on March 24, 1891, first applied for assistance, and received it — was suffering from consumption. He was aided, and looked after during his sickness by Dr. May, and through Dr. R. C. M. Page was admitted to the Polyclinic Hospital, and attended by Doctors Page and May, until April 22, 1892, when he died. He was buried in the lot belonging to the Camp in Willow Grove Cemetery, Long Island.

"He would never give any account of himself nor his family, nor could anything be found in his few papers to reveal the mystery. He claimed to belong to the First Virginia Cavalry. It is supposed the above name is fictitious."

The poor man was found in the last stages of his disease in a wretched room and was rescued just in time to prevent his landlady from turning him into the streets. A letter from his mother was found among his effects, but the envelope was gone, while the letter contained neither address nor even the signature of a sirname. His determined silence left no clue to his identity except his assertion concerning his regiment in the war. When the agony of death was settling upon him, and the power of speech had already failed, with great difficulty he wrote upon the margin of a daily paper: "I am about to die. I hope the Camp will see that I am decently buried. I come of a race of Virginia gentlemen who knew no

fear:" Very shortly after this last effort of will he passed into the "great unknown." Several eminent Virginians were communicated with concerning this case, and a prominent notice inserted in the "Richmond Dispatch," but no solution of the mystery has ever been received.

The Camp has steadily increased in numbers since its organization, until it now counts more than two hundred members, including bank presidents, judges, members of Congress, and many who are eminently high and prominent in finance, law, medicine, journalism, business and social life.

A new feature was added some months ago in the shape of auxiliary members known as the "Sons of Confederate Veterans," consisting of the immediate male descendants and nephews and brothers of those who honorably served in the army or navy of the Confederate States. The mission of the auxiliary is to perpetuate the memory of the Confederate veterans, who must all soon depart, and continue the purpose of the Camp. It already has a membership of about fifty. The Auxiliary will soon be formally organized, electing officers and holding meetings of its own; and as time goes on it will be left to the "Sons" to carry on and perfect the work begun by their fathers.

A project is now on foot to purchase, and thus provide the Camp with, a permanent headquarters, by the issue of bonds to be subscribed for by members, which will be a sort of sanctuary of comradeship, where non-resident members and veterans throughout the South may come to meet old comrades and rehearse the "stirring scenes of war" in the "piping times of peace." It is also proposed that next year, on June 6th, the Memorial Day of the South, the Camp shall visit Lexington, Virginia, and participate in the ceremonies at the tomb of Generals Robert E. Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson.

Though a comparatively young organization in point of years, the Confederate Veteran Camp of New York has long since won the respect of the community and the good will of the press by its conservative course and careful attention to its charities. Many a poor fellow blesses it, and many widows, wives and children thank God for its existence.

EDWARD OWEN.

COLONEL A. G. DICKINSON.

Col. Andrew Glassell Dickinson, whose portrait forms the frontispiece of this number, and who was the first Commander of the Confederate Veteran Camp of New York, and is its present Past Commander, was born at Bowling Green, Caroline County, Virginia, April 15, 1835. The Dickinsons came to America from Dundee, Scotland, in early colonial days, settling first in New England, thence spreading to Pennsylvania, and from this colony to Virginia. The distinguished men of this name in the history of New England, New York and Pennsylvania, as well as the Western and Southern States, were all representatives of the one family. John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, founder of Dickinson College, was a distinguished and wealthy leader in the Revolutionary era, who prepared for Pennsylvania in 1775 an address of remonstrance to the King, and was largely instrumental in shaping the United States Constitution and in securing its adoption by the States.

Mr. Festus Dickinson, the father of Col. Dickinson, was a worthy representative of this distinguished family. He graduated from Dickinson College, and soon afterwards married Miss Elizabeth Brashear, of Frederick County, Maryland.

On his mother's side Col. Dickinson has an equally honorable ancestry, his grandmother being Miss Magruder, an aunt of two of Virginia's famous sons — Gen. John Bankhead Magruder, formerly of the United States Army, and later of Confederate war-fame, and Commodore George Magruder, of the United States Navy. The history of the Magruder family is interwoven with the history of Virginia. They are direct descendants of the illustrious Rob Roy McGregor, head of the McGregor Clan, which so valorously opposed British oppression in Scotland, until at length by superior numbers being scattered to the four corners of the earth, and proscribed by edict of the Crown, they were compelled to change their name to avoid imprisonment and death.

Col. Dickinson received his early education at a military school in Virginia, and soon after removed to Mississippi, and later to Louisiana, where he embarked in an active and successful mercantile career. Just at the outbreak of the war he was married to Miss Sue Marshall Coleman, daughter of Col. Nicholas D. Coleman of Vicksburg, Miss., and of Lucy Marshall, a niece of the illustrious Chief-Justice Marshall. When war

was about to divide the nation, young Dickinson refused to act precipitately as to secession. He earnestly sought the preservation of the Union, but feeling that his first allegiance was to his native State, awaited the action of Virginia, and when she withdrew from the Union, he knew that all hope of a peaceful solution was at an end. He at once raised a company and offered his services to the Confederacy. He was soon withdrawn from the "line" and placed as Assistant Adjutant General upon the staff of Major General Magruder. So conspicious was his ability, that at the age of twenty-six he was given command of the Northwestern Division of General Magruder's military department — the line of the Rio Grande — and rendered invaluable service as projector and organizer of the great Cotton Bureau of the Trans-Mississippi Department. But for this achievement it would have been impossible for the Confederacy to have endured so long as it did. With the Mississippi River and the Atlantic and Gulf coasts thoroughly blockaded with Federal forts and gun-boats, this Bureau opened an avenue through Mexican ports for the export of cotton and the import of supplies, munitions of war and money. Through this scheme Col. Dickinson also conferred a substantial and lasting benefit upon the State of Texas, in developing her commercial possibilities, so that this Commonwealth unlike her Southern sisters, found herself richer at the close than at the beginning of the war.

The following incident of the capture of Galveston was told by the distinguished soldier and editor, Col. Francis W. Dawson, in his journal, the "Charlestown News." "There is genuine romance," he writes, "in the story of the career of a comrade and friend of mine, who has never yet appeared in the field of politics. One of the most recklessly brave men in the confederate service was Col. Andrew G. Dickinson, of Caroline County, Va., who was Adjutant-General of General John Bankhead Magruder, throughout the Confederate war. Not only was Col. Dickinson a dauntless soldier, as was proven on many a hard fought field, but he had likewise administrative ability of a high order, as was shown by his administration of the Cotton Bureau, by which the whole of the Trans-Mississippi Department was furnished with commissary stores and munitions of war." "In January, 1863, General Magruder with his forces captured Galveston. Just before the hour of battle Col. Dickinson called the attention of General Magruder to the fact that a convent containing a large number of nuns would be exposed to the fire of the enemy, and requested that he might be allowed to take a sufficient number of ambulances and remove the nuns, and that the engagement might not be opened until this duty had been performed. General Magruder in-

stantly gave the necessary permission. It was then about the hour of midnight. Col. Dickinson took the ambulances and one or two couriers and went to the convent, where all was silent. The nuns in it were not even aware of the fact that General Magruder's army was on the island, and were startled by the announcement that battle was about to be joined. The Lady Superior, however, declined to leave the convent, saying they preferred to remain where they were so as to be present in case their services were needed for the wounded, and that, besides, it was not the custom of their order to seek a place of safety in time of danger, whether from disease or the clash of arms. Col. Dickinson agreed to allow them to remain on the condition that an officer should stay with them in charge of the ambulances, so that in the event that the danger became serious the nuns might be removed. After accomplishing this Col. Dickinson galloped off, and upon his arrival at headquarters the engagement began.

"Mark what followed. About daylight the fire from the shipping of the enemy became extremely severe, and some of the raw Confederate troops fell into disorder and left their guns. Col. Dickinson was at the headquarters of the commanding general, worn out by fatigue, when the fact was reported. He was ordered to take a small command of cavalry and drive back, if necessary, the retreating troops to their guns. This was successfully accomplished, but as Col. Dickinson rode down the principal street, which was raked by the enemy's batteries, a shell exploded within a few feet of his head, killing a number of his men and wounding him severely in several places. He was taken to headquarters in what was considered a dying condition, and it was then that the good Father Aunstead insisted that he should be taken to the convent and nursed there. The nuns cared for Col. Dickinson until his health was restored, and the lively sense of gratitude which this induced is the explanation of the extremely cordial relations which existed between Col. Dickinson and Archbishop Perche of Louisiana and his secretary — the same Father Aunstead who assisted Col. Dickinson when he was wounded at Galveston."

As a matter of fact, certain prominent Catholics called the late Pope's attention to Col. Dickinson's conduct on this occasion, in order that some Papal decoration might be conferred upon him; but the death of the Pope at the time, as well as of some of the others interested, caused the matter to go by default. The wound received at Galveston was one of the most desperate inflicted during the war, the missile entering the left eye, which was entirely destroyed, and lodging on the membrane covering the brain, from which delicate position it was skillfully extracted by the dis-

tinguished Dr. Howard Smith, late of New Orleans. He was also carefully attended and nursed by Dr. William R. Smith, then old and retired, but one of the most skillful surgeons of the South, and to these two gentlemen it is probable that he owes his life. After the battle of Galveston, Col. Dickinson was recommended by the commanding general, with the endorsement of all the general officers of the Texas army, for the position of Brigadier General. But the bearer of these dispatches to the seat of goverment was captured, and the war ended before the Colonel could be confirmed in that position, as communications were entirely cut off between Richmond and the armies of the Trans-Mississippi Department.

Col. Dickinson's promotions were as rapid as they could be in the Adjutant General's Department. Previous to his assignment to the Trans-Mississippi Department, General Magruder, commanding the centre of Lee's army, had fought two of the bloody battles of the celebrated seven days' fight in defence of Richmond, which ended with McClelland's defeat at Malvern Hill, and his retirement to Harrison's Landing and escape by sea. Throughout this campaign Col. Dickinson was Magruder's trusty aid, while during the battle of Savage Station he won the rare distinction of a promotion upon the field. He then held the rank of Major, with the position of Adjutant General. The death of General Griffith, on the day preceding the Savage Station fight, placed Col. Wm. Barksdale, as senior colonel, in command of Griffith's Mississippi Brigade. The latter had as yet seen but little active service, having been absent from his command, engaged in civil and political duties. Accordingly, when it was decided that his Brigade should go into the fight, he requested that Col. Dickinson might go to the front with him, to assist and counsel him. Col. Dickinson urgently seconded the request, and General Magruder, always ready to give opportunity to any of his officers to distinguish themselves, consented. Col. Dickinson first put Kershaw's Brigade into action. These gallant men remained firmly at their post, although they were actually decimated by the galling fire of the enemy. Presently Barksdale Brigade was ordered to their relief, the fresh troops passing through their center, and forming in line in front, while Kershaw's brave men fell back with their wounded. As had been arranged, Col. Dickinson, worn and exhausted with the day's fight, remained with Col. Barksdale. The Federal troops were shouting, and pouring in a deadly fire, although the two lines could scarcely distinguish each other on account of the growing dusk. Col. Dickinson saw that darkness threatened soon to end the fighting for the night without any decisive result, and realizing that the Mississippians were in their best possible

condition while fresh, he counseled an immediate charge with bayonets. Col. Barksdale unhesitatingly gave the bold command. The troops advanced on the double-quick which soon developed almost into a run, and with a yell which inspired terror in the opposing ranks. The charge was irresistable, the Federals were routed, and, hotly pursued by the Mississippians until after eight o'clock at night, lost many prisoners. An hour and a half later, General Magruder, about his rude camp-fire, was congratulating Col. Barksdale upon his success, while the latter declared that Col. Dickinson had rendered such assistance that he felt compelled to beg the General to promote him. Magruder turned to his young relative with a smile and said: "I sincerely congratulate you, sir, for your gallantry; and in the presence of these officers, here upon the field, I have the honor to promote you to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and will recommend you to the Secretary of War at once for this position." It is needless to say that the promotion was confirmed.

The limited space of this article does not permit us even to touch upon the hundred other romantic episodes of Col. Dickinson's military career, to all of which an additional tinge of romance is added by the fact that his brave wife accompanied him on the march and in the camp to the end of the struggle, bearing his children beneath the war-tent. Concerning his distinguished achievements in civil life, we quote from the "New York World," of December 14, 1884:

"After the war Col. Dickinson came to New York and undertook a commercial life, in which he met with signal success. Beginning with Cuba he organized all the West India Islands, the whole of South and Central America, and Mexico, in one grand department, which has now become one of the great pillars of the New York Life Insurance Company. The immense success of this scheme has placed Col. Dickinson in the front rank of insurance men. It was a project of his own conception, and he has splendidly executed the plans which were laid out by him about thirteen years ago. . . We have little doubt that this business will prove the opening wedge to the improved commercial relations which we are now seeking to bring about between those countries and our own."

The letters and articles of Col. Dickinson form the pioneer literature on the subject of reciprocity between the United States and Spanish-America, he having presented this scheme in the practical shape afterwards adopted by the Government. A testimony concerning the difficult nature of his work will be more convincing from a Spanish authority, hence we quote from "La Revista Mercantile," of New York, for July, 1886: "Col. Dickinson has obtained besides the object of his propaganda, a result truly remarkable for the

future intimacy of the two Americas — confidence between the two races. . . . He had to battle with prejudices against his business and with prejudices against his country. The institution of life insurance was unknown to a large majority, and those that did know of it had no confidence in it. In an equal measure was the true character of the Americans unknown — they had been painted to those people as selfish and devoid of all sincerity, uneducated and superficial. To destroy this false impression was, indeed, a hard task. It was necessary to begin by impressing the minds of the people, by vivid examples of the qualities they had been led to believe this race did not possess, and this was for Col. Dickinson his most easy victory. His culture, his exquisite tact, and his amiable disposition, won for him the friendship of all. All he said was accepted: all he promised was as if solemnly sworn; and in a space of time almost incredible, he disarmed all prejudices, made clear all doubts, explained all obscure points, and founded on a granite basis the good opinion of his enterprise, not only in the light of a necessity, but also as a moral factor on the social structure . . Of these sentiments we have an eloquent proof in the reward for his labors which Col. Dickinson has lately received at the hands of the Queen Regent of Spain — Donna Maria Christina — who has bestowed on him the Cross of the Royal Order of Knighthood of Isabella la Catolica, as a testimony of the appreciation of the services he has rendered the inhabitants of the Spanish Antilles, by introducing among them the beneficent institution of life insurance."

The significance of this remarkable decoration is explained in a friendly note to Col. Dickinson from Senor J. A. Fesser, of the great family of merchants who have stood for a century at the head of commerce in Havana, Cuba. "Allow me most warmly to congratulate you," he writes, "upon the dignity of Knighthood in the Royal Order of Isabella, the Catholic, which the Queen Regent of Spain has conferred upon you, and which, according to Article III, of the Charter of the Order, carries as inherent to it the dignity of a nobleman of the realm. No one, even among the Spanish Knights of the order, deserves it better, or can wear the ensigns of the order more proudly."

That the Spanish Government was not alone in the appreciation of Col. Dickinson's labors as a humanitarian, is attested by the following remarkable document:

"THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA,

"With the approval of the Federal Council, confers the decoration of the third class of 'The Liberator' upon Col. A. G. Dickinson.

"This order, which has been established to perpetuate the memory of the hero who founded the five repub-

lics of South America, is the highest honor which the country confers upon its distinguished servants, and upon those natives or foreigners who are worthy of it on account of their extraordinary merits, or on account of the services which they render humanity, or the civilization of the people.

"Given, signed and countersigned by the Secretary of State, in the latter's office, in Caracas, October 18, 1888.

(Countersigned) Guzman Blanco, President.

"Diego B. Urbaneja, Secretario."

This order, created by the Congress of Peru in 1825, and adopted in Venezuela by a legislative decree of March 11, 1854, can be conferred upon no one except presidents of the States and legislative assemblies, prelates of dioceses and presidents of universities, consuls general, confidential agents, senators and deputies of national legislatures, members of high national Courts and judges of federal tribunals having general jurisdiction throughout the Republic, and generals-in-chief.

As a citizen of New York, Col. Dickinson is a member of the leading chambers of commerce and boards of trade of the city, as well as the prominent clubs. He has been active in philanthropic enterprises, assisting individuals and generously endowing churches and societies in his native State and elsewhere. He retired from active business about four years ago. He had never spared himself while he had responsibilities upon him, either of a military or a commercial character, and he at length found himself so overworked and worn by travel, his arduous labors and multiform responsibilities, that his physician declared he must rest or his life would pay the penalty. He now resides in New York, the respected head of a large family, honored and esteemed by all who know him.

His enlistment in the cause of the Confederacy has been already described. The sentiments leading to that action are thus eloquently expressed by the editor of "La Revista Mercantil" in the article previously referred to: "When the war broke out each one sought his flag. He needs must have been a traitor who, a son of the South, did not seek his, where duty pointed it out; and under the flag of old Virginia young Dickinson enlisted. When the nation is going to pieces, the heart calls country, that marked out by the cradle and the grave; the place where we first saw light, and where we have prayed for the memory of our parents. For that bit of land we fight, and for its glory we die."

When the Confederate Veteran Camp of New York was organized it was natural that one whose life had been so crowded both with military achievements and civil triumphs and honors should be chosen as first Commander, and Col. Dickinson, as already told, was elected and re-

R. C. M. Page

elected to this position, serving during a period of eighteen months. At the end of this time he declined a renomination, expressing his desire to take his place with the rank and file, and continue the good work of building up the Society. Accordingly, he was made Past Commander, and, as described in the preceding article, a beautiful diamond badge was presented to him as a testimonial of his services, while the following touching lines were addressed to him:

"Dulce Domum,

"Nyack-on-Hudson, Oct. 12, 1891.

"Col. A. G. Dickinson,

"Commander Confederate Veteran Camp of New York.

"DEAR SIR: — At the last meeting of the 'Camp,' your letter peremptorily declining a re-election to the office which, in the opinion of your comrades, you have held with such marked ability, dignity and efficiency was read. In acknowledgement of your communication, and in accordance with your request, a committee was appointed — which we have the honor to compose — to express the deep obligation under which you have placed the Camp in the discharge of the delicate and difficult duties which devolved upon you.

"You were our first Commander — the Society was yet in its infancy when you were unanimously called to its leadership,

"In your conduct of the expedition to Richmond at the unveiling of the statue of General Robert E. Lee, as well as the general influence you have exerted upon its organization and growth, and by your uniform liberality and courtesy, it has been demonstrated that we were most fortunate in having made you our choice.

"Gallant and brave in war, in peace you have won victories over the hearts of your comrades, who will ever hold you in sentiments of highest regard.

"We have the honor on behalf of the Camp, dear Commander, to be,

"Yours faithfully,

W. H. WILLIAMS, Chairman,

W. W. PAGE,

SAMUEL B. PAUL."

With such sentiments following him into his retirement, Col. Dickinson naturally feels great affection for his comrades, as well as the greatest imaginable interest in the Camp.

DR. R. C. M. PAGE.

MAJOR RICHARD CHANNING MOORE PAGE, a prominent member of the Confederate Camp of New York, and since October, 1891, its Surgeon-in-Chief, was born at Keswick, Albemarle County, Virginia, January 2, 1841. His father was Dr. Mann Page, son of Major Carter Page of Revolutionary fame, who served on the personal staff of Lafayette in the

campaign against Cornwallis. The ancestral line runs back to the first century of English settlement in America. Major Carter was the son of Hon. John Page, son of Hon. Mann Page, son of Hon. Matthew Page, son of Hon. John Page, a merchant born in England, in 1627, who removed to Virginia, became a member of the Royal Colonial Council, and died in 1692. Major Page's mother was Miss Walker of Castle Hill, Virginia, daughter of Hon. Francis Walker, whose brother Col. John Walker, was aide-de-camp to Gen. George Washington.

Major Page was educated at the University of Virginia, where he was a student when the war broke out. He graduated in Latin and Mathematics and distinguished himself in Greek. He entered the Confederate Army at the age of twenty, enlisting at Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia, July 14th, 1861, as a private in Pendleton's Rockbridge Battery, attached to Gen. Stonewall Jackson's Brigade, in the army of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston. Young Page marched with his companions to join Beauregard and was present at the first battle of Bull Run. In October following he was transferred from the Rockbridge Battery to Capt. Lewis Coleman's Morris Artillery, and promoted to the rank of Second Gun Sergeant. He accompanied Johnston's Army in the march to the Peninsula and early in the spring of 1862 after the battle of Williamsburg was breveted Captain of Artillery In this capacity he served through the Campaign around Richmond and against McClellan and in the Battle of Antietam, and received special commendation for his brilliant services.

He was also actively engaged in the battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg. In the battle of Chancellorsville, Page's Battery occupied the front in the skirmish line, and it was only a few yards in front of its guns that the gallant Stonewall Jackson was shot accidentally by his own infantry on the night of May 2, 1863. On the following morning, to Captain Page was accorded the honor of firing the signal gun for the commencement of the battle. It was his battery also which first occupied Hazel Grove, a point sweeping Hooker's almost impregnable works and forcing that redoubtable fighter to retire. Again at Gettysburg, Page's Battery occupied a front position and was exposed to such a murderous fire that in less than an hour thirty-two of its officers and men were killed. Capt. Page was himself dangerously wounded, but recovered, and in March, 1864, was promoted to the rank of Major of Artillery. He served throughout the wilderness campaign against Grant, and in October, 1864, was detailed on the staff of Gen. John C. Breckinridge as Chief of Artillery for the Department of Southwest Virginia and East Tennesee, serving till the end of the

war. Dr. Page has published the diary kept by him during this last period and it illustrates the pathetic straits to which the Confederates were reduced in their desperate efforts to continue the struggle. For April 7, 1865, we find this entry:

"Moved through Wytheville, going east, colors flying, in following order, Lynch, Burroughs, Douth, and King, four batteries of four guns each,'the best battery of artillery ever seen in that part of the world', remarked one of Lee's inspectors, as the column moved by. It was among the last flickers of life before the rapidly dying Confederacy entered into eternal rest."

In February, 1864, Captain Page was captured by the Federals during Dahlgren's raid at Frederickshall, Louisa County, Virginia, but he managed to escape and rejoin his command. After the close of the war, in 1866, he returned to the University of Virginia and studied medicine, graduating in one session, in June, 1867. In August following he removed to New York City, and matriculated in the medical department of the University of the City of New York graduating the succeeding March. In April he entered the competitive examination for Bellevue Hospital, secured first prize, and was admitted on the staff of that institution, serving the regular term as House Physician. He was appointed District Physician, a political position, but after a short time resigned and entered the Woman's Hospital as House Surgeon.

In 1871, Dr. Page began to practice on his own account, and has resided in New York ever since. In 1874, he was married to Miss Elizabeth Fitch Winslow, of Westport, Conn., widow of Hon. Richard Henry Winslow, who founded the bank of Winslow, Lanier & Co in New York. In 1886, Dr. Page was appointed Professor of Diseases of the Chest and General Medicine in the New York Polyclinic, a position which he still holds. He is also Vice-President of the New York Academy of Medicine, and a member of the New York Pathological Society, the New York State Medical Association, and other important medical societies. Upon him was conferred the honor of an appointment as Honorary vice-President of the Paris Congress for the study of Tuberculosis.

Dr. Page is the author of a number of important medical works, among them being a "Chart of Physical Science", a "Handbook of Physical Science", and "The Practice of Medicine" which has recently appeared. He is author also of a carefully prepared Genealogy of the Page family in Virginia, including the Nelson, Walker and Randolph families. He has written some notable pamphlets, one of the most important being on "Meta Static Perotitis," a subject which attracted world-wide attention in the case of President Garfield.

Other pamphlets, perhaps not less able, treat "Typhoid Fever," "Lead Poisoning," and "Bright's Disease of the Kidneys." Dr. Page is a member of the New York Historical Society, the Virginia Historical Society, and the New York Southern Society, as well as the Confederate Camp of New York.

DR. JAMES H. PARKER.

Dr. James H. Parker, Commander of the Confederate Veteran Camp of New York, holds a prominent place among the well-known financiers of New York City. He was born in 1843 in Johnston County, North Carolina.

At the age of nineteen, at the outbreak of the Civil War, he enlisted in the Sixty-second Regiment Georgia Cavalry, and later on was transferred to Robert's North Carolina Brigade. He was variously promoted reaching the rank of second lieutenant, and held this rank until 1864 when he resigned his commission to accept a civil office as county clerk to succeed Thomas D. Snead, who had been elected to the State Senate of North Carolina.

After the close of the war Dr. Parker engaged in business in the towns of Beulah and Fremont in North Carolina. He was very successful, but at length determined to study medicine, and graduated in this profession. For two years he practiced medicine, but finding a business life more congenial, in 1870 he returned to commercial pursuits. He established himself in Charleston, South Carolina, and built up an extensive business, which he continued for twelve years, as a cotton operator, commission merchant and dealer in naval supplies.

The natural gravitation of an active business career tended toward the metropolis and in 1882 he removed to New York. In this city he secured a seat in the New York Cotton Exchange, and continuing in the cotton trade, enlarged and extended his business until he became one of the most prominent among operators. His standing is illustrated by the fact that he was elected President of the Exchange, and served two terms in that position.

Dr. Parker also became interested in various financial enterprises, and in June, 1890, he was elected Vice-President of the National Park Bank. His acceptance of this position was immediately followed by so large an accession of Southern clientage as to change the rating of the bank from the third to the first of New York banks in the amount of its deposits. With such a record it is not to be

J. H. Parker

wondered at, that in a little more than a year after his election to the Vice-Presidency of the National Park Bank, he was chosen President of the United States National Bank on Wall street.

He began his duties as President of this institution on July 1, 1891, and during the past year the bank has enjoyed one of the most phenomenal growths in the history of financial institutions. We quote an extract from the story of Dr. Parker's achievement in an issue of "The Financier" for last March:

"Through his personal influence an exceedingly large number of Southern Banks keep their accounts with his institution, and, as bankers know, this Southern clientage is very profitable. His methods of banking, though conservative, are progressive, and the 'old fogy' ideas which used to abound in banking circles, and to which some institutions still cling, —greatly to their detriment be it said —have all been eliminated, and business is transacted in the most modern way, with all the advantages accruing to the banker and his customer derived by accepting the inevitable and keeping pace with the march of financial progress.

"Does it pay to depart from the old methods of banking? This question is quickly answered by a look at the increase in the business of the bank whose officers have accepted the modern methods of banking. Dr. Parker became President of the United States National on July 1, 1891; since that time the deposits of that institution have grown at a phenomenal rate. Taking the Clearing House statements for the period of eight months it is readily seen that the net deposits have more than doubled. On July 3, 1891, the report shows deposits to the amount of $3,869,200, and on March 5th [1892] $8,059,500. An actual gain of $4,190,300. This increase of deposits has not been spasmodic, nor is it due to any one large account, but the increase has been gradual, week by week, but always sure; and it is not saying too much to ascribe it entirely to the business acumen and executive ability of the man who holds the reins of the government of the bank with a steady and unfaltering hand, and directs its affairs with a clearness of mind and method unexcelled by any bank officer in this or in any other city."

Outside of his duties as President of this bank, Dr. Parker is interested in various other enterprises, and is prominent socially in New York City. He is a member of a large number of clubs and societies, and is the President of several of them. Besides the position of Commander of the Confederate Veteran Camp of New York, he is President of the New York Club, and President of the New York Southern Society. He is a Democrat in politics but has never been an aspirant for any political office.

W. W. FLANNAGAN.

WILLIAM W. FLANNAGAN, First Lieutenant Commander of the Confederate Veteran Camp of New York, and presiding officer on the occasion of the second annual banquet of the Camp on the anniversary of General, Lee's birthday, was born November, 1844, in Charlottesville, Virginia, the site of the famous University of Virginia, founded by Thomas Jefferson.

Mr. Flannagan received a collegiate education, and after his graduation from the Virginia Military Institute in 1863, he enlisted in the Confederate army. He was in active service until the close of the war, when he returned to Charlottesville and engaged in the banking business. He became connected with the People's National Bank of Charlottesville, and was made its cashier, which position he held for ten years.

Mr. Flannagan was offered and accepted the cashiership of the Commercial National Bank of New York, upon the organization of that institution in 1885. Subsequently this bank was succeeded by the Southern National Bank of New York, with a capital of $1,000,000, of which about one half was subscribed by prominent men connected with leading southern interests. The Southern National Bank began business on May 15, 1890, with Mr. Flannagan as its president.

Under his able direction this institution has enjoyed a remarkable success, securing not alone a large southern trade, but enjoying, as well, an equally large patronage in New York City and the North. But Mr. Flannagan is best known by his advocacy of two important reformatory measures in banking methods.

He first attracted attention in 1885 by a paper submitted to the American Banker's Convention at Chicago, in which he suggested the use of the tax upon bank circulation as a safety fund for depositors. His paper was generally discussed and commended by the press throughout the country, and a bill embodying Mr. Flannagan's proposition was introduced in Congress. The idea has since been incorporated in several measures relating to National Banks.

In 1886, in an open letter to the Comptroller of the Currency, Mr. Flannagan first suggested the use of silver bullion as a basis for bank circulation—an idea which has since been adopted in a somewhat changed form by a Government circulation based on silver bullion.

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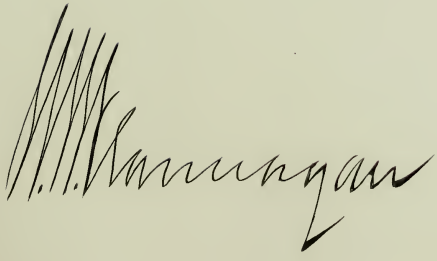


BANKERS OF CHICAGO.

EDWARD S. STICKNEY.

During the twenty years ending with 1880, Edward S. Stickney was one of the men most conspicuously identified with the banking interests of Chicago. In 1859 the unstable currency in circulation in the West, made it necessary to establish a special clearing house in Chicago, and Mr. Stickney was made manager of this clearing house. It was in this capacity that his genius for financiering first became generally noted, by reason of the skill and ability which he exhibited in making daily settlements for the banks of the city, when a fluctuating and altogether unreliable currency made such settlements exceedingly difficult to arrange on a basis satisfactory and equitable to all parties at interest. After a service of several years at the head of the Chicago Clearing House, he entered the banking house of Drexel & Co., in which he assumed important responsibilities, and with which he continued to be connected until 1868, when the Stock Yards National Bank was organized, of which he became cashier. The bank started on a modest scale, and was almost entirely under the management of Mr. Stickney from the start. Under his conduct and direction of its affairs, it built up rapidly and substantially, becoming long since one of the recognized great banking institutions of the city. In 1873 he became president of the bank, retaining the position until his death, which occurred March 20th, 1880.

Recognized for many years as one of the able, conservative and safe financiers, and one of the most sagacious business men among western banks, Mr. Stickney was much more than a banker and successful man of affairs. From the Commercial Club of Chicago, a social and business organization known all over the United States, his death drew out the following expression of sentiment;—

"Whereas, It has pleased an All Wise Providence to take from our midst, and from the varied scenes of his early usefulness, our esteemed associate Edward S. Stickney; and

"Whereas, The high estimation in which he was held, by all his associates, demand a record in the minutes of this Club; therefore

"Resolved, That in the death of Edward S. Stickney, the Commercial Club has lost a wise counsellor, a

genial associate, and a warm-hearted friend.

"Resolved, That in his death the city has lost an estimable citizen, high-toned, honorable and conservative, intelligent, active and generous in his liberal and cheerful support of its religious, benevolent and literary institutions."

The Chicago Historical Society, on April 21, 1880, at the first meeting after the death of Mr. Stickney, adopted the following;—

"Resolved, That in the death of the late Edward S. Stickney, the Chicago Historical Society has lost a valuable member; the cause of fine arts a fostering patron; music, a zealous supporter; literature, a worthy and polished sympathizer; the city of Chicago, a valuable citizen, and society at large an ornament.

"Resolved, That this declaration of our estimate of the deceased be entered upon our records, and that a copy of it be sent by our secretary to the widow of our late friend, with the expression of the cordial sympathy of our association with her in her bereavement."

These testimonials, from quite different sources, give an insight into the character of a man who was a rare combination of the skilled financier, and the scholarly and accomplished gentleman. As a boy his inclinations were toward literature, but his early life was not without its struggles; and this, while it partially robbed the world of letters of a bright and shining light, made of him a successful financier, thus, in an unusual manner, combining the two conflicting elements.

Born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, October 7, 1824, Mr. Stickney was the son of two representatives of very old Massachusetts families. He is descended from William Stickney, who immigrated from Hampton, Lincolnshire, England, to New England in 1837. There are several generations of the Stickneys of Newburyport, and the father and grandfather of Edward Swan Stickney were born there. His father, Enoch Stickney, married Sarah W. Knapp, whose family dated back almost, if not quite, as far in Colonial history, as his own, and who lived in the old homestead at Newburyport until her death at 95 years of age, within the past year.

Enoch Stickney died when his son was still a mere youth. It was this circumstance which cut short his years of study, and turned the tide of his affairs into business, rather than literary channels. He was the eldest son, and upon him devolved to a considerable extent the care and support of his widowed mother, and a younger brother and sister. That he showed a marked aptitude for business in his early youth is evidenced by the fact that before he was twenty-one years of age, he had held positions of trust and responsibility in the offices of the Boston, Concord & Montreal Railroad, and in the old Mechanics Bank of Concord. In 1855 he

E. S. Stickney

came to Chicago, and entered the establishment of John S. Wright, manufacturer of agricultural implements, where his services were fully appreciated, and where he remained until he became identified with the Clearing House and banking in 1859.

Immediately after coming to Chicago he became active in musical and literary circles, as a founder and promotor of the Philharmonic and other organizations, which have done much to advance the standard and elevate the plane of culture in the city. He also became a member of St. James Episcopal Church, of which he was for twenty-five years a regular attendant, to which he was a generous contributor during his lifetime, and which has been the recipient of munificent gifts from his family since his death.

Eminently successful as a business man, he never allowed the duties of his calling to dwarf his finer sensibilities, or to thwart his generous ambitions. Married in 1869 to Miss Elizabeth Hammond—daughter of the late A. W. Hammond, of Massachusetts, also of puritan descent, and closely related to the Woodburys and other distinguished New England families—his home in Chicago became a center of culture, and the abiding-place of choice works of art and carefully selected literature. Mr. Stickney himself was as widely known in social circles for his broad culture, as among business men for his sterling integrity, and marked capability. He owned, at the time of his death, a large collection of rare books, engravings and etchings, to which he was making constant additions. Of this characteristic a writer has said; "His knowledge of worth in art, especially in engravings, was remarkable, and his good taste and clear judgement were inborn, and beyond question. His exceptionally large and rare collection of old prints, valuable etchings, and French portraits of two hundred years ago, by such artists as Edelinck, Masson and Nanteuil, were kept in folios to be convenient for inspection, and for the further reason that with the tastes of a true poet, he had covered the walls of his home with beautiful paintings, and filled every available space with rare pottery, bronzes, marbles and other precious works. Many of these since his death have been presented to the Chicago Art Institute, one of the many institutions in which he was deeply interested.

Of his dominant characteristics, aside from those with which his business associates became familiar, a well known citizen of Chicago, who had known him from boyhood, has written the following, which, could not be more truthfully and beautifully expressed:—

"Mr. Stickney had a refined and cultivated mind. Early in life he developed an earnest desire for the study of the choicest classics in English literature. He had a great avidity for first and rare editions. In his earlier manhood he denied himself

many well-earned luxuries for the sake of securing costly copies of the great writers of the Elizabethan period and other literary treasures and rarities, and he not only owned these works, but read them with assiduous care and untiring interest and pleasure. His love for the best authors and for the greatest masters of the English language, and his companionship with friends of kindred taste, bore fruit in a life of high intellectual enjoyment. He was always a collector of fine editions of standard authors, and never wearied in the search for choice additions to his remarkable library. His fondness for music, and for the great productions of the masters, was a marked and charming trait of his character; and for the kindred arts of the painter, the etcher and the engraver, he had an intelligent and glowing admiration. He collected the best productions of these arts, and made his home delightful with the atmosphere of books and pictures and music and all the gentle arts. He was devoted to his home and the domestic circle, and his loyalty to his friends was of that chivalric character which made of them ardent and enthusiastic admirers."

THE ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO.

MOST REVEREND P. A. FEEHAN—FIRST ARCHBISHOP.

By a decree of the Holy See of September 10th 1880, the diocese of Chicago, of the Catholic Church, was elevated to the rank of an arch-diocese. Thirty-six years before this the See of Chicago had been established with Right Rev. Wm. Quarter as first Bishop, and his successors in the interval had been Right Rev. James Oliver Van de Velde, Right Rev. Anthony O'Regan, Right Rev. James Duggan and Right Rev. Thos. Foley, in the order named.

Each of these Bishops had been a distinguished member of the Catholic Clergy in America and each had served the Church in Chicago with signal zeal and ability. Under their fostering care the church and its institutions, had more than kept pace with the general growth and developments of the territory embraced within the diocese over which they had jurisdiction, and through their united efforts and those of their assistants in the work of Church extension, splendid results had been achieved, the number of communicants in the diocese, when Bishop Foley died in 1879, being two hundred and fifty thousand.

To carry on the work thus begun,

P. A. Feehan

in an enlarged field, to sustain a new dignity and to assume added responsibilities, was the duty assigned to Right Rev. P. A. Feehan, Bishop of Nashville, who became first Archbishop when the Archdiocese of Chicago was erected, and who has come to be recognized as one of the leading prelates of the Catholic Church in America.

Patrick Augustine Feehan, was born at Killenaule, Tipperary, Ireland, August 29, 1829. Of his ancestry the following has been written: "On a green slope in Innisfail, at the foot of Slievnamon in Tipperary, there stands within a deserted cemetary a Celtic cross, furrowed by the storms of centuries. It was there when the first savage viking came to Erin, and when the last Dane was driven out of the land, and it was a silent witness of the ravages of the more savage, and 'ruthless Cromwellian.' At the foot of this cross is a tomb, which is as worn and old as the cross itself, on which is engraved in the Gaelic tongue 'Feehan,' the family name of the present Archbishop of Chicago, the last of whose immediate relatives buried there, was a favorite sister."

Patrick Feehan, the father of Archbishop Feehan, was a man of liberal education, of distinguished bearing, high character, and fervent piety, remarkable for his devotion to the Catholic Church and his generous charities. His wife was a mild, gentle and refined woman, and the environments by which the son was surrounded in his childhood were therefore of an ideal character. From his father he inherited a studious character and executive ability of a high order, and from his mother, the gentleness, kindness, humility and simplicity of manner which have always been remarked as among his most charming characteristics. His early education was obtained through private tutelage in his father's home and his natural bent of character was such that his fitness for the priesthood was evident from early boyhood. At sixteen years of age, having received thorough classical and scientific training, he was entered as an ecclesiastical student in Castleknock College, where he remained two years. At the end of that time he entered the College of Maynooth, and in this renowned ecclesiastical Seminary he devoted five years to earnest and conscientious study, becoming distinguished among the young theologians of the college for his learning and ability.

In 1852, upon the invitation of Archbishop Kendrick of St. Louis, who was ever alive to the importance of recruiting the clergy of America from the famous theological schools of the old world, he came to this country, and proceeding at once to St. Louis entered the ecclesiastical seminary at Corondelet to prepare for his ordination.

The following year he was appointed assistant pastor at St. John's

Church in St. Louis, and soon became one of the recognized pulpit orators of that city. An epidemic of cholera which prevailed in the city at that time served to call attention also to his nobility of character and his self-sacrificing devotion to the welfare of humanity. Unmindful of the danger to himself, his days and nights were spent among the sufferers from the dread disease, administering to them the sacraments of the Church, consoling them in their last moments and sometimes preparing the bodies for burial, where friends and kindred had deserted the victims.

In 1854 he was appointed to the Presidency of the Seminary of Corondelet, and retained this position three years, winning renown as an educator, and greatly enlarging his circle of friends and admirers. In 1858 he was appointed pastor of St. Michael's Church in St. Louis, and at the end of a year assumed pastoral charge of the "Church of the Immaculate Conception" of the same city. This pastorate he retained until 1864, and here he acquired great reputation not only as an able and eloquent preacher, but as a tireless and eminently successful worker in the field of church extension. He also became noted for his organization and promotion of important charities within the parish of which he had charge, and for hospital services rendered during the Civil War.

In 1864, eleven years after he entered the Ministry, he had become so prominent a figure among Catholic clergymen, and had rendered such valuable services to the Church, that when the See of Nashville became vacant through the resignation of Bishop Whalen, he was nominated to fill the vacancy. At that time, his mother, who had been an invalid for several years, was the object of his tenderest care and solicitude, and a feeling that he could not do justice to the work of the Bishopric, and at the same time give to his mother the care and attention which she required, impelled him to decline the high office tendered him. In 1865, however, his mother died, and soon afterward he accepted the appointment of the See of Nashville—which had been held in abeyance—and was formally consecrated Nov. 1st of that year.

Upon his installation in the diocese of Nashville he was called upon to at once assume the heavy task of reconstructing the diocese. The war cloud, which had hung as heavily over the territory which came within his jurisdiction as over any portion of the South, had but just lifted, and the terrible effects of the storm of strife were visible on every hand. From many causes the interests of the Church had suffered and everywhere there was demoralization of its affairs. Addressing himself to the work before him with a zeal and energy, which scarcely admits of failure, he soon brought order out of

chaos, and began the building up of the church upon a new and substantial foundation. Not only did he succeed in speedily awakening new interest and inspiring all who were in any way identified with the Church to put forth their best efforts for its advancement, but he so controlled and directed its temporal affairs as to bring about almost immediately a vastly improved condition of its finances.

The Cathedral in Nashville, which he found sadly dilapidated, was improved and its surroundings were made attractive; St. Cecillia Academy, which he found heavily in debt, was relieved of its financial embarrassments and enabled to carry on its educational work unhampered, while many other educational and charitable institutions were established in the diocese. He introduced into his diocese the Sisters of Mercy, the Dominican Sisters, the Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of St. Joseph, all of whom he placed in charge of Academies and parochial schools.

In 1866 the cholera visited Nashville, and three times during his ministrations there, the yellow fever, swept over Bishop Feehan's diocese, leaving death and desolation in its path. During the prevalence of these epidemics, the Bishop and the Catholic clergy of his diocese, acting lagely under his control and direction, were among the most courageous and self-sacrificing of all those who imperiled their own lives to give succor and comfort to the afflicted, and thirty-three of the priests fell victims to the scourge and martyrs to duty.

The order of Catholic Knights of America owes its origin to Bishop Feehan, and it was while in Nashville that his action and encouragement caused it to become one of the recognized institutions of Catholicism. Plans for the organization of a society to be composed of Catholic laymen being laid before him, received his hearty commendation and endorsment and the organization was effected which has since been extended to all parts of the United States. What he did in the way of building up the Church and its institutions in Nashville, was but a small portion of what he accomplished in Tennessee. He visited every point where Catholicism had found a foothold or where it was likely to be favorably received and devoted his energies to encouraging, systematizing and forwarding the work. Everywhere he went, he gave dignity and prestige to Catholicism and the number of Churches, priests and communicants in the diocese were multiplied during the time that he extended his jurisdiction over it.

It was with the prestige of having demonstrated that he was a man of remarkable executive ability, of having proven himself a hero among the plague-stricken sufferers of the south, and of established reputation as a pulpit orator, that Archbishop Feehan

came to Chicago, to be inducted into the high office to which he had been appointed. He was received with every manifestation of love and esteem, and in the presence of an immense congregation was installed, with elaborate and impressive ceremonies, in the Cathedral of the Holy Name, Sunday, Nov. 28th, 1880.

Taking up his new work with his accustomed earnestness and enthusiasm, Archbishop Feehan has greatly advanced the interests of Catholicism in the eighteen counties of Illinois, which compose his archdiocese. Many new educational institutions have been brought into existence, numerous splendid charities have been established, and the Church membership has been largely increased. Since his ministrations in Chicago began, he has confirmed over one hundred thousand persons, has ordained nearly two hundred priests, laid the corner stones of sixty churches, and dedicated seventy-two.

In 1883 he was summoned to Rome with other Archbishops of the United States to formulate the scheme of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, and upon his return home he was given one of the most magnificent ovations ever given to an American prelate by devout and enthusiastic churchmen.

THE PROBATE COURTS OF ILLINOIS.

JOSUHA C. KNICKERBOCKER.

Outside of three counties of Illinois, Probate Courts are not known, and this fact impresses one familiar with the courts of other states as peculiar. A little inquiry develops the fact that these courts exist, however, in everything but name, in all the counties of the State, but in three counties the Probate Court exists separate and distinct from other courts, as a creation of comparatively recent date. Prior to 1876 in all counties having township organizations, the County Courts had jurisdiction of probate matters, insolvent matters, inquiries into lunacy, &c. This court was one of the early institutions of the state and served its purpose well until the increase of population and consequent expansion of business in Chicago and Cook County made the creation of a new court, which should relieve it of a portion of its burdens, a necessity.

In 1876 the general assembly of the state passed a law creating this new court, in counties having a certain population, and under this act three courts have since been organized. The oldest, and by far the most im-

Yours Truly
J. C. Knickerbocker

portant, of these courts is the Probate Court of Cook County, which came into existence immediately after the passage of the act above referred to. One can gain some idea of its importance to the people of this county, and the magnitude of the interests with which it has to deal, when attention is called to the fact that during the year 1891 it passed upon applications for letters of administration on estates valued in such applications at $56,000,000.

By the creation of the Probate Court of Cook County, the County Court was deprived of jurisdiction in all probate matters, and this business was transferred entirely to the new court. It met difficulties at the start. A question was almost immediately raised as to the constitutionality of the act, under which it was established. Hardly had the machinery of the court been put into working order when *quo warranto* proceedings were begun against the Judge who had been elected in pursuance of the provisions of the law. This case being carried up to the Supreme Court, that august tribunal, (in the light of later events, it would seem without due consideration) rendered a judgment of ouster. At a later date the same questions coming before the court in another form, the court reversed its decision and sustained the constitutionality of the law. Next came a conflict of jurisdiction between the Probate Court and the County Court, from which it had been divorced. This matter was also passed upon by the Supreme Court, a majority of its members holding that the County Court had been deprived of all jurisdiction in probate matters. Next the Supreme Court was asked to decide whether the Probate Court had the power to order the sale of realty of minors. This was decided affirmatively. Other similar questions had to be passed upon by the same authority, and it will be seen that the Judge of the Probate Court had evidently to thread his way through a maze of difficulties and embarrassments in determining its powers and jurisdiction.

Fortunately for the court, the public, and the interests involved, the first Judge of the Court was a man of rare legal acumen, broad knowledge of the underlying principles of law, and superior judicial ability. Upon him devolved the responsibility of organizing and moulding the court into form, of determining the scope of its jurisdiction, and the extent of its powers. True, questions involved had to be passed upon ultimately by higher authority, but that his decisions should be sustained and his official acts approved, was a matter of the greatest consequence. Occupying this relation to the court, its early history is substantially a history of the judicial life of Joshua C. Knickerbocker, who was elected to the Probate Bench in 1877 for a term of four

years, and re-elected from time to time, holding the office up to the date of his death, Jan. 5th, 1890.

A native of New York State, Joshua C. Knickerbocker was born in Galatin, Columbia County, Sept. 26th, 1837. As the name would indicate, he was of the sterling old Holland stock which has been so conspicuously identified with the history of the Empire State from colonial days down to the present time. In the county which had been the home of several generations of his ancestors the first seven years of his life were spent. In 1844 his father — who was a farmer — removed to Alden, McHenry County, Illinois, where he became a land owner and continued to reside until his death in 1874. As a boy, Judge Knickerbocker had the usual experiences of farmer's sons among the pioneers of Illinois. While his physical and industrial training were by no means neglected, he managed to secure a thorough education in the country schools of McHenry County, which he supplemented by careful self-education as he grew to manhood. After teaching school for a time he came to Chicago in 1860, and began reading law. In 1862 he was admitted to the bar, and at once became somewhat conspicuous for his interest in politics and public affairs. In 1864 he was elected a member of the Board of Supervisors of Cook County and served in that capacity for three years. During two years of this time he was also a member of the City Council. In 1868 he was elected to the legislature, where he served with distinction and acquired the reputation of guarding with jealous care all the interests of his immediate constituency. In 1867 he had formed a co-partnership for the practice of law with his brother, John J. Knickerbocker, and to the business of this partnership he gave his attention — after his retirement from the legislature — until elected to the Probate Judgeship in 1877, serving at the same time as a member of the State Board of Education.

He entered upon the discharge of the duties of Probate Judge at the end of something less than seventeen years' residence in Chicago. During this time he had been prominently before the public, and had served the people in various official capacities, in all of which he had received the seal of their approval. He had come to be regarded, not only as an able lawyer, and a man of superior executive ability, but as a man of irreproachable integrity. The office of Probate Judge was one which he regarded as among the most important in the state, and it followed as a natural consequence that his fidelity to this public trust should have been such as to win for him the commendation of all classes of citizens. To begin with, he assumed that the Probate Court was in a large measure responsible for the management of the estates of deceased persons, and he held lawyers, administrators, exe-

cutors, guardians, and all who had anything to do with such estates, to a rigid accountability. In a sketch of his life, published in the Biographical Encyclopedia of Illinois, the following has been written by one peculiarly well qualified to judge of his character and ability: "His sense of justice and knowledge of the law were clear and accurate. It sometimes seemed as if he were gifted with a perception that enabled him to read the hearts of people, and divine their innermost thoughts; and in consequence, those in charge of estates, who intended to do wrong, but who were so guarded in their expression and action that even their lawyers suspected nothing — would learn that Judge Knickerbocker saw through their scheming. A gentleman who was not a practicing lawyer was once asked to manage the affairs of an estate of which the widow of the deceased was named in the will as executrix. Judge Knickerbocker told him that he could do as well as a lawyer in the matter, and he proceeded with the business. After a time, however, he reached a point beyond which he seemed utterly unable to go. He presented the papers which at that time were proper to present, but the court would not receive them. At last the gentleman waited upon Judge Knickerbocker privately, and asked him if he would kindly explain to him what the trouble in the case was. The Judge replied: "There is a legacy of $300 provided by the will of the testator for his brother, an old and needy man. The widow has never had the slightest intention of paying that legacy. When she has paid that $300 and the receipt is brought to me, you will have no more trouble in this court." The money was paid, and the business went through the court without hindrance.

It was in this way that the business of estates, passing through the Probate Court, was supervised by Judge Knickerbocker, in the same honest, conscientious, straightforward and able manner, as he would have looked after his private affairs. He was the protector and preserver of the property of those who were unable to look after and protect their own interests. His watchfulness of these interests extended sometimes to the regulation of charges by members of his own profession, for services rendered. He was accustomed to say that all the property in Chicago passed through the Probate Court once in every thirty years, and that if the lawyers were permitted to charge such fees as they liked, they would in time own the whole of it. In the discharge of his official duties he was entirely fearless, and no respecter of persons. Guardians were not permitted to squander the estates of their wards, nor were they permitted to yield to the extravagant demands of such wards themselves.

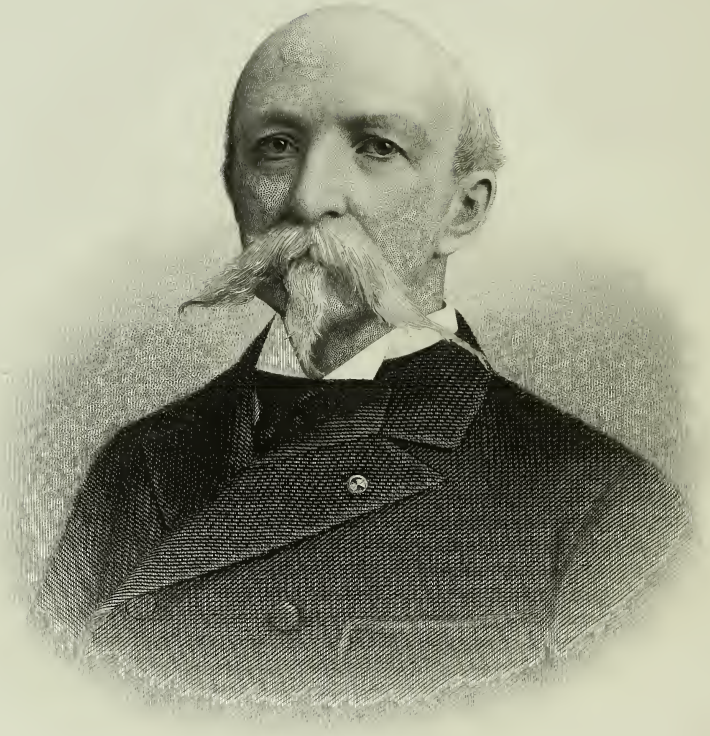
That he held this important office for so long a period, practically by uuanimous vote of the people of Cook

County, is the best evidence of his eminent fitness for the position. The feeling of the people toward Judge Knickerbocker, was admirably expressed, after his death, in one of the Chicago newspapers, as follows: "From the moment he entered upon the duties of the office in which he continued to his death, the public became aware that the wheel of political chance had brought into its service the most admirable qualities for the administering of public affairs. It found in him a well governed nature, in whose perfect equanimity of temper and fearlessness of word and action, it could place implicit trust. The honor that has followed Judge Knickerbocker to the grave and the tributes paid to his memory by every class of citizens should inform all who aspire to public service that there is a value in simple virtue that begets respect and confidence living, and dead, insures general sorrow and public honors. 'The memory of a good man is blessed.'"

In his official life Judge Knickerbocker was somewhat stern, always judicial in his manner and methods, and knew neither friends nor enemies. Although courteous, he was exacting and unyielding in his requirement of what he deemed to be right, from all persons. and under all circumstances.

In his private life he was genial, affable and companionable, to a remarkable degree. He was prominent as a member of the Calumet, Union League, and other clubs, and generally a favorite in social circles. It may be said of him that his character and gifts were so symmetrical that he may be held up as a remarkably perfect example for young men to follow. Beginning life with no special advantages, other than ability, industry, and honesty of purpose, he achieved distinction in public life, and was successful in the accumulation of fortune because he deserved such success. Dying in the prime of life, his death was one which cast gloom over a great city, and caused thousands of people to feel that in him they had lost a personal friend. No more fitting tribute can be paid to his memory than the following from the funeral oration of one of the most noted of Chicago Divines:

"He did not pick his way along the narrow line that separates honesty from dishonesty, and right from wrong. His calm, clear judgment was never clouded by considerations of expedients; he stood aloof on the high plane of right. We are glad that Chicago has honored this man, and that for thirty years he has held public and responsible positions. To his honor is recorded veracity and unimpeachable honesty. He never had an aspersion cast upon him by any political party nor by the press. He stands in a kind of moral grandeur in these things. Of the millions and millions of dollars he administered, not one dollar was misapplied by this noble jurist."



John Wesley Loomis

The Century Publishing & Engraving Co., Chicago

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST.

COL. JOHN MASON LOOMIS.

THE great lumber industry of the Northwest which has contributed more than anything else, with the possible exception of agriculture, to the wealth and prosperity of the states of Michigan and Wisconsin is largely indebted to Chicago for its rapid and profitable development. Not only has this city been the greatest consumer and chief distributor of the lumber product of these States, but to citizens of Chicago is due a large share of the credit for inaugurating lumber manufacturing enterprises which have grown to vast proportions, of providing the railway and other facilities necessary for transportation, and of so systematizing and conducting the traffic as to realize therefrom the best results. While these citizens of Chicago have almost uniformly profited largely by their enterprise in this field, and have gathered therefrom golden harvests in no small number of instances, it should not be forgotten that they were the pioneers in an experimental field, that they labored under difficulties which would now be looked upon as insurmountable, and that the industries which they established were built through laborious effort.

There are still living in Chicago and still identified with the lumber trade, a few of the men who began the business when the Michigan and Wisconsin forests were practically unbroken, and when it seemed that the supply from those sources would be inexhaustible. One of the most widely known of these pioneer lumbermen—of whose distinguished career in other fields, mention will also be made in this connection—is Col. John Mason Loomis, who began business in Milwaukee in 1848, without any other capital than New England thrift, apparent aptitude for a work in which he had been engaged for the two preceding years, and the confidence and esteem of two gentlemen who had been his employers during that time. At the time he assumed the responsibility of engaging in business on his own account, he was twenty-three years of age, and

like many other New England boys of that era, he had shown an adventurous disposition and had seen a bit of the world.

Born in Windsor, Connecticut, January 5th, 1825, he is the son of Colonel James Loomis, a farmer, merchant, miller, and leading citizen of Windsor, who enjoyed the distinction of having commanded, for several years, the First Regiment of Connecticut State Militia. The family is descended from Joseph Loomis, of Braintree, Essex County, England, who immigrated from London in 1638, being landed at Boston by the ship Susan and Ellen, July 17th of that year. The records at Windsor show that this immigrant ancestor bought a piece of ground at the confluence of the Farmington and Connecticut Rivers, in what is now Hartford County, in 1640, and the estate is still in possession of the family, although provision has been made for its appropriation to other uses.

Colonel James Loomis, married Abigail Sherwood Chaffe, of Greenfield Hill, Fairfield County, Connecticut, who came of a family noted for its high social standing and the large number of its male members who have been prominently identified with the medical profession. Colonel Loomis was an ardent admirer of John Mason, who served in the Netherlands, under Sir Thomas Fairfax, and after his immigration to this country became famous as an officer of the colonial forces during the early Indian Wars in New England, and it was this admiration which led him to name his son John Mason Loomis.

Educated in the common schools and academies of Connecticut, John M. Loomis received a measure of business training in his father's store, but was not attracted to merchandising as a permanent avocation. There was a strain of martial blood in the family, and naval and military affairs had for him a peculiar attraction. At eighteen he was captain of a company of militia, and before this he had secured, through his own efforts an appointment as midshipman in the navy. After waiting some time for an assignment to duty on board an American man of war, he tired of inaction and shipped as a sailor on a vessel engaged in the China tea trade. After making several voyages, he quit the sea and then determined to seek his fortune in the West. Arriving in Chicago in 1846, he made an unsuccessful effort to obtain employment and went from there to Milwaukee. In Milwaukee he met with better luck, although the salary agreed upon for a year's work was not what would now be considered remunerative. Not being so situated that he could afford to be very discriminating as to the kind of employment he engaged in, he accepted a position as clerk and bookkeeper in a lumber yard, at a salary of sixty-two dollars for the first year. Although the business was entirely new to him, he soon mastered all its

details and must have shown a somewhat remarkable aptitude for this branch of trade, because two years later his employers sold him the business, accepting his notes—he had no money—in payment.

With the business in his own hands he operated successfully, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which he labored. He was frugal, intensely active, sagacious and methodical in his transactions, and the soul of honor. Within a year he found himself comfortably established in business, and in 1849 he was married to Miss Mary Hunt, daughter of honorable Milo Hunt, of Chenango County, New York.

In 1852 he transferred his business to Chicago, where he soon afterward formed a partnership with James Ludington, of Milwaukee, under the firm name of Loomis & Ludington. The firm thus organized soon became one of the best known in the Northwest, and there were few, if any, more extensive operators than Messrs. Loomis & Ludington. They not only sold immense quantities of lumber each year, but were pioneers in the matter of supplying the manufacturers with the means of preparing their lumber for the market. In those days the mill owners were, as a rule, poor, and like the cotton growers of the Southern States, they were in the habit of bonding their product in advance, for the means of getting it into the market. Colonel Loomis and his partner were among those most active in supplying this demand for advances, and in this way they contributed largely to the extension of the lumber industry. Their business was satisfactorily and profitably conducted up to 1861, when Colonel Loomis turned his back upon all private interests to give his services to the country during the Civil War.

He returned from this service in 1864 to find his business entirely destroyed and was compelled to begin anew the attempt to build up a fortune. Addressing himself to this task with the courage and determination which characterized all his undertakings, he began the lumber business again in Chicago, as a commission merchant. The business done for a time was not large, but he was soon able to regain a portion of his former trade, and to realize to some extent on former investments. The commission business prospered and he associated with him, after a time, John McLaren, first as a clerk and later as partner, the firm becoming John Mason Loomis & Co. This partnership has continued up to the present time, although Colonel Loomis practically retired from active business in 1885 — and since it was formed, the firm has sold more than one billion six hundred million feet of lumber, and with sales aggregating from one to one and a half million dollars annually, they have lost nothing through bad accounts. This record is one which shows a careful and conserva-

tive management with unusually satisfactory results.

In 1869 Colonel Loomis engaged in the manufacture of lumber, becoming associated with other gentlemen in purchasing a large body of timber land on the Pere Marquette River and organizing the Pere Marquette Lumber Co. Mills were put into operation, and at this point between two and three hundred millions of feet of lumber have been manufactured and sent into market. Of this corporation Colonel Loomis has been president since 1879. It was through his enterprise also that the salt industry of this region was brought into existence. Reaching the conclusion through careful investigation that a *flow of salt water* could be obtained by boring for it, he tried the experiment, was successful and thus inaugurated the manufacture of salt. Others followed his example, and to the lumber and salt industries, the little city of Ludington, Michigan, is mainly indebted for its existence.

A most interesting chapter of Colonel Loomis' history is his career as an officer of the Federal Army during the war of the Rebellion. Before the war he had been a lieutenant in the famous "Light Guard" of Chicago, and had proven himself a most capable and efficient officer. When, thererere, Governor Yates began looking about for competent men to take command of the Illinois regiments, which was being sent into the field in 1861, his attention was soon called to Colonel Loomis, and in August he was commissioned colonel of the 26th Illinois Infantry Regiment. Taking his regiment at once into the field, he remained with it through the most trying period of the war, passing through many of the bloodiest and hardest fought battles. Much of the time he was in command of the brigade to which his regiment was attached, and he was recognized, not only as a cool, intrepid and fearless officer, but as one whose judgment could be relied upon in emergencies, and in whom any trust could be reposed by his superiors with an absolute sense of security. While he was recognized as a rigid disciplinarian, he commanded the highest regard and fullest confidence of his regiment, and under his leadership they were always ready to undertake any duty to which they were assigned. In the engagements at New Madrid, Island No. 10, Iuka, Corinth, Farmington, Vicksburg, Jackson, Tunnel Hill, Chattanooga and other battles, the regiment took an important part, and the name of Colonel Loomis is entitled to a conspicuous place among those of distinguished volunteer soldiers of Illinois. Since the war he has been prominently identified with the veteran organizations and succeeded General Phil Sheridan as Commander of the Illinois Commandery of the Loyal Legion.

As a citizen of Chicago he has long been one of those most esteemed for

his charming social qualities, his kindliness and his benevolence. Having accumulated a large fortune, he has seemed to experience the most genuine pleasure of his later life in the bestowal of charities in an altogether quiet and unostentatious, but methodical and systematic way. As a member of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society, he was most actively in the work of caring for the homeless and destitute people of Chicago, immediately after the fire of 1871, and for twenty years he has given freely of his time and means to forward the work of this great charity.

In connection with other members of the Loomis family he incorporated, in 1878, the Loomis Institute, of Windsor, Connecticut, designed to give free education to all persons, for whom accommodation can be provided (giving preference to those belonging to the Loomis family by name or consanguinity) between the ages of twelve and twenty years, who can read and write and who understand the elementaries of arithmetic, grammer and geography. Under provisions of an act of the Connecticut legislature the Loomis family is accumulating a fund which will amount to something like two million dollars, for the support of the Institution, and the old homestead at Windsor, which was acquired by Joseph Loomis in 1640, and which has been handed down through seven generations of the family, will constitute the site upon which it is to be located.

THE WESTERN MICHIGAN COLLEGE.

ALBERT E. YEREX.

MICHIGAN has long been noticeable for the number and high-standing of her educational institutions. The fame of her colleges and her educators has long since passed beyond the boundary of the State and extended to every village where intelligence is cherished and education esteemed as the foundation of social life. One of the most interesting of these institutions is the Western Michigan College, founded by Mr. Albert E. Yerex, in 1880, who is also its President. De Tocqueville once said: "The American affects a sort of heroism in his manner of business, in which he follows not only a calculation of success, but an impulse of his nature." However truly this may be applicable to others, it is certainly illustrated in the career of Mr. Yerex, through whose life runs a thread of romance.

The location of the Western Michi-

gan College could not have been more admirable. The City of Grand Rapids, with its thousand attractive features, its famous commercial enterprises, its handsome homes, its beautiful avenues and shaded drives, its delightful parks, its lakes, resorts, and the Grand River which flows past the city, together with an intelligent and appreciative people, constitutes a model college town.

eventually took rank among the important schools of the country. At the present time its faculty consists of thirty-five professors of the highest rank in their various departments. The curriculum now affords a high-grade classical college course, conferring the higher degrees, and provides also a Normal, or professional training course, especially adapted to meet the requirements of those

THE WESTERN MICHIGAN COLLEGE.

The institution itself, as many readers doubtless know, was originally conducted by Mr. Yerex as a private Normal, musical and commercial school. But so thorough were its methods that it soon won converts from other cities and other States, and gradually developing with the needs and demands of its students, who wish to follow teaching as a profession. A preparatory, or advanced high-school course, has also been established, while a special commercial training, unsurpassed by the best business college in the country, is maintained for those who wish to confine themselves to a strict preparation for a business career.

A striking feature of the institution is the Musical Conservatory for which a splendid building has been erected, which rising above a well-kept lawn, and nearly surrounded by elms and maples, makes a pleasing picture from an architectural standpoint; while the interior with its frescoed walls, crystal chandeliers, and balustrades of ebony, delicately carved, presents a pleasing and artistic appearance.

It is apparent to everyone that the cultivation of the refining art of music is rapidly progressing in America, so much so that almost every village has its teachers of music, and every home is a small center of musical culture. Yet the possibilities in this direction are hardly yet even suggested. The great need is for better preparation for those who undertake to instruct in the rudiments of musical expression. Young and progressive teachers require an opportunity to obtain more practical ideas and new and improved methods of teaching, as well as wise direction for their own practice and improvement. To meet this need has been one of the special aims of the Conservatory of the Western Michigan College; and in order to provide instruction at a time when teachers are least employed and have the most leisure, a Summer Music School has been instituted. Instruction received during a few weeks only of the summer season may be of incalculable benefit to the teacher, and prepare him to achieve more ambitious results with his pupils during the following fall and winter.

Great improvements have been recently attained in the methods of imparting knowledge in all branches of study. But in no case has the advance been more revolutionary than in the method of instructing a beginner in music. The long course in the practice of dry, unmusical, muscle-tiring and nerve-torturing exercises and études is no longer tolerated, the best teachers having discovered that better results can be secured in a much shorter space of time by a course of study which is a pleasure to the pupil instead of a "weariness to the flesh." Instead of permitting the pupil to learn any sort of finger movement and touch at first, while other things are being learned, and thus laying a false foundation which must all be done away — unlearned — eventually, the good teacher requires a correct finger movement from the first touch of the piano, insisting that the pupil shall employ a musical touch, and play with expression and a clearly manifest phrasing from the very first lesson. In Mr. Yerex's institution these improved methods of teaching are made a specialty, and are carefully taught to advanced pupils who enter upon the work with the idea of a professional career, both in the regular course and in the summer school.

Charles Woodworth Landon, the

Dean of the conservatory, one of the best known musical educators in this country. He was born in Lakeville, Conn., in 1846. He began his career as teacher in Plainville, Conn., where he worked for seven years. He then went to Penn Yan N. Y., where he remained six years, doing effective and remunerative work.

In 1883 he went to Claverack College, Claverack, N. Y., and organized its musical department into a conservatory of music, which attained a commanding influence and is widely and favorably known. His success in these fields of labor has been due to discoveries he has made in certain leading principles of teaching. Hence, he is especially productive in preparing teachers. Besides the study and practice common in all conservatories, he gives a three years' course of lectures. These discourses are carefully prepared, and embrace the results of more than twenty years' experience. In addition to this long and thorough discussion of the fundamental and practical principles and helps in teaching, he has also a three years' course on musical history, biography, musical expression, etc. In this latter department Mr. Landon's sympathetic and resonant baritone voice gives him an important advantage.

His work in organizing the New York State Music Teachers' Association is so recent and so admirable as to need no description; there he showed an enviable organizing ability and unusual tact and skill in managing men and affairs. A large part of his success as a teacher rests, no doubt, upon his care to form in the pupil correct and practical habits of study and practice, in doing which he gives his best endeavors. In Mr. Landon we have an example of the kind of musician who is becoming more and more common, fortunately for the future of music in America. Educated entirely in this country, under Dr. William Mason, William H. Sherwood and others, he is an energetic, self-made American, a careful teacher, an attractive speaker, and a sound musician. His election to the presidency of the New York State Music Teachers' Association was a proper recognition of his musical scholarship, and of his commanding and influential personality. Mr. Landon is a scholar as well as a teacher, and thoroughly *au courant* with musical affairs of the day.

The director of the Piano Department, the Chevalier A. de Kontski, is the originator of a method which has been in successful use in the Conservatory of Paris, and is characterized by brilliancy in touch and effectiveness in style, phrasing and expression. A further most valuable advantage to the student here is the fund of personal reminiscence of the Chevalier de Kontski regarding the celebrated composers and musicians with whom he has associated either as a pupil, friend and companion, or teacher.

Mrs. Willis Merton Bryant, director of the Vocal Department, is a teacher of successful experience in the most improved ideas of voice culture, following a logical, practical and successful system. Not only do her students get the advantage of the best and most recent ideas in voice culture, but, being a vocalist of rare power, she is qualified to give them herself inspiring illustrations in this branch of musical art.

The conservatory was fortunate in securing the service of James Paddon, the famous violinist, for director of the violin and string department. Besides his artistic powers as a soloist, he is a most superior teacher, a very unusual combination. Mr. Paddon comes from a musical family and has enjoyed instruction from some of the best teachers in this country, after which he went to Paris and in a competitive examination for entrance in the Conservatory of Paris he was one of the fortunate six to pass the ordeal of 115 who were examined. Upon entering the conservatory he enjoyed the rare privilege of three years of instruction by Chas. Dancla, who is considered the greatest instructor upon the violin in the world. Mr. Paddon has a broad education in other matters than music and he is a man of rare qualities of mind and heart, which may account for his rare gifts as a teacher as well as his great success as a soloist.

An unique branch or complement of the conservatory is the Department of Pictorial and Industrial Art where the accomplishments of original designing for embroideries, art needle work, lace patterns, china decorating, and kindred arts, are taught in a full course, embracing the latest European and American advances in these directions.

The School of Oratory and of Delsarte Instruction, under the direction of the well-known elecutionist, Mrs. Belle McLeod Lewis, is another distinctive feature of the Western Michigan College. The spirit of the institution is further illustrated by the fact that the Commercial Course is here raised to equal dignity with every other department of study, while upon each graduate from this course is conferred the degree of Bachelor of Commerce. The peculiar genius of this College is, in fact, thorough practicality in education. The classical course of every regular college curriculum is provided, but at the same time special attention has been given to those accomplishments and branches of knowledge which have proven to be most useful and desirable in active social and business life. This was Mr. Yerex's idea of the education which a perfectly equipped institution should make available, and the Western Michigan College is the successful development of this conception.

WILLIAM R. MCGARRY.

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

"The Story of the Discovery of the New World by Columbus," compiled from accepted authorities by Frederick Saunders, Librarian of the Astor Library, New York, Thomas Whittaker, 1892.

We have before us in this delightful little volume, in the first place, something to please the eye. It is attractively bound; it presents a generous page with ample margin; and is enlivened by several interesting illustrations. Besides two fac-similes which remind us of the, treasure-trove in the midst of which it was written, there is a portrait of Columbus and a half dozen views or scenes of incidents connected with the "great discovery." The latter we need not suppose were taken on the spot with a snap camera, but, though ideal, they help out the popular mind in bringing the particulars of this important story before it in a "realizing" way. The entire work is composed of less than 150 pages, yet with all its brevity, there is a completeness of treatment which will enable any busy reader in this quadri-centennial year to obtain anew a pretty good impression of what happened four hundred years ago this summer and fall. Six chapters divide the substance matter, and furnish us with a bird's eye view of the ground travelled over. The first treats of the "Ante-Columbian Explorers," and furnishes the genial author with the convenient occasion of bringing forward one of his peculiar pets—a volume containing an account of Prince Madoc's expedition. He lovingly lingers over this and gives us "the full title page and part of the introduction of this quaint old volume," as likewise a fac-simile of one of its pages where Madoc receives mention. "The Early Life of Columbus" and "His Adventurous Voyage" have each a chapter appropriately set apart for them. Then again crops out the characteristic lover of books, whose life and labor are spent in their very midst; for we have a whole chapter on Columbus' "Letter Announcing His Discovery." Some one having been unpardonably negligent in a statement concerning the whereabouts or the exceedingly small number of existing copies. Mr. Saunders, with an emphasis quite justifiable and which we are glad to observe, remarks: "A choice copy has been on exhibition during some score of years among the illuminated manuscripts and incunabula in the show cases of the Astor Library. This copy was the gift of the Hon. William Waldorf Astor." A fifth chapter delineates "The Close of His Career;" and in the last we are provided with an exceedingly interesting and instructive compilation of citations from various important authorities giving "Estimates of His Character," the personal friend of Irving, of course, himself shares that author's high estimate of the discoverer's

character. But none the less does he give full citations of the opinions of those who thought very harshly of Columbus. To sum up, this pleasant book will add another bit of spice or flavor to the "Salad for the Solitary and the Social," which the author served up for us some years ago. Even the solitary will want to refresh their memories about Columbus; and the social will be glad to talk about him this year. And this volume will furnish the stimulus to both. It pretends to add nothing new to the facts already well known. But it is a popular presentation of these facts as garnered from lengthier works.

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Alabama Historical Society held its annual session in Birmingham on June 20th. The address was delivered by Mr. T. M. Owen of Bessemer. It was a carefully prepared and strong production.

The Connecticut Valley Historical Society, Springfield, Mass., completed its organization for the ensuing year by the election of the following officers: Vice-presidents, Judge Shurtleff, Dr. William Rice and Clark W. Bryan; Corresponding Secretary, A. H. Kirkham. Judge Shurtleff called attention to some things that could be accomplished in collecting genealogies and summarizing important events in history for ready reference.

The North Carolina Historical Association was organized at Morehead on Tuesday with upwards of sixty members. The Committee on organization submitted names for officers, which were adopted. Dr. George W. Graham, of Charlotte, was elected president, and Mr. Edward A. Alderman, of Greensboro, corresponding secretary.

The annual meeting of the Firelands Historical Society, Norwalk, O., held July 13th, was largely attended, many old pioneers being present. Letters of regret at their inability to be there were sent by ex-President Hayes, Gov. McKinley, Judge C. C. Baldwin of Cleveland and other prominent men. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, G. T. Stewart; corresponding secretary, James G. Gibbs.

The annual meeting of the Bucks County Historical Society was held in Pipersville, Pa., on July 19th. The following papers were read. "Prehistoric Men in Northern Bucks County," by Charles Laubach. "The Claim of Connecticut to Wyoming," by Rev. D. K. Turner, D. D. "Bedminster and Pipersville," by W. W. H. Davis.

The Pennsylvania Historical Society arranged an excursion to Valley Forge, June 18th, the 114th anniversary of the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British army. The party numbered nearly 150 and after an inspection of the building and the treasures in the shape of Revolutionary relics which it contains, the party assembled in front of the headquarters mansion, and Provost C. J. Stillé, of the University of Pennsylvania, made an appropriate address, introducing Prof. Howard, who was selected to take the place of Hampton L. Carson, who was expected to be the orator of the occasion, but who was unavoidably absent.

Prof. Stillé alluded to the circumstances surrounding Washington at Valley Forge, the most difficult and dangerous of his whole career, described the evacuation and the conflict at Monmouth which followed soon after, and the exploits of Wayne, Steuben and others.

Mr. William S. Baker, whose Itinerary of Washington and his army from the battle of Germantown to the evacuation of Philadelphia is soon to be published, offered the following sentiment:

"On the 19th day of June, 1878, the centennial anniversary of the departure of the Continental Army from Valley Forge, a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, taken from us all too soon, delivered on these grounds an oration which has become part and parcel of the history of the place, and will go down with the English language. It is meet, therefore, that this day we should remember Henry Armitt Brown, the orator of Valley Forge."

The regular quarterly meeting of the Rhode Island Society was held on July 5. It was voted that negotiations with the American Publication Society in regard to the "Comer" diary should be referred to a committee. The librarian reported that the largest amount of material received in any three months for many years had been presented during the last quarter.

The annual meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society (Nashville), was held on June 13th. A paper was read regarding the preparation of a suitable history of the State to serve as a text book in the schools, and to make a part of its necessary curriculum.

C. H. McCormick

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. XVI. SEPTEMBER, 1892. *No. 5.*

THE LEISLER TROUBLES IN NEW YORK 1688–1692.*

In the midst of the activities of his excellent administration, Governor Dongan received notice that he had been superseded. The man who had submitted to his master the charter which gave New York legislation by the people, and who before it had passed the seals had already put into operation this important concession, was not one to be depended on to carry into effect the despotic measure which King James had in mind. This was the consolidation of the United Colonies of New England with the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, to be placed under one Governor-General with viceregal authority. In July, 1688, Governor Dongan received a letter from the royal hand, announcing that Sir Edmund Andros had been appointed to this exalted position, and requiring him to resign the administration of New York. Almost at the same time Andros received his new commission at Boston, where he ruled as Governor of New England. On August 11th he was in New York, to take the government of that province from the hands of Dongan, and on August 15, his commission was proclaimed at Elizabethtown, the capital of the New Jersey colony.

To the people of New York the change of governors was more acceptable than the change in provincial government. They were not "pleased that their province should lose its individuality and be consolidated with New England," says Brodhead. "Geographically, politically, and socially, New York was unlike any British possession in North America. Her eclectic people never wished to be ruled by incorporated oligarchies similar to those in New England. The

*From "The Memorial History of New York."

people of New York felt themselves in an 'unmerited state of degradation.' Their metropolitan city especially lamented 'that unhappy annexation to New England.'"

In significant contrast with this popular dissatisfaction, those of the citizens who occupied a seat in the Council rather enjoyed the change. Bayard, Brockholls, Philipse, and Van Cortlandt found that from being merely consulted on matters appertaining to a single province, they now had an influential voice in the affairs of several, and they soon passed at New York ordinances which Andros had sought in vain to enact at Boston. His stay in New York, however, was very brief. On August 30th Indian affairs on the frontiers between New York and Canada required his presence in Albany, and he summoned Lieutenant-Governor Francis Nicholson, whom he had left in command in Boston, to meet him. When the Indians had been assured of aid against the French, and the old friendship with the Iroquois had once more been cemented at a council-fire, Indian hostilities of a serious nature which had broken out in Maine necessitated the immediate repairing of the Governor-General to Boston. He therefore ordered Nicholson to assume the command at New York, where he arrived on October 1, 1688. His Council was composed of Frederick Philipse, Stephen Van Cortlandt, Nicholas Bayard, and Anthony Brockholls, and their first care was to place the fort in better condition. The advent of Nicholson was at first hailed with much delight. But the consciences, or the prejudices, of the citizens were soon offended by his tolerance of a priest whom Dongan had employed, and whom he allowed to place some images of saints in an apartment of his own choosing, presumably to accommodate Roman Catholic worshipers. And thus the eventful year 1688, was drawing peacefully to a close in America. But on November 5th, William of Orange had landed in England; in December, James II. had abandoned throne and kingdom and fled a fugitive to the court of Louis XIV, of

MEDAL OF THE REVOLUTION.

France. Before the year 1689 was six weeks old, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of Great Britain.

The revolution under William of Orange was not a popular revolution; It was an aristocratic rebellion, inclusive of property and wealth, against tyrannous evils; and yet it sufficiently voiced the nation. Hence it was peaceful, and it was also Prot-

estant. And if not perfect, it was merely as the germ is not the perfect, full-blown flower. Out of it emerged the word parliament, in place of royal prerogative; the press was liberated; there were in it the seeds of a wondrous development, the England of to-day. So good was the augury and so ripe the time that its very beginning, the landing of William, sent a reflex wave of joy from Torbay to Boston.

In what Matthew Arnold calls "the hubbub of our sterile politics" there is nothing revolutionary—much noise, excitement, and there it ends. But dead wires, hanging loosely from the pole, may be fatal; it needs only a crossing somewhere, a circuit made and then a touch, to reveal the unsuspected danger. Boston endurance had lasted three years or more, and no outbreak. The news of William's landing (April 4, 1689), crossed the wires and set the current in motion, yet with no immediate result more than what Andros calls "a general buzzing among the people"—so that he had his soldiers ready. One morning (April 18th), however, the captain of the frigate Rose stepped ashore as usual, entered into a wordy altercation with some ship carpenters, and they seized him. That was the touch that revealed the latent electricity. Crowds formed, arrested the sheriff and others. An eye-witness saw boys running, clubs in hand, and "men running some with and some for arms"—a regular popular uprising. Then the drums beat, rallying the companies to the Town Hall, where the captains and other citizens "consulted matters." Meantime old Simon Bradstreet, a former Governor, came in. And although he was now nearly ninety yearly old, as the most fitting thing to do they immediately made him and other old magistrates under the charter a committee of safety. Such was the inception of the Boston revolution, a "sudden taking up arms" by the people (they tell Andros), an "accident," to their own surprise and that of those with them at the Town Hall. But now the whole town rose in arms, "with the most unanimous resolution," says one, "that ever inspired a people;" and in two days the revolution was accomplished and Andros a prisoner.

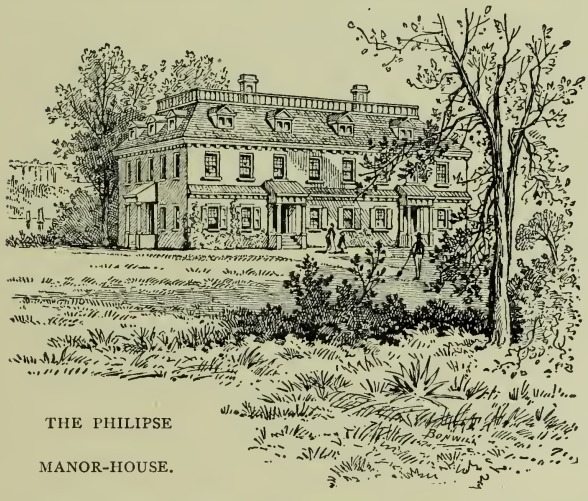
The narrative thus far was necessary, since it was news from Boston and the push of her example that set New York in motion; but the revolution there had a local coloring of its own, scenes more exciting, an ending more tragic. It ended in the trial and execution of acting Lieutenant-Governor Leisler for high treason—the only such execution in our State history. In both society and politics that culmination of party passion left its fretmark and furrow for many years. Nor has the story yet become a mere fossil, an unknown something raked out of the rubbish of history.

As the groundwork, then, let us first have in mind the New York of that time. A small city, compressed

below Wall street, with Harlem as an "out-ward" beyond the fields; its population about thirty-five hundred, and that of the whole province to Albany and Schenectady not more than twenty thousand. The rest was wilderness, with Indian tribes, and beyond them, on the north, Canada or New France, the constant breeding-place of intrigues and dangers, which, like arctic birds, the season might bring south. On the other side, again, the little city had the sea as a danger, and for defense only a fort out of repair. Add the heterogeneous population, so different from homogeneous Boston—English, Dutch, and French refugees (of the latter some two hundred families)—and we have a foundation for some things to come.

It is not unimportant to know what lay behind that revolution and gave it peculiarity. The officials of James when it began, (as we have seen) were Nicholson, the Lieutenant-Governor under Andros at Boston; with a resident Council consisting of Bayard, Philipse, and Van Cortlandt — names of constant recurrence in this chapter. And now late in April, 1689, there occurred in the city a great "uproar" (I am quoting the Council), an "uproar through people coming from Boston," who brought "the surprising news that its inhabitants had set up a government for themselves and disabled his Excellency from acting." An exciting yeast to the prevailing discontent, one sure to cause a rising! But what thought Nicholson and his Council about it? We have it in their letter to Andros, "We cannot imagine that any such actions can proceed from any person of quality amongst them, but rather that they were promoted by the rabble," the key-note (as I think we shall find) to much of this chapter. First, it will be seen, they ignore utterly any grounds of general disaffection to James and Andros and his government; it must have been "the rabble." And second, what a sharp distinction they draw between persons of quality and "the rabble"! No "person of quality" would join in "such actions"— these were, to them, the two classes composing the community. And when it comes to New York, where they themselves are the responsible government, under Andros, it will be the same; no cause, "the lower classes, the rabble"! It is most important, at this point, to get their position. Of course they sympathized with Andros and not with the revolution in Boston; but that does not explain everything. As to Francis Nicholson, he was an old soldier whose royal master at present was James. Being out of the whirl and sweep of things in England, he had no belief as yet in William's success against him. "Nonsense," he exclaimed contemptuously, "the very 'prentice boys of London would drive him out again." Of course, therefore, he would do nothing till William was king, or he was forced to.

Frederick Philipse, his oldest councilor, was the wealthiest man in the city, the first proprietor of the Philipse manor, "den Heer" Philipse, who, as a councilor also, had held proud pre-eminence for twenty years; reserved, cautious, and it is said a wonderful shrewd trimmer for safety or profit, but not one to be ousted from office if he could help it, not one to yield willingly his place in the government whoever might be king, William or James. Stephen Van Cortlandt was also known as "den Heer" Van Cortlandt, his wife as Mevrouw (Lady) Van Cortlandt; a man personally most estimable and respected; as Mayor of the city, public-spirited, charitable, an elder in the Dutch Church, but with the pride and prejudices of class and position and wealth. The most conspicious in these events, however, although the youngest, was Nicholas Bayard, described to us as bright, witty, elegant, and with warm friends among his social and political equals, but fond of display, imperious, quick-tempered, and vindictive, and by his inferiors feared and disliked — a point to be remembered in the sequel. It now connects our narrative with the past and accounts for much, to say that these three, Philipse, Van Cortlandt, and Bayard, with five others — all well known at Whitehall — had been carefully selected as councilors by James when, in 1686, he annulled the liberties of the people; when he made Dongan and the Council the absolute law-makers and tax-gatherers. They belonged to a class which, by reason of wealth and other adjuncts, had for years almost pre-empted the government. They asked, obtained and held the offices, they affiliated with the governors. Socially they were the ones who gave dinners and balls, who did the entertaining for viceroyalty, and lived themselves in the grand style of the day — some of them very elegant, refined, and cultivated people, both Dutch and French and English. "Persons of quality" they claimed to be, "people of figure," society, the aristocracy of the little city when aristocracy was quite a thing under the royal governors; as naturally a party, what Bancroft calls "the



THE PHILIPSE MANOR-HOUSE.

cabal that had grown up around the Royal governors." Outside were "the lower classes, the rabble," as they were pleased to call them. They expected and claimed for themselves, by right of rank in the community, the offices, the government. New England had no similar aristocracy, topping the surrounding earth with such pride; they would not have endured it.

It is now easy to understand their quandary at the time of the "uproar." Boston had not waited for news of William's success, Boston had overthrown Andros at once, and set up a "government for themselves." How to hinder the same in New York, that was their problem; for they meant to hold on, "to continue in their station," at least "till further orders." They had no other thought; and, unfortunately, those "further orders" were a long time in coming. Meanwhile they held consultations; went among the people; told them there was "no need of a revolution," that "Nicholson was honest," "a little patience and orders would come to establish everything upon a proper basis."

It is next in order to say that New York had at the time, besides a few soldiers in the fort, six "train-bands," citizen militia. Their colonel was Bayard; the senior captain was Jacob Leisler; and the other captains were Abraham De Peyster, Nicholas Stuyvesant, Francis De Bruyn, Charles Lodowick, Gabriel Minvielle — good names, men of wealth, intelligence, standing; men of influence, had they in these decisive days sided with their colonel. To quiet fears caused just then by rumors of the French, it was the Governor's suggestion that they should take turns of duty in the fort. How easy to talk to their men if they wished to, to get them under some control during the month of this service — half a company at a time! Five-sixths of the time, five-sixths of the men under their command! Historians have called this the "Dutch plot," with Leisler as the Mephistopheles thereof; and so we must examine the ground. Stuyvesant was Bayard's own cousin, the sturdy old Director's son and himself forty-one years old. Was there no stuff in these men, these five captains, had they so determined, to meet and withstand one aggressive individual? Thus, then, the time passed till May 31st, a whole month and no outbreak. And after all, it was not Leisler but the Lieutenant-Governor himself who threw the match into the powder. So small a question as by whose authority a certain sentinel had been posted in the fort, led him to dismiss from the service Lieutenant Henry Cuyler, of De Peyster's company, for impertinence. A most injudicious act at such a time: It angered De Peyster and his company, who were on duty. It angered the train-bands, as an act of authority on the part of James' Governor which changed the situation. Whereupon the drums beat.

Forty-nine excited men of Leisler's company rushed to his house, demanding to be led to the fort. It is said that he refused; but they went, nevertheless, under Sergeant Stoll, the leader, and Cuyler admitted them "without the word." Thus was this revolution begun; with De Peyster's company on duty, De Peyster's lieutenant admitting the mal-contents of Leisler's company to the fort, and presently Leisler himself appearing as their commander. Did he usurp the fort over his fellow-captain? No. That night it was Lodowick's turn of duty; and it was Lodowick and some of his company who appeared at the council-chamber demanding the keys of the fort, and they had to be given. Even yet, however, the matter was not over. It was a serious matter for them, for James might yet be king. Nor was it till June 3rd that the real decision was made. Then Bayard once more called the train-bands together, captains and soldiers, and tried his influence with them. Leisler was not there, but it was in vain. The soldiers rushed to the fort; and there, after much debate, Leisler drew up a paper which the officers signed. In it they agreed to govern alternately till orders came from England; to hold and guard the fort for William till such time; "the captain whose watch it is," says Leisler himself, "to be for that time captain of the fort." This paper was also signed by four hundred others in the fort, citizens and soldiers. A moderate paper, yet effective. So far as the city was concerned, it decided the uncertainty; it was a positive step in favor of William; a withdrawal of allegiance to James and the government appointed by him; it deprived them of all effective power; and at the head of the movement were Leisler and his fellow-captains.

At this point occurs the opportunity for some account of Captain Jacob Leisler, as a necessary prelude to his connection with these affairs. Leisler came to New York from Frankfort, Germany, in 1660. Concerning

him the Archivist of that city writes: "Jacob Leysseler of Frankfort, who sailed to America in 1660, is evidently the son of the Rev. Jacob Victorian Leisler, baptized here March 31, 1640. No further news about this son than the date of his baptism on the day of or a few days after his birth are to be found here. The father had been born at Oettingen, Kingdom of Bavaria, became a minister at Franckenthal, Palatinate, and from there was called to Franckfort by the two Reformed congregations, the French and the Dutch, in 1638. Before this

call he had been persecuted on account of his religion and for some time had lived in exile. He died February 8, 1653. Of his wife only the baptismal names Susanna Adelheid are known. Besides Jacob, other children were baptized in Franckfort: (1) Johann Heinrich, February 10, 1642; (2) Hans Jacob, October 20, 1646; and (3) a daughter, Susanna, who died young."

At this period Leisler was a well-known citizen, a merchant, and a man of very considerable property. Two years after his coming he had married Elsie (Tymens), the widow of Vanderveen, a reputable merchant. Elsie was a niece of Anneke Jans. How many families to this day keep bright the links of kinship with the latter, and — her estate, so long owned and guarded and fostered by Trinity Church! Strangely enough, this marriage brought Leisler, even thus early in life, into a family connection with Bayard, Philipse, and Van Cortlandt—at the close of it his worst enemies. In 1670 we find him a deacon in the Dutch Church, with Peter Stuyvesant and Van Cortlandt's father as fellow members of consistory, and then, as always, a man of sturdy religious profession and belief. Evidently a man with generous impulses: when a Huguenot family was to be sold for non-payment of ship-charges, he himself stepped forward and purchased their freedom. Evidently an independent man: when, in 1667, two people were on trial for "murder by witchcraft," he was one of a jury to acquit them both — a thing the Quakers of Pennsylvania only accomplished in 1684, that could hardly have been done in Boston in 1689. Leisler held few offices, but was called into service when needed; and he had been captain since 1684. This is what we know of him up to 1689. And we have thus reached an important historical question. What was he doing up to June 3d of that year? When the first intimations of William's landing came he had a vessel in port, on which he at once refused to pay duties to Plowman, James' collector and a Catholic. He also went before the Council, and before them persisted in his refusal — just like his sturdy independence, whether backed by anybody or not. From that time and to escape those duties, according to current histories, he is a dangerous person in the community, plotting treason and the overthrow of the Government. Yet at the time of the "uproar" and when Boston had set the example, where is the one man, the demagogue, quick to seize events and bulging with importance, to head "the rabble" to its destruction?

It is not Leisler. On the contrary, almost immediately thereafter, Nicholson and the Council place him in the fort at the head of an armed company to quiet the people; or, if he so chooses, to breed further treason! A strange incongruity in the history, or wonderful stupidity on their part!

Moreover, when the revolution begins — that 31st of May — it is through Nicholson's act and not his. And on the 3d of June the result is not to make Leisler a dictator, but that mutual agreement of the captains — in the face of which he is now represented to us as an ignorant man surrounded by "a rabble;" a mere puffball fuming with rage and insolence and profanity; as already infatuated with his own greatness, comparing himself to Cromwell, and most offensively assuming to his fellow-captains, whilst they are deferential! What injustice to them, in order to carry out the idea, received from the other side, of Leisler and the "lower classes, the rabble!" History makes them his mere foot-ball — Abraham De Peyster, Nicholas Stuyvesant, Charles Lodowick, and the rest; men assuredly not the ones to be dragged at a vulgar cart-tail through mud and slush. Historians deprive them of their manhood, and in these events would have us regard them as silent puppets upon a street-organ, moving to the tune of a coarse and ignorant player. And yet when, just after the revolution, Leisler himself wished to remove the obnoxious Catholic collector, he could not do it, for the reason which he gives. "I cannot get the other captains to turn out the collector;" and again (June 16th) "I can get no captain to side with me to turn him out." Outgoing letters from the fort are signed by the captains, the answers addressed to Leisler and "the rest of the captains" in command. They are so addressed by the General Court of Connecticut. When within a few days after signing that agreement Minvielle resigned, it was not on the ground of Leisler's tyranny and insolence, but because he thought their proceedings "hot-headed." The other captains remained, all of them, for months. When (June 11th) they sent to friends in England an address for the king from "the militia and inhabitants of New York" her citizen soldiery and only defense — did they regard the movement as that of a "rabble?" When so late as October 20th, Bayard — still as colonel and councilor — wrote from Albany to De Peyster and De Bruyn an order "to bear good faith and allegiance" to William and Mary, but "to desist from aiding and abetting" Leisler, they put the letter into his hands; and when yet later (October 29th) he again commanded them "to obey the civil government established by Sir Edmund Andros," as still in force, they paid no heed. What do these facts prove? This period, the opening period of the revolution, was that of Leisler and the captains conjointly, not of Leisler and "the rabble." People of standing and influence parted from their own families and friends on these issues. History conceals it and them. It adopts a party stigma. It was slippery ground, and the Attorney-General, when drawing an indictment against Leisler, did not touch this period.

For a clear understanding of things, however, we must proceed with it a little further. On the 6th of June came credible news that William was king, and the messenger was on the way from Boston with letters. No doubt any longer about William; but will he continue in power the old government? What anxiety on both sides! The messenger gets to the fort first, and there all letters for the Lieutenant-Governor or the council are opened, read and forwarded. No news, no orders; and so things remain as they were! But to open their letters, what an outrage! What indignation! What insolence in Leisler! Yet back in March, before Leisler had appeared upon the scene, upon a mere rumor of William's landing, they had themselves opened and suppressed seventeen private letters, "for the prevention of tumult." they said, "and the divulging of such strange news." Where was the difference? The difference was, that a revolution in England which changed kings—now that it was successful—they were willing to accept; a revolution in New York, which interfered with themselves as the government, that was Leisler and the rabble; and whatever derogated from the deference they claimed for themselves was insolence. Again, however, the truth of history requires us to ask, what of the other captains? Why single out Leisler for obloquy, when by the agreement of only three days before, all were equally implicated, all equally and deeply interested in learning the first news?

As yet he was only one of five captains, although the senior. I do not suppose Leisler to have been at any time choice of speech or deferential in his manners; on the contrary, a man of rugged honesty whose plain and often hasty speaking did him harm. But that was not the real, the underlying offense. If we read, we shall find that gentle speaking and gentle courtesy were not a characteristic of New York in these years of that century. "Knave" and "rogue" were frequent epithets by which to convey their opinions of one another. To the other side, however, the revolution itself was an insolence; whatever infringed upon the dignity of certain ones, of Van Cortlandt or Bayard or even the clergy, was an insolence; and upon Leisler, a German, with none of the make-up of society about him, the senior, the most popular, the boldest and most outspoken of his colleagues, upon him they visited the full measure of wrath and opprobrium. And the feeling was already hot enough on both sides. When of Sir William Phipps, of Massachusetts, it was said, "His Excellency is needlessly hot," the reply was: "Ah, you must excuse him, it is dog-days!" The dog-days began early in New York in 1689. Nicholson himself had at once gone to England to interview the new king, leaving Bayard, Philipse, and Van Cort-

landt behind him to maintain the struggle. On the 25th of June they themselves removed Plowman, the Catholic collector, "to quiet a restless community," as they said; but when they undertook to replace him with their own officials—more insolence of Leisler! It brought about the first actual collision. The parties met at the custom-house. There were hot words, dog-day words, a hustling

THE GREAT SEAL OF 1691.

crowd, and some rough usage of Bayard and his supporters but no bloodshed. A street brawl, some pummeling, but no bloodshed. The feeling abroad was, however, intense; and De Peyster's mother advised Colonel Bayard to leave the city, for fear of assassination.

On the 10th of June, a week after the revolution began, the captains, Leisler and the rest, issued a call for a convention of delegates from the counties, to meet on the 26th and choose a committee of safety. Let us give them the credit they deserve for this act. They did not intend nor make themselves a military dictatorship. The movement in New York had been democratic, one springing from the people, whom they for a time represented; and they meant to extend it to the province—not submitting any longer to the appointees of James and Andros, but submitting the direction of affairs to the appointees of the people. Had the other side accepted the arrangement—a committee of safety till the king could be heard from—what a blot it would have saved New York! But no, they were the government. So the convention met without their concurrence, twelve delegates elected from New York and Kings and Queens and Westchester and Orange —"the most part of whose inhabitants," says O'Callahan, "are concerned in the rebellion." Albany, under the great influence of Peter Schuyler, Van Cortlandt's double brother-in-law, remained aloof, and its neighbor Ulster. Ten of the twelve delegates became the Committee of Safety, and assumed control for the province. Leisler did not elect them. His was a city revolt. More than is usual in such cases, and more than did Simon Bradstreet and his colleagues at the first, by their election they represented the province in its most populous part. Such was the situation upon the 26th of June—a popular revolt, represented by the Committee of Safety, against the old govern-

ment appointed by James and Andros and the party attached thereto. What was the effect of the change upon Leisler's position? It made him first, by their appointment, captain of the fort, that is, permanently responsible for its safe keeping; and then about the middle of August, military commander for the province. His first rise above the other captains! But that they concurred therein is indubitable, since they all retained their commands under him till some time in November. During that month Captain Stuyvesant retired from the service, angry, it is said, because some soldiers had intruded into his own house during a search for his obnoxious cousin Bayard. At different dates during the month, and for different personal reasons, Lodowick and De Peyster also resigned and retired from service unmolested. De Peyster, at least always felt kindly towards Leisler.

I have been thus minute hitherto, because this whole history has been perverted by concealing the part actually taken by these captains in the earlier stages of the revolution, and by ascribing everything to Leisler and a rabble. It is the base of defense of the other side. On the contrary what have we? Upon the 3d of June, that agreement of the captains; upon the 6th of June, news of William's accession, concurred in by both parties, and the question of William or James no longer in conflict; upon the 10th of June, the call by the captains for a committee of safety to be elected by the people; and, upon the 26th of June, that committee in existence and its actions and authority submitted to by both Leisler and the captains and their party. And so opens the second, in its close the tragic, part of this tangled history. At last, early in December, a letter from William, dated July the fourth—a letter with a pecular address, to "Our Lieut.-Governor and Commander-in-chief in our Province of New-York, and in his absence, to such as for the time being take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws!" Of course the letter threw the elements into new fermentation. As it happened, Nicholson, to whom it was addressed, was not there, had betaken himself to England; so that complication was out of the way. But "in his absence!" If still in the exercise of his office, where should he be except within the the bounds of his government? Or, in case of absence, why was not the letter addressed to his Honorable Council, men well known in England? Why the vague and general superscription, "such as for the time being take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws?" The very hub of this disputation. In England, James was deposed and William reigning through revolution—a revolution thus far successful, although he had yet to fight the battle of the Boyne. In Boston, as was already known,

Andros had likewise been deposed and a revolutionary committee was in charge. Had the same fate, meantime, overtaken Nicholson in New York, an enforced "absence," and in William's behalf, could he consistently reverse events and order the revolution back? The broad question for William to consider was the status of the revolution as a whole—not in New York alone, but in Boston, the colonies, and England itself. As plain Dutch sense put it at the time, "If it was that Leisler did be ill, how came the King and Queen to sit on the throne?" His letter certainly evaded the difficulty, at least for the present. If Nicholson was yet in power, it authorized him to continue to act. If not, if a revolution had superseded him as well as Andros, it recognized "for the time being" such as took care "for preserving the peace and administering the laws." So the Committee of Safety understood it, and upon that understanding they honestly acted. So undoubtedly the Boston committee would have acted; as the government *de facto*, the proper recipients of the letter. Where was the difference?

I have thus brought it down to a charge to this day made against Leisler—his so-called usurpation of the Lieutenant-Governorship. In reality what? His appointment thereto by the Committee of Safety, who had already made him military commander of the province. And what would William himself have been in history, had James won the battle of the Boyne? A usurper, branded and traduced by his opponents like Leisler, or as was Cromwell in his day. The Committee of Safety at least, were not usurpers. Elected and sustained during this interim—a period understood by all parties to be ad interim—elected and sustained during it by a clear majority of the people; if they were usurpers, what shall we say of the Boston committee and the acting governors in the other revolted colonies? If we brand one we must brand all, brand the revolution throughout, brand the very idea of a popular revolution. But in addition, the New York committee had what the other colonies had not, what they deemed authority for their action conveyed to them by the king's letter. In Connecticut they rejected Andros, the royal Governor, and appointed their own. In New York, which had no General Assembly, nothing but a Lieutenant-Governor and Council, the captains first in control sent the matter directly to the people of the province. The people elected the Committee of Safety, and they in turn, as supposedly within the scope of the king's letter, made Leisler acting Lieutenant-Governor. And neither was this matter in the indictment upon which he was tried.

So to Leisler's Lieutenant-Governorship in her emergency yielded Albany a trifle later, when he was her only source of supplies. Indubitably his was the power in the province at

the time, and so acknowledged to be by the other colonies. But for Leisler personally the position was full of difficulty and not devoid of danger. His elevation concentrated upon his head many portentous winds and wrathful storm-clouds. It made him a mark for new venom, new arrows that were laid to the string and let fly both at home and abroad. Usurpation it was called, and even during the peril of war, whatever he did was to his enemies usurpation. He came to his duties without experience; a man unused to art or concealment or the ways of policy—straight out in word or deed as conviction or feeling moved him, an honest German; a man in temperament apparently much like Stuyvesant, brave, sturdy, sometimes obstinate and sometimes choleric—Stuyvesant, who would have fired upon the British fleet in bulk but for his minister's final appeal. As such a man personally governing revolutionary elements, watched and opposed throughout by a party ready to malign his every word and act, and that certainly had the prestige in England, his was indeed a position of difficulty and doubtful result. One cannot do justice to this narrative who forgets the circumstances of the case. Passions running high in a small city, principally there, two hundred years ago. An aristocratic party, clever, astute, and determined, and a popular party arrayed against it. History has other instances of the same, and the bitterness evolved—waters boiling in a caldron and all the more disturbed that the space was small.

The advancement of Leisler to the Lieutenant-Governorship made a change in the Committee of Safety, eight of whom now became his Council, December 11th, 1689. They were from the county and city of New York, Peter De la Noy, Dr. Samuel Staats, Henry Jansen, and Johannes Vermilye; from Kings, Captain Gerardus Beeckman, M. D.; from Queens, Samuel Edsall; from Westchester, Captain Thomas Williams; from Orange, William Lawrence—French, English and Dutch. A real Council, let me say, since the acts of the majority were to be the acts of all. To return then to the old story, were these men of "the lower classes, the rabble?" To this it might be replied that New York itself had at the time but a small proportion of people who could be so called; a city where, say Bancroft and other authorities, "beggars were unknown and all the poor were cared for," and where outside a favored few "great equality of condition prevailed." The Huguenots, although some of them poor, were intelligent, industrious, and God-fearing; not the kind of stuff out of which to make even a diminutive rabble. The more numerous Dutch, the prevailing class, had strict Sabbath and other laws; and if they

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NOTE — Illustration on opposite page is a fac-simile of an autograph letter by Leisler.

Fort William July 9th: 1690: —

Ensigne John Sleaman —

Sr: having Perused your Comission & Partly understand your grievance & threatning of your authority for haing punctualy observed y: Same Aswering to y: reguet & Covenant made with Conecticut Plymouth & Boston & by y' two Letter also Lately Brooke I have here Inclosed sent you y' reguet attested also y' Copy of y: Letter delivered to me by Conecticutts agent w: may be of Service to You I send you also two Evidences whereby it may opeare what Inclination Livingstone had for our Ships whereby can be Judged what may be Expected from him for his Interest also one Evidence how he declared to have had y' Copy of his Maj: the K: his province Letter w: he Could not have had Vnless it had been broken up by y: Messenger & Livingstone is y: person to whome much Credit is given & w: whome much is Consulted in your Parts Concerning y' Albany — Expedition there is good Ground to suspect him & on Ellyn tho: Some Private Instruction is given to y: Capt: Conton y: Comission & Covent: I Could send You what we had — agt: Mr: Ellyn of w: we have Complained to Your Authority but not regarded but I am Loth to be y: Cause of Disord: in your Parts therefore forbear & if our forces where not departed for your so faithfull, honest & neighburly — observing your Comission & therefore blamed would have willing by Comissionated You. You deserving a better Place I Shall Certainly Think on You if any Vacancy Offers & so soone I Shall See albany Proceeding Shall send You all what may be Judged Needfull for you I have with y: Governo: in Yo: favour & acquainted him Shall I wait Sentence of y: abuses You received Herein Offer my respects

I Remain

Yo: friend —

Jacob Leisler

could not write English well, were well read in the Bible and Heidelberg Catechism and the history of Holland, they and their children. Learning was difficult to obtain; but solid and industrious citizens they were as a class—the pioneer ancestry of many reputable families, the crude ore out of which American life has molded much fine material. As one of just such Philipse himself grew up, only sharper than the rest in money-making and land-getting.

Leisler's public acts as Lieutenant-Governor, demand of us a brief notice. The time for such was short, but he was not idle. Early in February, 1690, occurred the massacre and the burning of Schenectady. Count Frontenac had opened his campaign along the frontier. In the city the French refugees were almost in panic. Leisler was at once all energy. Within ten days delegates were on their way to confer with the other colonies as to the public safety; to Connecticut (February 21st) Johannes Vermilye, Benjamin Blagge, and Leisler's son-in-law, Jacob Milborne. He raised a force of one hundred and sixty men and sent them to Albany—now as willing as she had before been unwilling to recognize his authority. He called a Provincial Assembly—the second of its kind—to provide means for the war. And in May he convened, to meet in New York, the first Colonial Congress. This Congress decided what each colony should furnish—New York four hundred men, Connecticut one hundred and thirty, Maryland one hundred, and so on with the rest. In addition thereto Leisler fitted out in New York five vessels—three for the expedition from Boston against Quebec, and two to keep the French out of Long Island Sound. In doing so, as De Peyster afterwards declared to have been within his own knowledge, he spent a large portion of his own estate. Were these services recognized when the end came? No; nor mentioned, nor permitted in any way to mitigate his sentence. It was only by the efforts of Lord Bellomont and De Peyster and Dr. Staats and young Leisler with the king that any part of the money spent was subsequently returned. At the time his efforts in behalf of the province were really turned against him. The expedition north, under General Winthrop, of Connecticut, from which so much had been expected, failed to do anything and led Leisler into unwise recriminations; and unfortunately the naval outfit under Sir William Phipps was equally unsuccessful. But they cost money. When the Provincial Assembly at last met it had to levy taxes—war taxes, as usual unpopular, and any and every attempt to collect which became fuel for clamor against Leisler. Nevertheless, his prompt public spirit and efficiency as a Lieutenant-Governor are undeniable; and this so-called usurper it was to whom, with his Council, must be credited the organization of the first Colonial

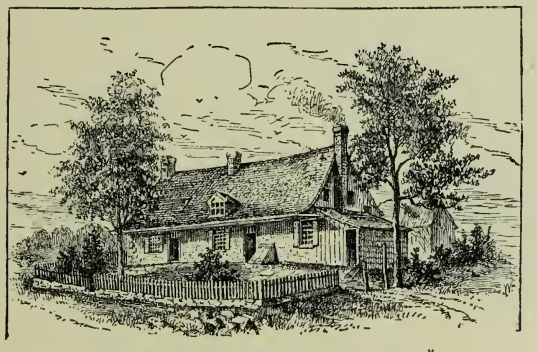
Congress for mutual defense, a century-plant whose fuller fruitage was the United States. This same so-called usurper and his Council it was likewise who first among New York officials voluntarily called into being a Provincial Assembly, as the source of legislation and taxation, a principle rejected by James but reaffirmed by William, in its results our State legislature. Leisler was a democrat, conducting against great opposition, especially in Albany and New York, a democratic revolution. A man of the people, he believed in the people. At the beginning he was for a committee of safety, elected by the people. And in Albany, aristocratic Albany, which resisted him till the time of the war, the contention of his officers was that the old James charter was null and that they ought to have a free election by the people. A spasm of liberty, repressed, though only so, by one hundred years of British domination yet to come!

A faithful exhibit of events prior to the closing scenes requires us to add one more topic to this review. Even during the war, busy as Leisler was in bringing the colonies together, in arranging expeditions, in mustering troops, in equipping vessels, in providing guns and stores for destitute Albany, he and his Council also had the disaffected to look after. They kept up the contest and the heat of neither party subsided. In such circumstances what was to be expected? Measures of repression arrests, fines, imprisonments—some by the local courts, some by order of Council—sometimes, also, searches by soldiers, and sometimes therewith excesses by soldiers. Revolutionary times these, two hundred years ago, not our times! And the difference is important. Consider the tremendous violations of law and right in England under James and Jeffreys up to 1689; the extortions, spoliations, imprisonments, under Andros, the royal governors and their Council up to the same date; that Leisler had himself been imprisoned by Andros; that imprisonment was the ready "catholicon" for almost all offenses at the time; that the Rev. Nicholas Van Rensselaer, a clergyman, had been imprisoned in Albany in 1676 for words, heresy, spoken in a sermon; that Andros and others were at the very date held in prison in Boston by its Committee of Safety. It was not really the great number imprisoned, but the quality of some few who were, that gave vehemence to the outcry against Leisler.

Of these Colonel Bayard was the principal sufferer, the one most harshly treated. He was in prison a year, and with a chain on his leg; a man who could not be "let go," and who could not be trusted to the fidelity of common soldiers. His treatment shows the intensity of feeling that existed, and especially towards him. For all that, a blot and an impolicy; a humiliation and a treatment that made vindictive a man who would

not forget it, and greatly angered his many personal and party friends. That "something more mild could have been done" in such cases was thought by the Rev. Mr. Daillé, Leisler's good friend throughout, and he went to and exhorted him to it. Such cases must stand as, on that side, instances of unhappy party spirit, of undue rigor. Seething and passionate times all around, in 1690! And yet withal, what strikes us as most remarkable is this, that in a city, as we find it said, "ruled by the sword," under an "insolent" tyrant backed by soldiers and an inflamed and ignorant "rabble"—"a perfect reign of terror"—with at least one man in their power as obnoxious to the common people as Nicholas Bayard—that during two years of such rule there was not an execution real or demanded, not a drop of blood shed, nor yet a Libby prison with its scenes of starvation and death; only a comparatively few men of the opposite party imprisoned in a garrisoned fort and fewer yet chained by the leg. Marvelous self-restraint in "the rabble!" I turn to New York in 1775. Again news from Boston; again of the wealthy class, the coterie bred and brooded by royal governors, a large part opposed to the popular side, Tories—among them names the same as in 1689! There is likewise a committee of safety looking after patriot interests. The prisons are full, including as such the churches; with an overflow into the jails of Connecticut. Among the prisoners is "Parson" Seabury, of Westchester, carried to New Haven and imprisoned. And so intense is party feeling that at Kingston two respectable men, men with families, are hung out of hand simply as Tories! I return to the year 1690. Bayard and his party are now back again in power, with Leisler and his "Hon. Council" prisoners. It takes but a few days and they are condemned to death; a few more and two of them, Leisler and his son-in-law Milborne, are executed—first hung, then beheaded; the rest remain in prison for sixteen months thereafter as the "condemned six." Against that execution the Rev. Mr. Daillé (the same who had exhorted Leisler to mildness) pleaded and protested with the Governor personally; he then presented to the Governor and Council a largely signed petition. In vain. Indeed for the act, one of mere humanity, he was cited before Sloughter's General Assembly and narrowly escaped imprisonment! Such comparisons are fair; and when made, how tips the beam of justice, for or against Leisler, his Council and party, buried by their opponents under a lasting ignominy? Say what one may of Leisler, that he was choleric and at times unduly severe, this remains, that in most exciting scenes he shed no blood. In this bitter struggle, this social and political convulsion, let us remember that Leisler and his party were ultimately the de-

feated ones. His opponents, the successful party have had the field. History has not yet climbed over the manifest exaggerations of party spirit, nor let fall the sunlight of justice upon characters and events which those exaggerations have blackened and defaced. Can we but view it as a significant fact that none of the charges over which we have thus far passed, things deemed monstrous in Leisler, were made the subject-matter of the indictment under which he was tried and condemned and executed? Party spirit was the deadly



THE REMSEN HOUSE, FRONT VIEW.*

ingredient in that business, without which his execution would not have been possible. But party spirit had to find something bearing the semblance of law and justice, some monk's cowl wherewith to hide the features of its deed, and it found it not in the things thus far examined. The ground of his indictment is yet to come, and to it, the closing scene, consummating in a tragedy, we now pass.

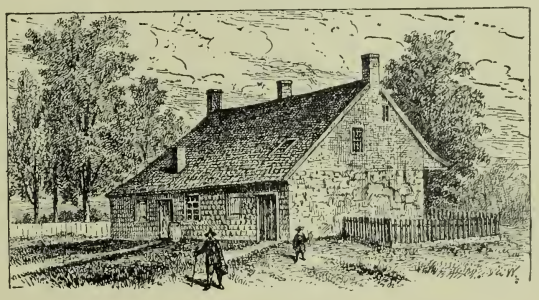
In January, 1691, Major Ingoldesby entered the bay—nearly three months, as it proved, in advance of Governor Sloughter, from whom he had been parted in a storm. Of course he had no orders looking to the present emergency; none from William; none from Sloughter; no orders, no business to decide upon the king's letter or Leisler's right to the Lieutenant-Governorship—the all-important question—nor did he wait for Sloughter. But he was immediately visited by Philipse, Van Cortlandt, and others, and from their representations took his course. He made an instant demand for the fort. Leisler, in reply requested to see his orders either from the king or Governor. And here let us recall the vital fact, the key to his position and action, that in his own estimation he was for the time being rightfully Lieutenant-Governor by virtue of the king's letter, and had, therefore, a right to ask of any man, even the king's officer, his credentials before delivering to him a king's fort. Ingoldesby's answer was curt, and at once showed his bias: "Possession of his Majesty's fort is what I demand." Whereupon

* The ancient Dutch farmhouse of which the front and rear views are given above and on p. 525, respectively, was known as the Remsen house, and was for a long period in the possession of the New York family of that name.

the issue was made with Ingoldesby, and here begins the indictment against Leisler. Since Ingoldesby showed no credentials he refused to deliver up the fort; otherwise he offered him "all courtesy and accommodation" for his troops. But the people, their passions were running high; they saw the old party back in power reinforced by Ingoldesby, and therefore when he landed—I quote from Domine Varick, who was there—"they ran from all the houses to the fort as against a public enemy." "They opened a brisk fire." Unfortunately two were killed, a negro and a soldier—the first in this history. To an angry letter from Ingoldesby about it, Leisler the next day replied: "I have forthwith examined and find it a matter of fact" that shots have been fired at the troops. He offered to punish the offenders if they could be found. "God forbid," he says, "that any man under my command should be countenanced in an ill act;" and he publicly reproved it. Nevertheless, it was in the indictment, "murder, one Josias Browne." And so proceeded matters for about three months, with threatened war and excitement at fever-heat, but no bloodshed, Leisler's Council and party the meanwhile standing firmly by him. But at last, during the evening of March 19th, Sloughter himself arrived in the bay; was rowed in his barge to the landing and proceeded at once to the City Hall; there heard Ingoldesby and the rest, and installed a Council; Leisler's messengers he arrested and pocketed a letter he also sent, and finally ordered Ingoldesby "to arrest Leisler and the persons called his Council." Summary proceedings, but effective; he was the long-looked-for royal Governor and had the power, whatever his character or bias or acts. History has written his epitaph with entire consensus: "weak, avaricious, immoral, and notoriously intemperate"—"a profligate, needy and narrow-minded adventurer." With such a man, the important thing was "the power behind the throne." In the morning, therefore, with the proper order now in his pocket, Ingoldesby proceeded to the fort; Leisler, Milborne, and such of the Council as were there quickly became prisoners; the rest dispersed to their homes, and the revolution, after two years' existence, was ended. Say of Leisler and his Council, if one pleases, foolishly obstinate to hold out so long! But short of the present, where? Lieutenant-Governor by virtue of the king's letter—that was Leisler's position, conviction, and claim.

To that position and conviction he and his Council remained consistently firm to the end. After a year's imprisonment, and while still condemned to death, when offered pardon and release (under Governor Fletcher) if they would sue for it as criminals guilty of high treason and crime, members of that Council refused, they had committed no crime. It

is amazing they should have reached the end with but one defection. But prisoners they now are—Leisler (so says the account) with "the same chain on his leg that Bayard had worn." How long to the trial? Ten days. Upon what charges to be tried" "Traitorously levying war, feloniously murdering Josias Browne;" holding the fort against the Governor, "in the reducing of which lives had been lost." Who prepare the evidence for the prosecution? Bayard, Van Cortlandt, and Pinhorne. Who are the selected judges? Ten men "the least prejudiced against the prisoners;" or, as truthful Sloughter writes, "unconcerned with the late troubles" —including Ingoldesby, also Pinhorne who had just prepared the evidence. Who are the government counsel? The Attorney-General, "reputed the ablest lawyer in America," and four specials to assist him. But on the other side? None. All the forms of law observed, till one examines the personnel. And now the trial begins. Leisler and Milborne at once refuse to plead till the court shall decide one question—had or had not the king's letter to Nicholson given him authority to take upon himself the government? The whole case in a nutshell! That granted and it swept away the entire indictment. How was it decided? This learned Court of Oyer and Terminer, with Chief-Justice Dudley presiding, with the Attorney-General and four eminent counsel to assist, itself composed of men selected as "the least prejudiced against the prisoners," refused to decide this just and all-important question. They referred it to the Governor and Council. With what result? A result easily to be predicted. The Governor and Council were Sloughter, Philipse, Van Cortlandt, Bayard, Minvielle, and one or two more, sitting in judgment upon their own case—a case upon which turned the legality of Ingoldesby's acts, of this present trial, and of all the Council had done and claimed since December, 1689. Upon their decision, also, depended the lives of eight men; and they gave it against Leisler. So the trial proceeded to its end, Leisler and Milborne being tried as mutes, and being with six of his Council condemned to death. One scene more in this doleful tragedy. They have asked reprieve till the king can be heard from, and this Sloughter ostensibly



REMSEN HOUSE, REAR VIEW.

grants. Will it be carried out? A very weak man is Sloughter. A great "clamor of the people" besieges his Excellency—Rev. Mr. Daillé's appeals on the other side and his petition of eighteen hundred names (the number given by Governeur) being of no account. A "great clamor of the people," and so his Excellency leaves it to his Council. And on their part the Council—Philipse, Bayard, Van Cortlandt, Nicolls, and Minvielle—(May 14th) declare it "absolutely necessary" that the execution of "the principal criminals"—Leisler and Milborne—should take place. For what reasons? First, as recorded, "for the satisfaction of the Indians" of the Mohawk Valley, who had doubtless received and eagerly read the New York morning papers, and were to be conciliated in no other possible way! Second for "the assertion of the government and authority, and the prevention of insurrections and disorders for the future." Such were their recorded reasons—to conciliate savages and strike terror at home! The next evening (Thursday, May 15th) there was an entertainment at the house of Bayard, and there the "weak" Sloughter signed the death-warrant, and there is reason to believe that he may have been under the influence of wine when he did so, as is asserted by some writers. From Thursday till Saturday, no longer; but Leisler is ready, Milborne it may be not so much so; and in his last address Leisler still declared that he would have yielded the fort to Ingoldesby had he presented his credentials. In a northeast rain-storm, near the old Tammany Hall, they were both hung, then beheaded.

Years did not see the end of the bitter feud, social and political, between the Leislerians and anti-Leislerians, parties that arose out of his grave; but that we pass. In England his enemies had till now very successfully "tuned" influential minds around the seat of power. But other influences were beginning to work. In particular a strong petition came to their Majesties from young Leisler, his mother and sister, the widow of Milborne. In 1695, through the efforts of young Leisler, of Governeur, and others, and with William's assent, the case came before Parliament. A committee was appointed and the whole history examined anew. That history was embodied in a bill, was passed by Parliament and William signed it! It reversed the attainder in full; and as the legitimate corollary the "condemned six" were likewise pardoned and their estates restored. Vindicated at last; Leisler and Milborne, also, receiving from the General Assemby, the State Legislature, under Governor Bellomont, public and honorable interment near the old Dutch Church.

When this subject was first undertaken by the writer he had only the most general impressions concerning

it. On examination he found the histories relating to the matter variant and confused, but the larger part of them adverse to Leisler; and he felt obliged to analyze for himself from the very beginning. The result is now a definite opinion: that by their early and stubborn resistance to a popular and inevitable outbreak, necessarily involving their own authority, the old government seeded the future crop—a resistance on both sides growingly stubborn and full of the caloric of passion in that contracted city. They should at least have accepted the temporary solution of a committee of safety, but lost their opportunity. For the rest, the action of Parliament, the fullness of the bill, with William's signature thereto, covers, and settles all questions back to the interpretation of the king's letter. Leisler was not a usurper, but had rights which Ingoldesby and Sloughter and the rest grievously and wrongly invaded. That scaffold with all its ignominy was reared upon a miserable technicality, a subterfuge—resistance to a king's officer, the Governor's representative; but one who had no credentials from his superior, who only afterwards chose to adopt his acts. Upon that technicality, that subterfuge eight men condemned to death, two of them actually executed! How could such a thing be done? We must remember the age and the example of England; that moral sentiment on the subject of life and executions was not the keen sentiment of the present day, which would render another such event on New York soil impossible. Above all, however, what does history tell us, by many examples, of the blinding, almost dehumanizing effects of party spirit, of class prejudice and passion! Some of these were good men. They began with the idea of "the rabble," and ended by thinking their opponents through the loom and the fog phenomenal "villains"—than whom "never greater villains lived." As such they judged, as such they condemned them, shedding their blood without compunction, who in two years of agitating strife, of mutual partisanship, had never shed any. So may even good men harden at times into rock and wrong—excusing themselves by many subtle mental devices. But in California is a town where one may walk, himself among orange orchards, roses, the cactus, banana and palm trees. In the distance between two hills of green is a mountain of rock, in summer ugly and grim, fit object for God's thunderbolts; but in winter there comes from the skies a soft veil of snow which hides its unseemliness from the observer among the pleasant orange groves. Let us do as the skies do—cast the white mantle of charity over this tragic and ugly event of the distant past, one of such intense passion and partisanship.

But Leisler relegated as an official of New York to the dust and opprobium

of two centuries—concerning him what does this review make the fitting conclusion? Is it not this—that as we praise the faithful sentinel of Pompeii, whom the enshrouding ashes had so long concealed, as in our day we are raising to pedestals of honor men whom the passions of the past had alone consigned to oblivion or ignominy, so should be restored to honorable place in the annals of New York the name of Lieutenant-Governor Leisler? Let us turn his face from the wall.

Leisler and Milborne were buried almost immediately opposite the place of their execution, or in a spot which is now near the corner of Spruce street and Park Row (or Printing House Square). This ground was comprehended within property that came into Leisler's possession on his marriage with Mrs. Vanderveen, who was a stepdaughter of Govert Loockermans, to whom the land was granted in 1642. On the reversal of the sentence of attainder and the restitution of Leisler's name to honor, the bodies were taken up and moved to the cemetery back of the church in Garden street, now Exchange Place, in September 1698; and the tombstone shown in the illustration was here erected.

SOME INTERESTING LETTERS OF WASHINGTON AND MORRIS.

Since the publication of the article "George Washington to Robert Morris," in the February number of The National Magazine, several unpublished and very important letters written by Robert Morris, and one letter penned by Washington to Morris have been brought to light, after years of obscurity, and have come to the notice of the writer.

As these letters give the famous Financier's ideas, hopes and fears regarding the great revolutionary struggle, in which he took such an important part, and at the same time supply fragments of an autobiography of his career during that trying period and afterwards, we believe will prove, in connection with the Washington correspondence and Sumner's Life of Morris, of great value and interest.

The Washington letter also demands careful attention as it is one of the first and the most famous and important letter that the General ever dispatched to Morris. Being the noted epistle which had just been received by the Financier when he met the Quaker, John Morton, on the streets of Philadelphia. Morton naturally inquired the latest news. "The most important piece of news is that I have a letter from General Washington, and require a certain sum in specie, and that you must let me have it. Your security shall be my note and my honor," replied Morris. Friend Morton hesitated but for a moment, and then said, with a merry twinkle in the eye "Thee knows Robert, I am a man of peace, but if thee wants it thyself thou shalt have it." This personal loan which permitted Morris to promptly comply with Washington's demand, supplied the means whereby the commander-in-chief was enabled to undertake the expedition and gain the important victory at Trenton four days later.

The earliest letter written by Morris of the correspondence is dated Philadelphia, December 4th, 1776, and reads as follows:

DEAR SIR:

This will be delivered to you by Capt. Geo. Ord who takes his passage with Mons Contineyde Pryent — in

the ship Emperance for Guadaloupe he is a worthy, active, industrous, honest man in whome you may safely repose confidence. At least such is the character he has hitherto born & such is my good opinion of him. Under this opinion from M. Pryent's solicitation and from a desire to comply with your request as mentioned in your letter of the 1st October to me. I have procured a privateer and send him with orders that you may purchase fit & man a suitable vessel for this purpose under his command, I propose that this Privateer should be a stout, good & fast sailing vessel quite fit for the purpose, a Ship Brig't, sloop or schooner just as you can best suit yourself. I think she should have 12 to 16, six or four pounders & 100 to 150 men, if to be got, and be well fitted & provided in every respect. She may be bought fitted & sent out on a cruize with all possible expedition the sooner the better, and I leave the choice of the vessel & all other circumstances to you. Mr. Pryent & Capt. Ord, as also the cruizing ground, altho I think good business may be done amongst the outward bound west India men by cruizing to Windward of Barbados where is also the track for Guinea men. I propose this Privateer to be one third on your acct, one third on acct of Mr. Pryent & one third on my account, and if the Emperance arrives safe, Mr. Pryent & you have sufficient value to accomplish this business, if he does not arrive you will otherways receive sufficient remittances to pay for yours & my part. You must observe I have not hitherto had any concern in privateering & even at this day my partner Mr. Willing objects positively to any concern, therefore this has no connection with the business of my house but totally distinct & on my own account. You will charge me for my part the cost of outfit & credit me for my third the proceeds of all prizes. You may use the effects of W. M. & Co. to pay for my third but I hope that amt will soon be reimbursed by some good prizes, if not, I will pay them the amt here. I have not imparted my concern in this plan to any person and shall copy this letter myself to prevent its being known, therefore I request

you will never mention the least tittle about the matter to any person nor in any letter but private ones to myself — you must know I had determined not to be concerned in privateering but having had several vessels taken from me & otherwise lost a great deal of my property by this war. I conceive myself perfectly justified in the eye of a good man to seek what I have lost from those that have plundered me. I recommend a stout privateer because I imagine the British ships will come out very generally armed and little will be done by small ones. I have delivered Capt. Ord the rules & instructions of Congress and request that both he & you will closely abide by them, indeed I have given bond that you should do so. I think however that you may sell negroes, perishable commodities & other articles available for the islands in Martinico if the general will give you leave without waiting a formal condemnation in any of these states, but I think you had best send the vessels & such parts of their cargoes as are suitable to the continent. Part of it for condemnation & sale, & when you take out a cargo or any part of it from a prize, you might ship salt or molasses, Rum & in lieu thereof, you consign to Mr. John Dorsin's in Charles Town, to Mess Huges & Smith at occracock North Carolina, to Benj. Harrison, Junr in Virginia, to Mr. David Stewart at Baltimore, to use on the coast, to Mr. Nathl. Shaw Junr at New London, Mr. Dan'l Tillinghast at Rhode Island, John Bradford Esq. continental agent at Boston or any port in Massachusetts or to John Langdon agent in New Hampshire. I forgot to mention Benj. Wereat Esq, in Georgia, however I would always have you prefer sending to Charlestown & this place while they remain ours, indeed if you hear this place falls into the hands of the enemy it may probably be best to keep the whole of the prizes in your own hands.

We have been much alarmed for some days past for the safety of this city and are not yet entirely relieved of our apprehensions on account of the unfortunate change in our affairs since the reduction of Fort Washington. The enemy landed a body of eight to ten

thousand men in the Jerseys, with a large train of artillery, and after forcing Gen. Washington, with between four and five thousand men, to evacuate Fort Lee, they have continued their march as far as New Brunswick in the Jerseys, where they are, and obliged Gen. Washington to retreat before them to Prince Town and Trent Town. He is at the latter place with about 3000 men; Lord Stirling at the other with 1000 or 1500 men. But if the enemy come on, they will be obliged to cross Delaware for safety, as they are not a force to make a stand before the enemy. In this retreat we have lost many useful stores, provisions, and I fear, artillery; and you may suppose the alarm and confusion here, as it was generally believed they intended the city. Thus you have one side of the picture. I hope the other may be better. Our associations had been much disgusted with their service in the Flying Camp and their spirit had gone to sleep. They were called upon, but did not rouse until within this two days, when they began to conceive their danger was real, and they are now turning out with a spirit becoming Freemen. This day and to-morrow the whole militia of this city and suburbs march to join Gen. Washington. The country will follow the example of the city. The Jerseys are in motion, and Gen. Lee has crossed the north river with considerable force and is now on the march towards the enemy so that I expect they will now be driven into winter quarters. More I do not promise myself at this time, as their artillery is extremely formidable and we have but little to oppose it. Our affairs are amazingly altered for the worse within a few weeks. However, I hope the exertions of Congress this winter will put them in a respectable posture before the spring, I am in daily hopes of hearing from you by Capt. Young the committee will not have time to write by this conveyance. I am sir with much regard

Your friend & servant,

WM. BINGHAM, ESQ. ROBT. MORRIS.

P. S. I expect Mr. Pryent will be very useful in buying, fitting & manning the Privateer you must however

get as many anglo-americans as possible, for officers & men, and be sure that no prize is detained unless clearly British or British west India property. R. M.

At the time this letter was written Mr. Bingham, who was born in Philadelphia, April 8th, 1752, was a resident of St. Pierre Mayzene in the West Indies where he remained during the Revolution as agent of the Continental Congress.

About three weeks after Mr. Morris dispatched the above confidential and remarkable letter to Bingham, he received from General Washington a letter which says:

CAMP ABOVE THE FALLS AT TRENTON,
Dec. 22, 1776.

DEAR SIR:

Your favor of yesterday came duely to hand, I thank you for the several agreeable articles of intelligence therein contained.——for God's sake hurry Mr. Mease with the clothing as nothing will contribute more to facilitate the recruiting service than warm & comfortable clothing to those who engage. Muskets are not wanted at this place, nor should they, or any other valuable stores (in my judgment) be kept in Phila., for sorry I am to inform you, my dear sir, that unless the militia repair to the city for defence of it, I see no earthly prospect of saving of it after the last of this instant; as that fatal vote of Congress respecting the appointment of new officers has put the recruiting business upon such a footing, and introduced so much confusion into the old regiments, that I see no chance of raising men out of them; by the first of next month, then, we shall be left with five regiments of Virginia, one of Maryland, Genl. Hands, and the remains of Miles; reduced so much by sickness, fatigue, &c. as in the whole not to exceed, but fall short of 1200 men.—upon these and the militia, is all our dependence, for you may as well attempt to stop the winds from blowing, or the sun in its diurnal, as the Regiments from going when their term is expired.—I think with you sir (that however missed you may be in Congress) your presence in the city cannot be dispensed with—I will give you the earliest information in my

power of immediate danger; in the meantime, I advise for the reasons before mentioned that you detain no papers you can possibly do without — for I am satisfied the enemy wait for two events only, to begin their operations upon Philadelphia — ice for a passage, and the dissolution of the poor remains of our debilitated army.

Genl. Sullivan is just come up with the troops under Genl. Lee, about 2000 men. Genl. Gates is here, and a small division under him of about 600 expected to-day; this with about four or five and twenty hundred at most, heretofore, compose the strength of my army (the city militia excepted) but this under the rose.—Alas poor Lee! taken by his own imprudence! we have no distinct accts. of him, if any should arrive, Mr. Tilghman or I, will communicate them to you. Insults accompanied the taking of him, since that, I have heard that he was treated well by Lord Cornwallis to whom he was first carried.

The commissary (Mr. Wharton), informs me that, he cannot prevail on the millers to grind; & that the troops in consequence, are like to suffer for want of flour — this if I understand him proceeds either from dissaffection, or an unwillingness to take continental money in pay, which in fact is the same thing — this must be remedied by fair, or other means.

With sincere regard & esteem, I am

Dr Sir yr most ob't servt,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

Discouragement in place of hope had taken possession of the mind of the commander-in-chief when he wrote this letter to the one man in America who could at that most fateful moment lift, as it turned out, the dark and tempestuous clouds of want and despair that had settled like a funeral pall over the patriot army.

Having received from Morris the desired, yet it is to be presumed hardly expected, assistance, Washington on Dec. 25th, determined to at once execute another stroke for liberty which he had desired. To carry out his plan he crossed the Delaware river with his army at Mc Konkey's Ferry that night. So many were the difficulties to overcome that it was not until three o'clock on the morning of the 26th that the transportation of two thousand four hundred troops

was completed, and the march to Trenton begun. The command was formed into two divisions under Generals Sullivan and Greene, one to march by the lower or river road, the other by the upper or Pennington road. Washington marched with the upper division under Greene, which arrived at the enemy's advanced post at eight o'clock, a few minutes earlier than the lower division. The Hessians were surprised, and after a short and decisive engagement, surrendered. After the fight Washington turned and recrossed the river the same evening, with nearly a thousand prisoners, the same number of arms, and several cannon. The next day, in striking contrast to his gloomy letter to Morris of but a few days before, he wrote, with hope renewed, to the President of Congress. "I have the pleasure of congratulating you upon the success of an enterprise, which I had formed against a detachment of the enemy lying in Trenton, and which was executed yesterday morning."

Turning from the Washington to the Morris letters again, one before us is dated Nov. 11, 1777. It was written to President Wharton of Congress. Sifting out the sentences of no public interest, are left the following paragraphs:

"It is now three years since I have devoted nearly the whole of my time to the public service, and have almost entirely neglected my own affairs. . . .

"I am therefore under a necessity of requesting your leave of absence as a delegate in Congress for this state for six months, but at all times I shall most cheerfully give such attendance as may be necessary to prevent any of the public business heretofore under my care from suffering."

Another letter to Bingham next requires review. This writing is dated Phila., Feb. 10, 1779. After several paragraphs relative to his commercial transactions he says: "My time has also been employed in refuting a most wicked, malicious attack that has been made on my character without the least foundation in truth or justice. But this will in the end make my conduct more conspicuous and in fact more meritorious than it would otherwise have been known; as I was silent, and contented with doing my duty, without boasting as many others have done."

This interesting letter fully substantiates Sumner's statement that Morris at all times had a certain faith in his own integrity, and could never be made to see that he had done anything improper. "If he could circulate his personal notes for the purpose of the United States Government, why should he not circulate them for the purpose of Robert Morris? If he controlled the commerce in the most important export staple of the United States, why should he not do it likewise to win profits for Robert Morris?" Thus he argued and thus he acted. It is sad to believe that the great services he ren-

dered his country should have had such a disastrous moral reaction upon him, but it seems to be forced upon us as the most reasonable explanation of his career.

There is one more letter as yet unnoticed in the little pile before us. But previous to copying it a word must be said in explanation. About the time of the close of Morris' term in the United States Senate in 1795, began the troubles which wrecked him financially and brought his life to a pathetic end. He had plunged into all kinds of speculations in land, which he bought all over the United States. His well known transactions with the North American Land Company alone involved him to the extent of a million dollars. Creditors began to spring up on all sides, and he could not satisfy them. They besieged him at his own door, at his windows, in his garden; and at his country seat on Lemon Hill they even lighted watch fires while they watched him at night lest he might escape. The debts that were proved against him reached three million dollars. Finally in the beginning of 1798, when he was sixty-four years old he was committed to the Prune Street Jail, Philadelphia. A few weeks after his incarceration, Feb. 20, 1798, he wrote the following most interesting letter to John Nicholson:

DEAR SIR:

My confinement has so far been attended with disagreeable and uncomfortable circumstances; for, having no particular place alloted to me, I feel myself an intruder in every place into which I go. I sleep in another person's bed, I occupy other people's rooms; and if I attempt to sit down to write, it is at the interruption and inconvenience of some one who has acquired prior right to the place. I am trying daily to get a room for a light rent, and now have a prospect of succeeding. I now am writing in the room which is the best in this house, and hope to have complete possession in a day or two. Then I can set up a bed and introduce such furniture and conveniences as will make me comfortable. When that is done, my situation may be supportable until such time as a change can be effected. But this place ought to be avoided by all who can possibly keep out of it. I know you will use every effort to that effect, and I hope to God you may succeed; but I doubt it — unless my being here should facilitate your negotiations. I have met with many interrogations since I began this letter,

and amongst the rest our Friend Charles Young is anxious to engross my time and attention, which he must have, for I believe his situation requires relief and he thinks I can contribute thereto. If I can I certainly will. Mr. Richard desires me to remind you of the French cause and to ask for a careful search for all the papers that relate thereto. I beg you will do this, that we may not be saddled with more debt than we ought to pay. I am Dr Sir, Yours, etc.,

MR. NICHOLSON, ESQ. ROBT. MORRIS.

Morris remained in the Prune Street Jail for three years and a half, when he was released under the bankruptcy law. When he came out of prison he went to live with his wife, a sister of Bishop White, in a house on Twelfth street, between Market and Chestnut, Philadelphia, which she had been enabled to provide with an annuity of $1,500 saved for her out of her husband's entanglements, and it was there that he died.

The lot of Robert Morris should have been cast in our time, as he was essentially a man of the nineteenth century. He had all the strength and all the weakness of a modern financier, and his liberal methods, his ambitions, his optimism and his speculations were not in tune or keeping with the sluggishness of the age in which he lived.

E. LESLIE GILLIAMS.

THE EXTRADITION AND RENDITION OF FUGITIVE CRIMINALS IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

PART II. 1693 TO THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

About this time the absence of satisfactory provisions in rendition matters operative thoughout the English colonies, became a subject of serious consideration. The confederation of the New England colonies had been dissolved so that its rendition article no longer bound the four colonies within the Union. In the other English colonies no settled rules of practice had ever been established. Except in Connecticut it is likely the principles of mutual aid and support and a recognition of the moral duty to surrender fugitives alone governed proceedings for the reclamation of such offenders. The colonies advanced and expected a sort of civil comity and reciprocity and adopted the most convenient and available means of practically accomplishing the desired end according to the circumstances and requirements of each particular case.

While the irregular but effectual practice established and in vogue since the earliest settlements was theoretically still in force, the colonies had almost entirely neglected making proper laws for the carrying out of the practice. However satisfactory a method might have been in use in any single province, unless all the colonies adopted a uniform plan for the recovery of fugitives much confusion would have inevitably followed.

The Lords of Trade apparently recognized the expediency of action toward that end, for in a report on the affairs of New York, dated at Whitehall, October 14th, 1696,[1] they say:

"Your Majty shall resolve on such measures as to your Royal wisdom shall seem best for the securing those your Majtys Northern Plantations in America, and since Coll. Fletcher complains of frequent desertions to which the retreat deserters finde in the neighboring plantations gives an occasion, we are humbly of opinion that the proper remedy for this is that the several English Plantations in the Northern America should each of them make effectual laws to prevent

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV, 230 (N. Y. Entries A. 29).

the receiving and harbouring of deserters or fugitives from any of your Majesty's Plantations. To which purpose we humbly conceive it convenient they should be writt to."

In a letter to Governor Fletcher dated February 1st, $169\frac{6}{7}$,[1] they say that to remedy the desertions he had complained of the king, had ordered them to write to the governors of the several Colonies "that they take care of each of their respective Governts, that effectual laws be made against receiving and harbouring not only of deserters but also of such fugitives as leave any of his plantations contrary to the laws provided for that purpose in each plantation respectively, which order we have already communicated to some, and are continuing to do it to others as opportunity offers — and you are therefore likewise in the same manner required to observe it."

Continuing, Governor Fletcher was cautioned to take measures against the sheltering of Pirates, such diligence being commended "so much more particularly to your care, because in recent cases your Govent is named as a place of protection for such villains, and your favor in particular to Capn. Tue given as an instance of it."

Governor Fletcher assured the Lords of Trade that he would "carefully observe your Lordps cômands concerning fugitives and deserters in this province." [1]

Notwithstanding this admonition there is no record of any legislation upon the subject in the Colonies until 1720, when Connecticut passed an act which is set forth below.

On December 11, 1696, William Penn appeared before the Lords of Trade as proprietor of East Jersey to make representations regarding the State of the Colonies. On the 8th of February, $169\frac{6}{7}$, he submitted a plan for their better regulation entitled "A Briefe and Plaine Scheame how the English Colonies in the north parts of America, viz: Boston, Connecticut, Road Island, New York, New Jersey, Pensilvania, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina may be made more usefull to the crowne, and one another's peace and safety with an universal concurrance."

He proposed that there should be a common assembly composed of deputies from each colony whose business it should be "to hear and adjust all matters of complaint or differences between Province and Province, as 1st where persons quit their own Province and goe to another that they may avoid their just debts tho' they be able to pay them; 2d where offenders fly Justice, or Justice cannot well be had upon such offenders in the Provinces that entertain them, 3rdly, to prevent or cure

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV, p. 255 (N. Y. Entries A. 63)

[1] Gov. Fletcher to Lords of Trade, N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol, IV, 273, 274; (New York Entries, A. 261)

injuries in point of commerce, 4th, to consider ways and means to support the Union and safety of the Provinces against the publick enemies." [1]

I. LORD BELLAMONT'S EFFORTS TO BRING PIRATES TO JUSTICE.

In a letter to the Lords of Trade dated July 1st, 1698[2] Lord Bellamont who had been appointed Vice-Admiral of the Court of Admiralty in New York, speaks of the action of Coll. Bass. of the Jerseys, who on the issuance of a precept by the Court of Admiralty in New York to demand and procure the surrender of two pirates seized in the Jerseys, called his Council, who unanimously decided not to deliver until the commission for the Court of Admiralty was published in New Jersey.

He says that on the receipt of Coll. Bass' letter announcing this decision he "call[d] his Maj[tys] Council, and by their advice sent a command to Coll. Bass (which I now likewise send you) with which Coll. Bass being startled, he ventured without the consent of his Councill to send me the two prisoners supposed to be Every's crew."

Again[1] "I hear of two more of Every's men, one in Connecticut, and one in Road Island, I have wrote to these Gover[nts] to seize them and send them to me. But I desire your Lordships speedy directions what I shall do with them, for the evidence to condemn them is in England, and I want your directions to send them prisoners thither, for otherwise as they are taken up here only on suspicion, I am told I cannot by law deny their being admitted to baile."

Again, on July 6th. 1698, he wrote to the Lords of Admiralty: [2]

"I had omitted to acquaint your Lordships that a precept issued out

[1] 100th Anniversary of the Const. of U. S. Vol II. 450, 451; N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV, p. 296; Moore on Extradition, 822. (Note.)

NOTE. Again in 1700 Mr. Penn submitted to Lord Bellamont and Lieutenant Governor Nicholson certain suggestions respecting the Plantations which were drawn up by Penn and transmitted to the Lords of Trade by Bellamont. They are to be found in the Colonial Documents of the State of New York (New York Papers N. O., N. 28) indorsed "Heads of severall things proper for ye Plant[ns] to be recommended home to England Drawn up by Mr. Penn & communicated by him to the Earl of Bellamont & Coll. Nicholson at their meeting at N. Yorke. Referred to in ye E. of Bellamont's tre. of the 17th Oct[r] 1700."

Penn suggested a standard coin—the establishment of a mint, &c. and "5. For prevention of runaways and rovers and fraudulent debtors coming from one Province to another for shelter, that it were recommended to these Governments to make a law with the same restrictions and penalties as if the whole was but one Government." N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV, 757.

Bellamont says in his letter to the Lords of Trade "Col. Nicholson M[r] Penn and I had some discourse about these plantations, the heads on which we discovered were drawn up in short terms by M[r] Penn and are (No. 27)" Id. 724.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV, 332.

[1] Id, 333.

[2] Id. 359.

of the Court of Admiralty of New Yorke to take two supposed Pirates out of the custody of the Gov^t^ of Jerseys, but he by advice of the Council (as he said) did not obey it on pretense that my commission of Vice-Admirall (which as yet I have not) was not published and recorded in the Jerseys, nor the commission of that Court. But I sent him a commanding letter, which he obeyed and sent me prisoners, as your Lord^ps^ will perceive by the letters which shall be laid before your Lord^ps^ by the agents."

In a letter to the Lords of Trade, dated Boston, October 20th, 1699, he says:[1]

"I have prevail^d^ with Governor Winthrop to seize and send Thomas Clarke of New Yorke prisoner thither; he had been on board Kidd's sloop at the East end of Long Island and carried off to the value of about £5,000 in goods and treasure (that we know of and perhaps a great deal more) unto Connecticut Colony, and thinking himself safe from under our power writ me Lieutenant Governor of New Yorke a very sawcy letter and bade us defiance. I have ordered him to be safely kept a prisoner in the fort, because the goal of New York is weak and insufficient, and when orders come to me to send Kidd and his man to England (which I long for impatiently) I will also send Clarke as an associate of Kidd's."

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV, 595.

In the same letter previous to the above he says:[1]

"I brought from England a commission under the Seal of the Admiralty for trying pirates and pirates' goods, taken or committed in Connecticut Colony in the Admiralty Court of New Yorke: and upon hearing that some of Bradishe's men were taken by Colonel Winthrop, the Governor of that Colony, I was about to send for them to have them tryed at New Yorke. But Colonel Winthrop prevented me by sending me your Lordships letter to him dated the 21st of March, $169\frac{7}{8}$, together with a draught of the bill for restraining and punishing Privateers and Pirates, which bill you enjoin him to endeavour to get passed into an act by the General Assembly of that Colony; and in it there are Admiralty powers to try, condemn and punish with death all such offenders. I called a Council at New Yorke upon receipt of that letter of Colonel Winthrop's and we all agreed that by the bills being enacted, and the tenour of your Lordships said letter, Connecticut Colony would be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Admiralty Court of New York."

On the 30th of April, 1701, (shortly after the death of Lord Bellamont) William Smith, Peter Schuyler and Robert Livingston, three of the Council of New York, wrote a letter to the Lords of Trade[2] in which they com-

[1] Id. p. 594.

[2] Id. 857, 863.

plained of the "ill state of the Jerseys" in harboring fugitives &c. Continuing they say: "We do therefore humbly offer whether it be not for his Majesty's service that his Majesty would be pleased to put those Provinces under such regularities that the publick peace may be restored and his Majesty's government of New York may have the assistance of the magistracy of the Jerseys to remand deserters and fellows that may shelter themselves there, which often happens, &c., by the convulsion of that people, not in Coll. Hamilton's the Governour's power to remedy it."

On the 25th of July, 1715, Governor Hunter requested the apprehension at Boston of one Jean Conrad Weiser, the leader of a sedition among the five Indian nations, which obliged him to march with a force to disarm them. In a letter to the Lords of Trade, Governor Hunter says: "He, with his crew, has pulled down a Mans house in the neighborhood, is since fled to Boston, I have wrote by the advice of the Council here, to have him apprehended there, in order to his being brought to Justice for a terror to the rest. He gives out that he is bound for England, instructed by the Indians."[1]

II. CONNECTICUT PASSES THE ONLY COLONIAL LAW ON THE SUBJECT.

In the Acts and Laws of Connecticut we find the only colonial law ever passed on the subject of the delivery of fugitives from other colonies. It was passed in October, 1720, and after reciting that "Whereas it has sometimes happened that some Persons Convicted in the neighboring Colonies of Crimes, which by the Laws of this Colony are punishable with corporal Punishment, make their escape from the Administration of Justice in those Colonies; or do Escape, and flee from the Prosecution of such Crimes there, and come into this colony with design to hide from Justice; or do take up their Abode here," provided that all such persons who came into the colony of Connecticut, and continued there for the space of Two Months, without first having obtained leave therefor of the General Assembly, and should not depart within one month after they had been formally warned so to do, should suffer a fine of five pounds to the Treasurer of the Colony, and if the person so fined should not within one month after the imposition of the fine, depart out of the Colony, that he should be again liable to the like fine, "to be recovered as aforesaid; and so *Toties Quoties*."

Thus the act provided a penalty for the fugitive wrongdoer who sought refuge within Connecticut Colony, and declared the act of seeking shelter there to be a crime.

In subsequent sections a means of returning the fugitive upon the demand of the authorities of the government or colony from which he had

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. V, 418.

fled, was prescribed. As the language of the act is somewhat quaint, the latter clauses are quoted in full:

"And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any such Person or Persons flying, or making Escape, as aforesaid, be pursued by Order of proper Authority, from any other Government, in order to bring him or them to Justice, he or they may be Apprehended by Order of the Authority of this Government.

"And if on Examination and Inquiry into the Matter, it shall appear such Person or Persons have been Convicted, as aforesaid, and are escaping, or are flying from Prosecution, as aforesaid, he or they may be remanded back, and delivered to the Authority, or Officers from whom such escape is made, in order that due and condign Punishment may be inflicted on such Transgressors."

This Act is found in a somewhat modified form in the Acts and Laws of Connecticut, Revision of 1784, under the title of "An Act for remanding Persons who have committed crimes in other states, and to escape from Justice flee into this State;" and yet again, with further unimportant modifications in the revision of 1795.[1]

III. CASES MENTIONED IN THE NEW YORK NEWSPAPERS.

The New York *Gazette* of March 8, 1737, after recounting the arrest and conviction of a man "who goes by the names of Patrick Butler, John Lovell, Luce and several other names" for "passing counterfeit Pistoles and Dollars" says:

"Some time ago he stole a Horse and a Mare in Connecticut, they pursued him to Westchester in this Province and carried him back, where, according to their law they whipt him," &c.[1]

The New York *Gazette*, revived in the *Weekly Post Boy*, July 6th, 1747, tells of the arrest of four counterfeiters whose operations were in "Peek's Kill in Dutchess County, where the three were first apprehended, the other fled but was follow[d] and overtaken at Newhaven.[2]

The same paper of January 23d, 1749, says: "Saturday next is appointed for the execution of Manus Carrol . . . He was tried and condemned there" (Albany) "but broke jail and made his Escape; and was taken up in the back Parts of Pennsylvania again, and brought here about three weeks ago."[3]

IV. MASSACHUSETTS IS CHARGED WITH HARBORING FUGITIVES FROM NEW YORK;—A COLONIAL "NO MAN'S LAND."

In 1766 Governor Moore wrote to the Lords of Trade complaining of the protection afforded by the Massachusetts authorities to fugitives

[1] Moore on Extradition, §518.

[1] Manual N. Y. Com. Council 1865, 726.

[2] Id. 815.

[3] Id. 832.

from his colony. The following is his letter:

"My Lords,

I informed Mr. Secretary Cornway in a letter of the 30th of April last' of some disturbances which had arose in the County of Dutchess in this Province, and at the same time acquainted him with the steps taken to suppress them, which together with a little Military Assistance, soon settled the tranquillity of that County, and a Court of Oyer & terminer is now sitting there, in which some of the principal offenders will be tryd. Since that, the infection has spread into the neighboring County of Albany, but some of the Rioters have been already taken, and the greatest part of them fled into the Provinces of Massachusetts and Connecticut, where they appear to be protected by the Magistrates, as all the requisitions made to get them apprehended have proved ineffectual, notwithstanding they are so far from absconding that they appear publicly; so that we must expect to have them returned again into this Province as soon as the Force is withdrawn which drove them out, and a new scene of disorder will of course commence." [2]

In 1767, while the boundary between New York and Massachusetts was in dispute, a number of inhabitants of Massachusetts made settlements upon the lands of Johannes Van Rensslaer, proprietor of Claverock, in Columbia County. Van Rensslaer brought legal proceedings for their removal and the Sheriff, while endeavoring to serve his writs, aided by a *posse comitatus*, was set upon by the intruders and prevented from executing his duty, which resulted in the loss of life. Some of the intruders afterwards returned to Massachusetts and efforts to secure their rendition proved unavailing.

Governor Moore in a letter to the Earl of Shelburne, dated February 24th, 1767, gives the following account of the affair: [1]

"There has been no dispute in the present case between the Provinces in regard to any Territorial Jurisdiction, but the whole has taken its rise from a Scene of Litigation among private Persons; Several Inhabitants of the Massachusetts encouraged by their countrymen, (as they acknowledge in some of their affidavits) passed over the line of Division and seating themselves to the Westward of it on the Lands belongg to Mr Rensslaer (sic) and acknowledged on all hands to be within this Province, began Settlements there without any invitation from him, or even permission first obtained; Mr Rensslaer unwilling to dispossess them offered them Leases, on the same Terms which he had granted to his Tenants their near neighbors which were

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. VII, 825.

[2] Gov. Moore to the Lords of Trade; N. Y Col. Doc. Vol. VII, 849.

[1] Id. 910-912. See also letter of Gov. Moore to Sec. Cornway, 845.

refused, and notwithstanding they could not shew any Right in themselves to the Lands refused to acknowledge any in M^r^ Rensslaer, who upon such behavior endeavoured to remove them by a due course of Law; But as it never was the intention of these People to submit their Title to a legal examinat^n^ every opposition was made to the Sheriff when he attempted to do his Duty and matters were carried to such a length, that they assembled armed in a great body, and attacked and defeated him in the Execution of his office, alltho' supported by the Posse of the County some lives were lost on both sides. After an action in justification of which so little could be said, many of the Delinquents thought proper to quit this Province immediately, and sheltered themselves under the Protection of the neighboring Governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut. I did receive some letters from Mr. Bernard[1] in August, complaining of the treatment some people had met with in the Province of Massachusetts, representing their case as deserving compassion, and desiring that I would interpose my good offices in their behalf. To this I made the following answer; that I thought it very extraordinary that any person in this Province who was aggrieved should before he made his complaint first withdraw himself from the jurisdiction in which he had lived, then apply for redress to one who had it not in his power to give it. That I apprehend the Persons for whom he interested himself were those against whom the Grand Jury had found Bills for Riots, Murders, and Treasons, in which case I hoped he would give the necessary orders to have them secured, that they might be brought to the punishment they deserved; But if any persons had fled into his Government only under apprehension of being ill treated he might assure them from me that on their return, they should be entitled to all the protection which the Laws of the Country could give them, and that any disputes they were engaged in should be examined into with the utmost candor In order to sett this matter in the clearest light I enclosed to Mr. Bernard the Proclamation I had issued, in which were inserted the names of the Delinquents and the rewards offered for taking them up, but none of them were ever secured although they appeared publickly in the Provinces of the Massachusetts and Connecticut; neither have those complainants thought proper to return to their Homes and submit their cause to be decided by the Laws of their Country."

On the 7th of May, 1768, Governor Moore wrote to the Earl of Hillsborough that after the repeal of the act of Assembly which had enacted "that part of the country bordering on the Connecticut River" into a

[1] Francis Bernard, Governor of Massachusetts.

separate country, the distress there was so great "that it was apprehended many Inhabitants would be under necessity of quitting it, for it was become an asylum for persons guilty of all sorts of crimes, and a great number of wretches who had fled from justice not only in this but in the neighboring Provinces of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut took up their quarters there and committed all kinds of Disorders with impunity."[1]

The Council advised the erecting of the lands into a County by an ordinance, which was accordingly done.[2]

VI. DISINCLINATION AFTER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION TO ABANDON THE ESTABLISHED PRACTICE.

The Articles of Confederation were adopted in 1777, and the rendition clause provided that "if any person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony or other high misdemeanor, in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor, or executive power of the State from which he fled be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offence."

In 1782, in the case of one Captain White, demanded by President Moore of Pennsylvania, of Governor Livingston of New Jersey, under the provisions of this clause, the latter declined to interfere on the ground that all that was necessary was for the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania to issue his writ, which would be indorsed by the Chief Justice of New Jersey, and thereupon the Pennsylvania Sheriff could apprehend White in any part of New Jersey.[1]

In 1784, Governor Dickinson of Pennsylvania, made a demand upon the Governor of Massachusetts as follows:

"Sir:—We are informed that George Garner and Joseph Smith, who are charged with felony committed in this City, and have fled from Justice, are now in Boston. We therefore think it our duty to request that they may be delivered up to the bearer, . . . in order to be removed to this State."[2]

In the same year the President and Council of Maryland notified the President of Pennsylvania that Henry Carberry had been arrested in Maryland, charged with treason in Pennsylvania. The matter was referred to the judges of the Supreme Court, to demand Carberry and have him brought to trial. The Judges demanded him of Maryland, to be delivered at the jail in Philadelphia; and this request was "founded on the second clause of the fourth article

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. VIII, 65.

[2] Ibid.

[1] 13 Am. Law Rev. 181; Penn. Archives Vol. IV, 530, 531, Minutes of Council of Penn. XIII, 270.

[2] 13 Am. Law Rev. 181; Penn. Archives Vol. X, 354. See also Minutes of Council of Penn. XV, 499; Id. III., 108. Id. V., 94. Penn. Archives XVI., 14.

of the Confederation and has been the *constant usage between this State and the neighboring States.*"[1]

Governor Paca of Maryland objected that the demand must come from the Executive Department of Pennsylvania, and that the prisoner could not be taken by the authorities of Maryland beyond the limits of that State. The permission of Delaware would be necessary to go across her territory, and the officers of Pennsylvania must receive him at the State line.[2] In a letter by the Judges to the Governor, recounting the affair, they maintained that in spite of the language of the Articles of Confederation, "the usage and practices between this State and New Jersey and also the Delaware State" were sufficient to support their demands as made.[3] Finally, Governor Dickinson of Pennsylvania made a formal demand, in which he alluded, to his having referred the matter to the Judges, "not doubting but it would be conducted according to the constant usage in similar cases between this State and the States of New Jersey and Delaware."[4] Governor Paca replied to this demand signifying his readiness to make the surrender at once.[5]

[1] Penn. Archives X, 290, 292; 13 Am. Law Rev. 181, 189

[2] Id.

[3] Id.

[4] Id. 320; 13 Am. Law Rev. 181.

[5] Penn. Archives X, 324; 13 Am. Law Rev. 181.

In 1789 a case occurred from which it appears that the States continued up to that time at least, to follow the old practice, regarding the provision of the Articles of Confederation only as a means of compelling a surrender against the will of a State.

In a letter to Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania, Governor Livingston of New Jersey says that Chief Justice Brearly of his State had informed him that a warrant lately sent by him to Pennsylvania had been refused; and he adds: "I am informed that this is the first instance . . . where the warrant from one of the Justices of the Supreme Court has been deemed to be insufficient and it is probable that you consider the fourth article of the old Confederation as extending to all cases." He then proceeds to make a formal demand, according to the clause of the Articles of Confederation. This demand was acceded to in the Pennsylvania Council and the fugitives surrendered to the Chief Justice of New Jersey.[1] In a letter to Governor Mifflin, Chief Justice Brearly refers to certain legislation of New Jersey regulating surrenders, and adds: "We have considered that part of the Article of Confederation which respects the matter as merely designed to prevent one State from giving protection to offenders from another; and that the powers therein given the ex-

[1] 13 Am. Law Rev. 190; Minutes of Council of Penn., XVI, 14.

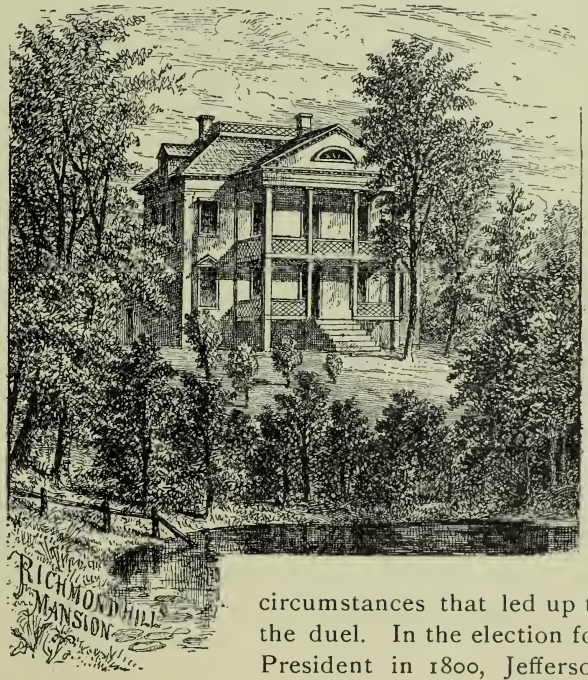
ecutive are not necessary to be exercised in ordinary cases."

"These instances," says Mr. Hoague,[1] "indicate the condition of things out of which the later provision grew. So confirmed was the practice of making surrenders upon the warrant of the Court having jurisdiction, duly indorsed by the Chief Justice of the State making the surrender, that twelve years after the adoption of the Articles of Confederation the first instance of a refusal known to Governor Livingston arose. At this time the Constitution was about going into effect, and there was a proper disposition on the part of Governor Mifflin to conform to the letter of the fundamental law."

JOHN DOUGLAS LINDSAY.

[1] 13 Am. Law Rev. 190.

THE HAMILTON-BURR DUEL — A STUDY.



To a person accustomed to note memorable dates of important events in the more or less distant past, the days July 11 and 12, will not be allowed to pass by unheeded. To a resident of New York, especially, they should recall the event which so sadly signalized them. For on July 11, 1804, Hamilton and Burr met on the fatal ground at Weehawken, and on July 12th Hamilton's great agony ended in death. While some of the landmarks still remain—and ere long will be no more — it would seem worth while to briefly study the well-known incident. We may not hit upon anything new, but it will at least give occasion to place before readers outside of New York an account of the localities which this event has invested with a national interest.

We shall pass but lightly over the circumstances that led up to the duel. In the election for President in 1800, Jefferson and Burr had come out with a tie-vote. This had thrown the decision upon the House of Representatives, and for several days in February, 1801, the fate of these two men hung trembling in the balance. Nearly forty ballots were taken, ere a decision was reached. The Federalists sought to disappoint their op-

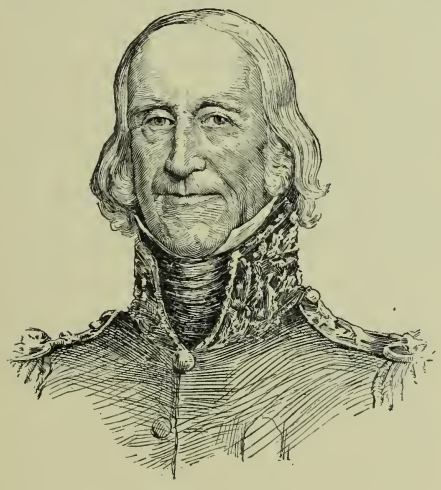
ponents by taking from them their idolized Jefferson. Whether rightly or wrongly judged, Jefferson's friends imagined that Burr was capable of a "dicker" with the enemy, in order to secure the office at the expense of his party. At any rate, it appeared how little credit Burr had left in his own party, when at the end of four years it became time to nominate candidates for the offices of president and vice-president. Jefferson was of course renominated for the former, but Burr was not even mentioned for vice-president, the Governor of New York, George Clinton, being substituted.

At this juncture, in the spring of 1804, there was also on the carpet an election for governor of the State of New York. In this Burr conceived that there lay for him an opportunity for redeeming his political standing; a chance to test how much of power in politics there remained to him. There being apparently nothing left for him in national politics, he would be content with the more limited glory of being Governor of his own State, and he set about to secure the nomination. But this was not so easy a matter to accomplish. His own party — the Republicans or Democrats — was entirely under the control of the Clinton and Livingston families, and these were bitterly hostile to Burr. The nomination of Burr by this party was therefore out of the question; it was given to Chief Justice Morgan Lewis, a brother-in-law of Chancellor Livingston. Burr then manifested his political adaptability by courting the nomination of the opposite party, the Federalists. This surely gives some countenance to Jefferson's suspicions that Burr's ambition and loyalty were not half so strongly fixed upon party success as upon Burr himself. But the New York Federalists were not particularly taken with Burr's open-mindedness; they did not make him their candidate, but named instead Chancellor Lansing. Burr then undertook to pose as an independent, or self-nominated candidate; and when the Chancellor declined to run, he felt certain that a part at least of the Republican or Democratic vote, and the bulk of the Federalists (now without a standard-bearer) would be diverted in his favor. The result of the election proved that again he had reckoned without his host. What was the cause?

A Colossus had risen in his path, and blocked his advance towards the governorship; the same who had blocked his dubious progress towards the presidency. In that great crisis just alluded to, the grandfather of ex-Secretary of State Bayard, the single representative of Delaware, had steadily voted thirty-five times for Burr, although he was a Federalist himself. This in the count of States had made Delaware's vote stand for Burr. Taking counsel of Hamilton, he changed his vote on the last ballot deliberately for Jefferson; the members of two other State delegations

who had voted for Burr, making a tie, withheld their votes, leaving a majority for Jefferson, and thus giving him two more States, and the crisis was over. Hamilton must have been deeply impressed with Burr's untrustworthiness as a public man, when he distinctly advised his adherents to place Jefferson in the presidential chair rather than him.

So again in the contest for the governorship of New York, Hamilton raised his warning voice against Burr, amid the ranks of the Federalists.



GOV. MORGAN LEWIS.

Their chances of success were so meager that they were quite well inclined to take up with Burr when it was understood he would accept their nomination. But just about the time their candidate was to be named, Hamilton was at Albany on legal business, and at a caucus of legislators held at a tavern, he strongly dissuaded them from the contemplated move. When it came to the actual voting, he did not hesitate to advise his adherents to vote for the opposing candidate, Morgan Lewis, though a Republican; and many did so, so that Lewis received the election.

Burr was now left without any ground, politically, to stand on, either in the nation or in his own state. He was desperate; and now came into play his unscrupulous temperament, almost without serious moral restraints. The man is a problem in heredity. On the one side was the father, the Rev. Aaron Burr, widely respected as a godly minister, as well as a talented orator, and of such reputation for learning that he was made President of Princeton College. On the other side was the mother, the choicest flower of a choice family-circle, the daughter of the revered and saintly moral philosopher and profound theologian, the pride, the glory, almost the adoration of New England to this day—Jonathan Edwards. But both parents died while Burr was still an infant of a few years, and somehow and somewhere he received a moral or religious twist, which unbalanced his character. Without unfairness we may draw this conclusion, since his undisguisedly questionable dealings with women, and his well-known pliability in political matters, undoubtedly place before us a man of no very pronounced moral stamina or strong principle.

Of course Burr was a man of refinement and could not stoop to be a midnight assassin. His moral unsoundness did not go such lengths as this; the restraints of society were of great force with him. But unfortunately in those days society rather encouraged than denounced one murderous means of satisfaction or revenge, namely the duel. Vengeance was no doubt in Burr's heart: Hamilton must be taken out of the way: if he were not, his own career was a wreck. The duel, therefore, was his only resort. Should Hamilton fall, Burr might hope to rise again in the political arena. His case could scarce be worse than it was now, so far as the ambitions of his life went, if Hamilton's bullet should lay him low.

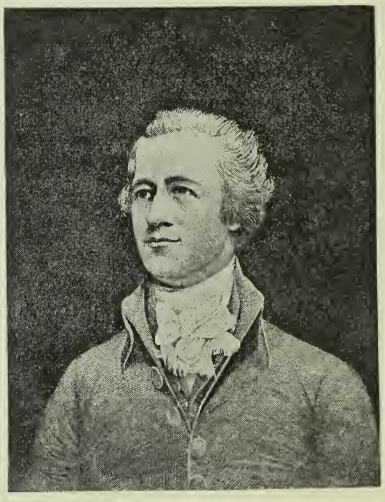
Occasion for a quarrel was readily found, after an election contest. At the caucus in the tavern at Albany, mentioned above, two adherents of Burr surreptitiously introduced themselves into an adjoining apartment, and overheard, naturally, some things not complimentary to Burr, which fell from Hamilton's lips. Besides there was a letter published in the papers of the day, which after stating that Hamilton had discouraged the Federalists from voting for Burr as governor, made this indefinite and gratuitous addition to its former mischievous gossip: "I could detail to you a still more despicable opinion which General Hamilton has expressed of Mr. Burr." Burr insisted upon making this the *casus belli*. The writer, a Dr. Cooper, had been with Hamilton at the private table of a mutual friend, where this opinion was supposed to have been uttered. When Burr sent the newspaper extract with the above sentence underscored to Hamilton, the latter naturally turned to the, so to speak, less "despicable" utterance which gave rise to the degree of comparison. And he found this to be: "General Hamilton and Judge Kent have declared in substance, that they looked upon Mr. Burr to be a dangerous man, and one who ought not to be trusted with the reigns of government." Surely this was sufficiently harmless language to be used in a political campaign. Burr knew that well enough, and, therefore, had resort to the vague possibilities of the "still more despicable;" but Hamilton was not responsible for this odious comparison; and if neither he nor Dr. Cooper could recollect the exact language of this more heinous utterance, there was no ground for calling any one out to a duel. The groundlessness or irrelevance of such a position was pointed out by Hamilton in the course of the voluminous correspondence between the two men. "How shall I annex any precise idea to language so indefinite?" he asked. "How could you be sure that even this opinion [the more despicable one] had exceeded the bounds which you would yourself deem admissible between political opponents?" If Burr had any other than a murderous intent,

he would have acknowledged the force of these considerations; in fact his "honor" should have been fully satisfied with such a reply as the following, which Hamilton authorized his second to transmit; "He [*i. e.* Hamilton] would be able to answer consistently with his honor and the truth, in substance, that the conversation to which Dr. Cooper alluded turned wholly on political topics, and did not attribute to Col. Burr any instance of dishonorable conduct, nor relate to his private character." What more could Burr have wished? Could Hamilton have honorably gone further in explaining the reference to his conversation. (Note that the explanation was demanded of a reference to a conversation, not of the actual words of it themselves.)

But the unhappy feature of this whole affair is that Burr did not wish really for any explanation. He was bound to quarrel, bound to carry the quarrel to a fight; bound to have the fight end in the death of one or the other. The matter was soon referred to seconds, and even then Hamilton honestly strove to avoid a meeting on such baseless demands. Burr's peremptory demands and increasingly offensive communications, however, left no opening for retreat from the challenge, as men then thought and felt. Judge Pendleton, Hamilton's second, wrote to Burr's second, Mr. William P. Van Ness: "While he [Hamilton] was prepared to meet the particular case fairly and fully, he thinks it inadmissible that he should be expected to answer at large as to everything that he may possibly have said, in relation to the character of Col. Burr, at any time or upon any occasion." Yet it is but just to cite, on the other hand, a passage from Mr. Van Nest's rejoinder: "Col. Burr disavows all motives of predetermined hostility, a charge by which he thinks insult added to injury. He feels as a gentleman should feel when his honour is impeached or assailed; and without sensations of hostility or wishes of revenge, he is determined to vindicate that honour at such hazard as the nature of the case demands." Burr is of course entitled to this statement of his case. But it is difficult to see, when Hamilton and Judge Kent are mentioned in one breath in connection with the only definite statements involved in this controversy, why Hamilton was singled out for responsibility. Nor is it easy to see why any gentleman should feel his honor to be assailed by another, when the offending words are not mentioned, but are only vaguely alluded to by a third party; and when on a demand for an explanation, the offending gentleman disavows any intention to assail private character, and is wholly at a loss to say what was the actual language used. The case of Burr against Hamilton was a very weak one on this score of honor. The writer was told by the grandson of one of the members of the Cincinnati who was at the Society's dinner

on July 4, 1804, that his grandfather often assured him that if the members had known of the duel and its circumstances before the event, they would never have suffered it to take place. This proves that no very serious point of honor was involved, for then the customs of the day, and the feelings of gentlemen and soldiers, would not have permitted them to interfere, or would have made their interference useless. From the standpoint of the impartial historical student it is with reluctance that we quote from a recent book a summary of Burr's conduct, as not an unfair representation of the facts: "With cool deliberation he set about forcing a quarrel," observes Mr. Lodge in his monograph on "Alexander Hamilton" in the American Statesmen Series. "He showed his purpose plainly enough by selecting a remark attributed to Hamilton at the time of the caucuses held to nominate candidates for the governorship, which was really applicable to his general public character, was not peculiarly severe, and was perfectly inoffensive, compared with many of the denunciations launched at him by Hamilton only a few years before. Hamilton had no desire to fight, but it was impossible to avoid it if he admitted the force of the code of honor, when Burr was determined to fix a quarrel upon him."

And now it is worth while to inquire, since this "study" is so largely one of motives; if any fair estimate of the case would fasten the stigma of a wish to do harm to Burr upon the man whom he thus forced to become his antagonist. We must reply in the negative since there seems to be an entire absence of "motive" on Hamilton's part to be thus disposed towards Burr. He towered too far above Burr in professional ability and success, to entertain any jealousy of him on that head. Neither was Hamilton desirous of securing an office, which Burr might prevent him from getting. Hamilton had deliberately turned aside from public life in order to repair his private fortune, which had suffered severely while he was intent on serving his country.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Hamilton antagonized Burr both in 1801 and in 1804, in the arena of National politics as in those of the State, purely and simply on grounds of a public nature. He sincerely ad-

judged Burr to be a "dangerous man," not to be entrusted "with the reins of government." Others shared that opinion; as was noticed, by no less a person than Judge, afterwards Chancellor, James Kent. And there were opportunities for a "dangerous man" to do mischief. Secession was in the air then, as it was fifty or sixty years later, only its latitude was nearer the North Pole. It was in the minds of the men of New England, and hence we do not find the matter emphasized much in the "history-books" — as Thackeray is fond of putting it — since these have usually proceeded from that region. And the considerations that lay back of secession then and there, were not unlike those that come to the foreground later. Then and there there was a sectional, selfish determination to save its shipping and manufactures, even at the expense of national prosperity and honor. It was likewise a devotion to sectional interests, at the expense of national duty or honor, which precipitated the later secession. That this menace to the Union was a reality and not a chimera in 1804, and was justly a cause of apprehension to men like Hamilton and Kent, is proved by the attitude of the New England States in the war of 1812. They actually called a convention of representatives at which it was deliberately voted to raise money only for their own defense. Perhaps no evidence is so striking as that of the following figures. Of the loan of sixteen millions of dollars called for by the Federal Government, New York took over five and a half-millions; Pennsylvania nearly seven millions; little Maryland nearly three millions. All of the five New England States took only $486,700! But there was already a sinister separatist spirit abroad in New England at the time that Burr sought to be Governor of New York. So much was this so, that Mr. Lodge, himself a New Englander, says distinctly: "He sought the governorship of New York, behind which was the possibility of a northern confederacy and presidency, a phantom evoked by the murmurs of secession now heard among New England leaders."

Hamilton suspected or foresaw that Burr was entirely capable of disrupting the Union for the sake of personal ambition. He was certain Burr was entirely capable of leading such a secession, or even of fomenting it in order to lead it. Hamilton himself would rather have shed his last drop of life-blood than do such a thing. It is abundantly proved that against his will, against his principles, he went into this duel apprehending the worst; that by enduring the trial and running the risk, he might not disqualify himself from becoming a leader when it should be necessary to take up arms in defense or preservation of the Union. His courage was so unquestionable that a declining of the challenge could not

have impeached it. But he thought that there lay upon him "a peculiar necessity not to decline the call." As he put it himself significantly: "The ability to be in future useful, whether in resisting mischief or effecting good, in those crises of our public affairs which seem likely to happen, would probably be inseparable from a conformity with public prejudice in this particular." Should a general be needed in the crisis apprehended, not a finger must be pointed at him in derision of his personal courage, not a breath uttered casting a doubt upon it, however unreasonable. It was devotion to his country, to its government, to its federal, national Union, which made him take the risk of standing before a bullet directed by spiteful and murderous revenge!

And that Hamilton was not unjust in his judgment or suspicion of Burr — was not this proved by the sequel of events? Drawing his career, after he ceased to be vice-president, as mildly as possible, though his schemes were perhaps rather romantically mysterious than clearly traitorous; though they involved perhaps a Mexican or Central American rival republic or empire, rather than a disruption of our own; yet there was enough in all this "peculiar" intrigue to have the air of treachery; there was enough in it to bring him to a trial for High Treason; there was enough in it to show the bent of his mind; in short, that he was not a safe man to be entrusted with the reins of government, when secession was in the air and ready to take practical shape next door to his own State.

Apart from public considerations, Burr and Hamilton were on terms of friendship. In social circles they often met, and each had qualities and abilities to enliven any gathering of which they formed a part. On the dinner-lists of eminent members of society, their names appear together more than once. They were neighbors. Hamilton's town-house was at the corner of Wall and Broad streets. Burr lived at 10 Nassau street, before he moved to the Richmond Hill Mansion, corner of Charlton and Varick streets. Nay in a moment of financial distress (a not infrequent situation for him) Burr called in the aid of Hamilton; whereupon the latter, with characteristic energy, raised a loan of ten thousand dollars among his own rich friends and relatives. It is not clear that this indebtedness had been liquidated at the time of the duel, and it casts therefore a darker shadow upon Burr's vindictive course. It was on political grounds solely that the two men were ever opposed. It is a pity that Burr allowed this opposition to awaken within him such fierce personal resentment. We can find neither fact nor reason which would lead us to suppose that Hamilton cherished any such feeling towards Burr.

The voluminous correspondence between principals and seconds finally resulted in the appointing of July 11,

as the day for the duel; exactly a fortnight after the challenge had been accepted. Attention has been directed by some writers to the contrast between the respective actions of the antagonists during the interval; and it is worth while making this contrast a part of the present study. Burr busied himself in destroying evidences of his amours with various women: at least, as he himself wrote, he was afraid that the discovery or publication of these letters might compromise some fair names. Hamilton diligently labored to set his affairs in order, so that his wife and children, and his creditors, might not suffer in case of his demise. Burr spent hours each day in the Richmond Hill garden practising shooting with a pistol at a target. Hamilton was at his office, giving counsel to his clients, and finishing whatever business was urgent. Indeed the painfully prolonged interim was of his seeking, so that he might dispose of pending business to the best advantage of his clients. The time of waiting was an anxious one for Hamilton, as evinced by some of his sentiments and reflections placed on record then. Yet his anxiety was not that of a coward, unless indeed, in so far as he was properly such by reason of those considerations of home and loved ones, which do "make cowards of us all." The lengthy interval had no effect upon Burr's determination to put his antagonist out of the way, or to perish in the attempt. Hamilton put on record then, and in his dying moments protested solemnly that he had no intention of even shooting at all at the first fire. If Burr's murderous intent should finally assert itself beyond doubt by his insisting on a second fire, Hamilton entertained some purpose of then returning it; for mere self-defense in that case would demand it of him that he should protect himself against what would then have plainly proved itself to be assassination. With our best endeavors and strongest desire to remain impartial, it is impossible that this significant contrast before the fatal event, should not prejudice us in favor of Hamilton. In spite of ourselves we feel that the imputation of sinister motives to Burr, whether just to him or not, would entirely comport with these exhibitions of temper and temperament on his part.

On the morning of July 11, 1804, shortly after dawn, two boats might have been seen crossing the broad Hudson. For either the angle of crossing had need to be very oblique. Weehawken, about opposite or above Forty-second street, was the objective point with both of them. Burr's party, the first to take the journey, or to arrive there, left the east shore of the river near the foot of Charlton street, then in rural quietude. Hamilton came down from about where One Hundred and Fortieth street reaches down to the river's edge. His country seat "the Grange," stands now near the corner of One

"THE GRANGE."

Hundred and Forty-first street, on Convent avenue, between Ninth and Tenth avenues, (Columbus and Amsterdam avenues are their names here). For some time the house has served the purposes of a church; now a handsome edifice is nearly completed by its side to which the services of the St. Luke's Episcopal Church will be transferred when finished, and it is to be hoped that then the historic "Grange" will be utilized as a rectory. In the vicinity still stand the thirteen gum-trees planted by Hamilton's own hands, designated by the names of the thirteen States. They were recently purchased by Orlando B. Potter Esq. of New York, with a view to preserving them from the desecrating march of municipal progress. It is his ardent wish that the house itself be moved back to where it originally stood, that the surrounding space be reserved for a park, and the "Hamilton Grange" be sacredly cherished as a sort of Mount Vernon in the heart of the metropolis. Any one traversing the vicinity, as we recently did, who can with any respect and love for historic relics look upon the plain colonial mansion, must see with painful apprehension the dangerous proximity of encroaching "improvements." There is, however, as yet sufficient room, without tearing down any buildings, for a spacious square. It is to be hoped such will here be created, with this precious mansion as its centre and its gem.

The details of the meeting on the Weehawken duelling ground are too well known to be dwelt on here. The place was a ledge of rock, or rather a level spot among the rocks, about six feet or more wide, and some forty feet long, with a few trees upon it; up a steep incline from the river's edge, not difficult of access thence, but more difficult to reach from the top of the palisades towering above; an ideal spot for secret meetings of the

kind now under discussion, and constantly chosen for the purpose. Hamilton's oldest son, Philip, a youth of twenty, had fallen there two years or more before. Historic as it became on July 11, 1804, it can no longer be visited by the lover of historic ground. Until about 1868, a monument reared by the Cincinnati marked the place. But it had disappeared under the devastating hands of relic hunters before 1870. Then came the railroad fiend, and before his track, or his tunnel, the very rocks and earth whereon Burr and Hamilton stood, have gone never to be seen again.

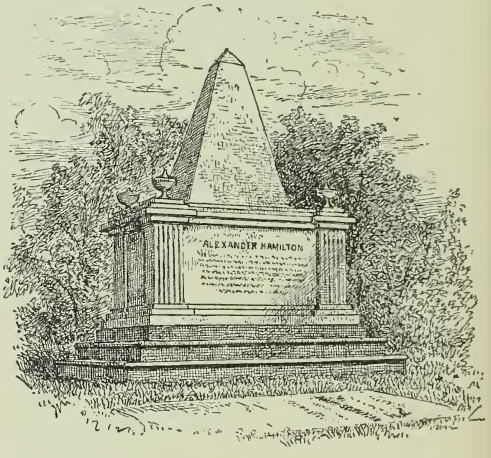
One circumstance in connection with the duel needs to be noticed. A statement has recently come to our knowledge, that just before firing Hamilton complained of the light, and asked for time to adjust his glasses in order to see better. This would require evidence that he wore glasses; and besides we would like to see some documentary or printed evidence to bear out the statement. It is perhaps intended to refute the claim that Hamilton had no intention of shooting Burr. But it does not necessarily do this; it is to be remembered that Hamilton contemplated the possibility of a second fire, at which he had partly made up his mind to return Burr's fire in self-defense. For this second occasion he needed a good light as well as for the first. However, at the first fire Hamilton fell, mortally wounded, and Burr stood over the prostrate form of his victim, unhurt.

A hurried departure from the fatal spot followed. Burr's party went first. Arrived at Richmond Hill, near the corner of the present Charlton and Varick streets (an unromantic neighborhood now, surely), he quietly settled himself to reading in his library. James Parton, who is our authority for this, also informs us that a relative from Connecticut arrived after an all-night journey about seven o'clock. At eight breakfast was served, and shortly after the guest left to saunter into the city. Until he saw the commotion in the streets, and was accosted by an acquaintance and told of the tragedy which has made July 11 a never to be forgotten day in New York history, Burr's companion and *vis a vis* at his own breakfast table knew nothing of the dark deed whose shadow never left this man's long subsequent career.

We must now also follow the other boat, leaving the Weehawken trysting ground. It did not return up the river, but crossed obliquely downward. Its occupants may have contemplated going down to Wall street where stood Hamilton's town house. But as they passed Greenwich village, they saw Mr. William Bayard, the merchant, a deeply attached friend of Hamilton, standing upon the shore at about the foot of Horatio street, where he had a country seat. He insisted that the wounded

man should be brought to his house. Hamilton, who had recovered consciousness on the way over, was tenderly carried from the boat. The devoted wife, and the seven young children were hastily summoned. All that loving care, all that the best medical science of that day could do, was done to save the precious and valuable life. But it was all in vain. The target practice in the Richmond Hill garden had been but too successful. The adversary's aim had been at the seat of life, and the bullet had struck fatally near it. All the remainder of that day, and through the ensuing night Hamilton suffered intensely. On the next morning the pain abated, while the exhaustion premonitory of death set in. At two o'clock in the afternoon of July 12, 1804, Hamilton died. He was only forty-seven years old, in the very midst of his days, his powers, his usefulness, needed so much by his family and his country. Yet we can not but reflect that though so young he had already lived and acted through the usual length of time allotted to a man's career. He began to live a man's life at the age of twelve years when the entire management of a large mercantile business in the West Indies was entrusted to him. At seventeen he was an orator swaying a vast and excited crowd, and wrote pamphlets on political questions which nonplussed the president of his college. He was just past thirty when he accomplished his herculean labors for the Constitution, and when he was the most important Cabinet Minister of the young Republic. Counting from twelve to forty-seven, his career of manly activity covered a period of thirty-five years. Some great men have scarcely begun their career at forty-seven.

DANIEL VAN PELT.



TO THE MEMORY OF

ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

The Corporation of Trinity Church has erected this

MONUMENT

IN TESTIMONY OF THEIR RESPECT

FOR

The Patriot of Incorruptable Integrity,
The Soldier of Approved Valour,
The Statesman of Consummate Wisdom,
Whose Talents and Virtues shall be admired

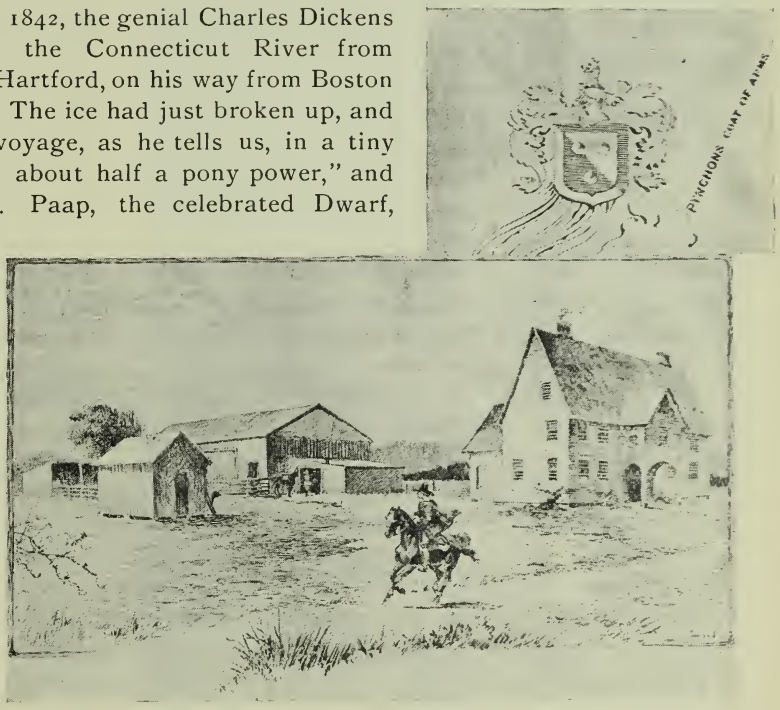
by

GRATEFUL POSTERITY

Long after this Marble has mouldered into Dust.

ANCIENT AGAWAM—MODERN SPRINGFIELD.

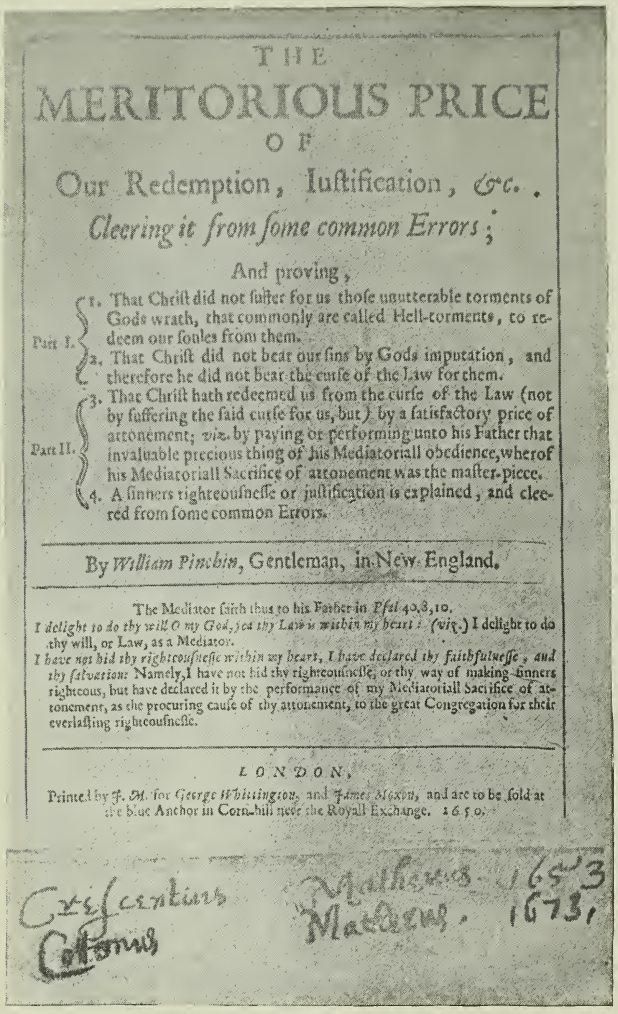
In February, 1842, the genial Charles Dickens passed down the Connecticut River from Springfield to Hartford, on his way from Boston to New York. The ice had just broken up, and he made the voyage, as he tells us, in a tiny steamboat "of about half a pony power," and in which "Mr. Paap, the celebrated Dwarf, might have lived and died happily."[1] He declares that they all "kept the middle of the deck lest the boat should unexpectedly tip over," and that the rain poured down in such terrible fashion as he "once thought it never did rain anywhere but in the Highlands of Scotland." Under these circumstances it is not surprising that he should give no more attention to the beautiful stream he was exploring than is contained in this rather unsatisfactory sentence: "The Connecticut River is a fine stream; and the banks in summer-time are, I have no doubt, beautiful; at all events I was told so by a



MAJOR JOHN PYNCHON'S BRICK HOUSE,[2]

[1] American Notes, chapter 5.

[2] From original picture in Springfield Library, through kindness of Dr. Wm. Rice, Librarian.



THE
MERITORIOUS PRICE
OF
Our Redemption, Iuſtification, &c.
Cleering it from ſome common Errors;
And proving,

Part I.
1. That Chriſt did not ſuffer for us thoſe unutterable torments of Gods wrath, that commonly are called Hell-torments, to redeem our ſoules from them.
2. That Chriſt did not bear our ſins by Gods imputation, and therefore he did not bear the curſe of the Law for them.

Part II.
3. That Chriſt hath redeemed us from the curſe of the Law (not by ſuffering the ſaid curſe for us, but) by a ſatisfactory price of attonement; *viz.* by paying or performing unto his Father that invaluable precious thing of his Mediatoriall obedience, wherof his Mediatoriall Sacrifice of attonement was the maſter-piece.
4. A ſinners righteouſneſſe or juſtification is explained, and cleered from ſome common Errors.

By *William Pinchin*, Gentleman, in New-England.

The Mediator ſaith thus to his Father in *Pſal* 40,8,10.
I delight to do thy will O my God, yea thy Law is within my heart: (viz.) I delight to do thy will, or Law, as a Mediator.
I have not hid thy righteouſneſſe within my heart, I have declared thy faithfulneſſe, and thy ſalvation: Namely, I have not hid thy righteouſneſſe, or thy way of making ſinners righteous, but have declared it by the performance of my Mediatoriall Sacrifice of attonement, as the procuring cauſe of thy attonement, to the great Congregation for their everlaſting righteouſneſſe.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. M.* for *George Whittington*, and *James Moxon*, and are to be ſold at the blue Anchor in Corn-hill neer the Royall Exchange. 1650.

young lady in the cabin; and she should be a judge of beauty, if the possession of a quality include the appreciation of it, for a more beautiful creature I never looked upon."[1]

[1] American Notes, chapter 5.

Had Dickens made his trip in late spring or early summer, no one who has enjoyed a voyage on the Connecticut will believe that even this incorrigible caricaturist could have failed to sandwich in somewhere between his lines of fun, a confession that he had here found one of the most delightfully picturesque streams — winding and twisting and turning between pastoral slopes, hills near or blue in the distance, and wooded bluffs and open meadows — that ever graced a valley on the face of earth.

The city of Springfield, starting-point for Dickens' river voyage, is situated some distance up this valley, and serves as metropolis and commercial center of a considerable portion of it. It lies on the east bank, covering one of the most picturesque slopes of the river. Standing upon an eminence one finds the city completely encircled by ranges of hills which form the horizon line in every direction. To the north, and in the far distance, are the Berkshire hills, and in the foreground, Mt. Tom,

while just beyond lies its twin hill, Mt. Holyoke. Away to the southeast are the Wilbraham hills, or "Springfield Mountains," as they were once called and have been immortalized by local bards.[1] Springfield's environment calls to mind Barbara Fritchie's town, where

> The cluster'd spires of Frederick stand
> Green-walled by the hills of Maryland.

The Massachusetts hills are less formidable, however, than the spurs of the Blue Ridge which surround Frederick.

The history of this city is peculiarly interesting. Certain historical associations, certain interests here located and certain wide-spread influences projected from this community have conspired to make the name, of Springfield more generally familiar than that of most of the lesser municipalities of the country. Planted by Puritans, under a Puritan regime, only fifteen years after the landing at Plymouth Rock, this settlement from the first enjoyed the distinction of being the most liberal and charitable of all the Puritan plantations[1]—so much so that her early settlers were considered by their anxious neighbors to be perpetually bordering on heresy, if not actually embracing strange doctrines, and in especial need of the constant prayers of their fellow-colonists to prevent them being utterly overthrown and swallowed up by that old serpent, the Devil. Indeed, the founder and first proprietor of Springfield must take rank as a martyr in the cause of religious liberty in New England, with Roger Williams and Ann Hutchinson.[2]

[1] A famous Wilbraham ballad of ante-Revolutionary days, tells the sad story of an unfortunate young man who

> "did moe
> A round or two then he did feal
> A pisen sarpent at his heal"

while the father in his anxiety set forth

> "to seak his son with discontent
> and there hes fond onley son he found
> ded as a stone a pon the ground."

The ballad closes with the admonition

> "The seventh of August sixty one
> this fatal axsident was done
> Let this a warning be to all
> to be Prepared when God does call."

But especially noticeable are the opening lines:

> "On Springfield mountains there did dwell
> A likely youth who was knowne full well,"

as showing the earlier designation of the Wilbraham hills. This ballad in its entirety can be found in the appendix of "An Historical Address, delivered at the Centennial Celebration of the Incorporation of the town of Wilbraham, June 15, 1863."

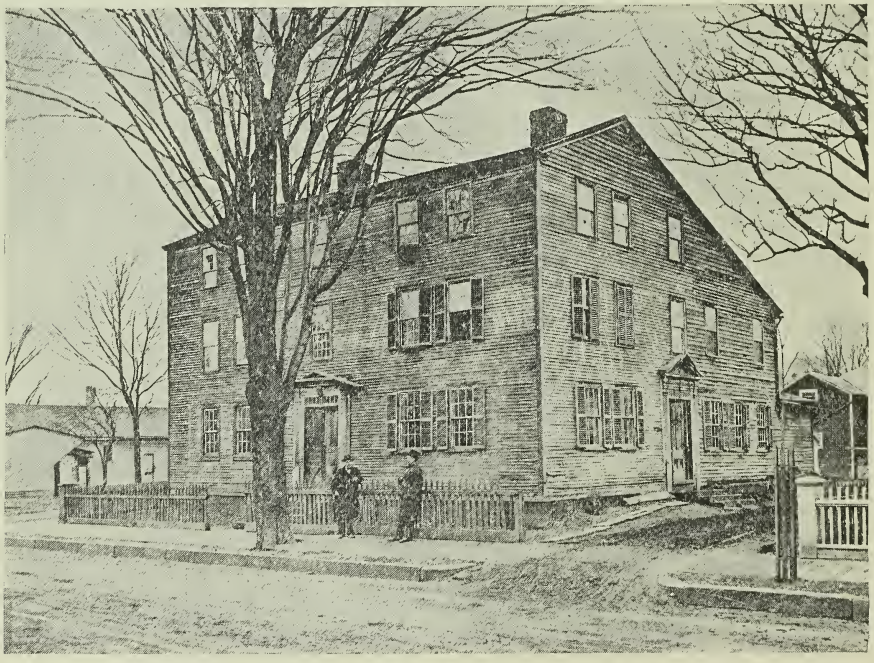
[1] "We had here," says a local historian, "little or no religious persecution, no eastern disciplinary splitting of noses, clamping of the tongue with split sticks, no brandings of the forehead."—Mason A. Green's "Springfield, 1636-1886."

[2] Although a *martyr* in this cause, Mr, Pynchon, strangely enough, was not an intelligent champion of liberty of conscience. On the contrary he believed with the sternest of his Puritan brethren in the "lawlessness of liberty of conscience," as he characterized it—notwithstanding he himself advocated doctrines which his associates deemed heretical and punishable.

One of the original incorporators mentioned in the royal charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company was William Pynchon, gentleman, of the hamlet of Springfield, in Essex, England, whose honorable ancestry could be traced to "one Pinco" who came over to England with William, the Conqueror.[1] In the fall of 1629, Mr. Pynchon was elected by his fellow incorporators one of a committee to transfer the royal charter of the Company to Massachusetts, and accordingly, in April, 1630, with his wife and four children, he boarded the "Jewell," one of the fleet of four vessels detailed to convey the document across the water. They landed at Salem, June 15, 1630, and settled first at Charlestown, where Mr. Pynchon was made a member of the Massachusetts Bay General Court, as also Treasurer of the colony. Here his wife died, soon after their arrival.

Pynchon presently conceived the idea of founding another settlement on Boston Neck, and thus was planted Roxbury, or "Rocksbury," as it was suggestively named. Its founder entered into the Indian trade, for which

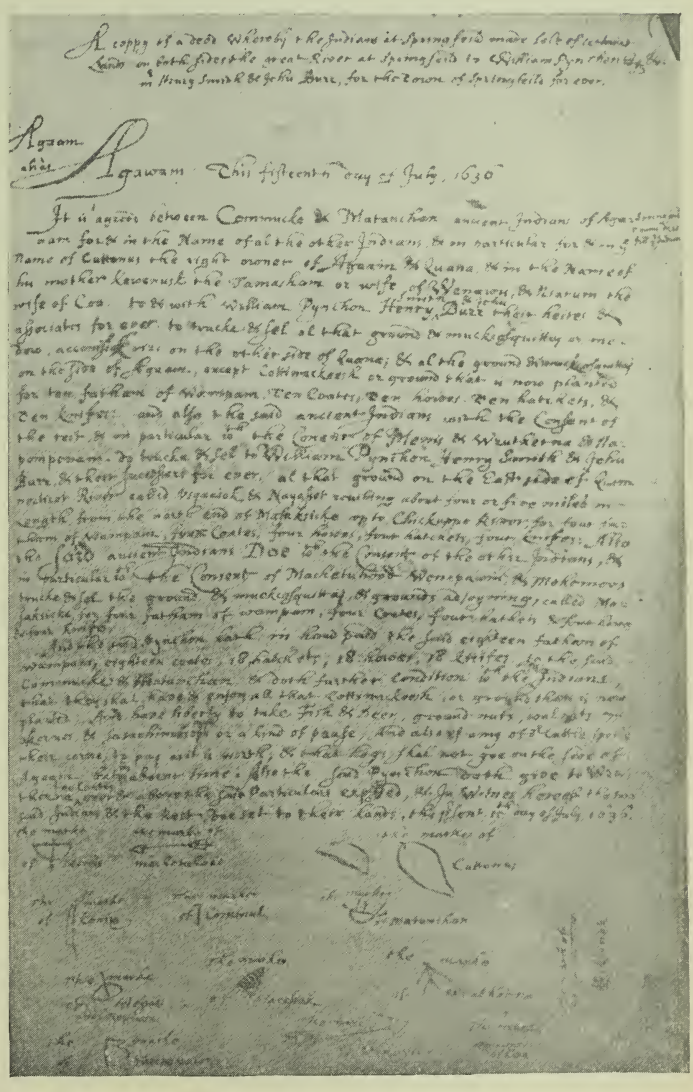
[1] Sir William Dugdale's "Baronage."



THE PARSONS' TAVERN.
Originally on Court House Square and still standing on West Court street.

he had a license from the colony, and presently determined to plant another settlement in the far Connecticut Valley, some distance north of the plantations of Hartford and Windsor, which were already in existence. Accordingly, he visited this region with several companions in 1635, and hit upon a point at the conjunction of the Agawam and Connecticut Rivers, for the site of the new settlement. Leaving his companions to erect a house, Pynchon returned to the east, and a few months later, in the spring of 1636, he journeyed to the Connecticut accompanied by a half dozen Roxbury families.

Agawam, the original spot chosen, and where was built the first house, is on the



INDIAN DEED OF SPRINGFIELD.

"A coppy of a deed whereby the Indians at Springfeild made sale of certaine Lands on both sides the great River at Springfeild to William Pynchon Esq., &c: Mr. Henry Smith & John Burr, for the town of Springfeild for ever."

west bank of the river, on the opposite side and a little southwest of the present site of Springfield. It appears, for some reason not perfectly clear, that the site selected in 1635 was abandoned by the settlers upon their arrival in 1636, and the town was laid out, instead, on the east bank of the river—on the spot, in fact, where Springfield now stands.

Tracts of land on both sides of the Connecticut were bartered from the Indians, comprising territory extending in every direction considerably beyond the present corporate limits of the city of Springfield. The original deed executed by the settlers and Indians is not known to exist. But a copy of the original, almost as venerable, was made in 1673. This copy is still preserved in the Register of Deed's office at Springfield, and has been photographed and reproduced for this article.

It bears the date of July 15, 1636, and is an agreement made by Commucke and Matanehan, "ancient Indians of Agawam," in the name of themselves and various other Indians, conveying to William Pynchon, Henry Smith and John Burr, "their heires and associates for ever," certain tracts of land (with unpronounceable names); for the which, "said Pynchon hath in hand paid . . . to the said Commucke & Matanehan," the price agreed upon of "eighteen fathom of Wampum, eighteen coates, 18 hatchets, 18 howes, 18 knifes." It appears also that the said Pynchon, in his generosity or shrewdness, or, mayhap, as a palliative for his own conscience, donated to the Indian Wrutherna, "two coates over & above the said Particulars." The pioneers further "condition" with the Indians that they may "have liberty to take Fish and Deer, ground nuts, walnuts, akornes, & saeachmoreph or a kind of pease, and also if any of the cattle spoile their corne, to pay as it is worth; & that hogs shal not goe on the side of Agaam but in akorne time."[1]

With the limitations of this article it will be possible to touch only a few points in the growth and development of the new settlement, in

[1] The shrewd manner in which these zealous Puritans thought it right to take advantage of the "godless heathen" is illustrated by another curious Indian document, dated "April 2d 1661."

This paper is a sort of perpetual future first mortgage on all the lands of six Indians, to insure one Marshfield against any possible indebtedness which might in near or distant time be contracted by any of the red men or their descendants forever. For "goods already received" they agree to "pay in bever," or else in "corne," or "if in wampum, then to allow . . . Six fathom for every five fathom due unto him." They agree to sell him their moose, otter and "deare" skins "at a reasonable rate," and if they "cannot aggree about the price of any of the afore mentioned," they "will stand to wt Captayne Pynchon & Leiutenante Holyoke shall appoynt." Should they fail to perform any of these particulars "to his content by Michelmas next," they give Marshfield full power "to ceaze on all our lands & corne."

FIRST COURT HOUSE, DESTROYED IN 1871.

order to consider the more important religious disturbances.

One of the first acts of the pioneers was to draw up a compact or covenant, to serve as a sort of constitution for the new town. The land was held in common and was to be partitioned out, giving each head of a family a house-lot, a portion of land for planting and grazing purposes, and a plot of timber for firewood. If any settler deserted or was ejected from the plantation, his holding reverted to the commonwealth, while he was entitled to remuneration only for such improvements as he had made. The idea was communistic. The population of the settlement was to be limited to fifty families, and a minister was to be secured as soon as possible. The signers of this covenant were William Pynchon, Matthew Mitchell, Henry Smith, John Burr, William Blake, Edmund Wood, Thomas Ufford and John Cable. Assignments of house-lots were made to each of these signers, as also to the four additional house-holders, Thomas Woodford John Reader, Samuel Butterfield and Jonas Wood.

A pastor was not secured until the fall of 1637, when the Rev. George Moxon, a very able man as it appears, arrived in Springfield. Previous to his coming William Pynchon had prepared sermons and delivered them each Sunday before the assembled settlers. Although a mere layman Pynchon was a considerable theologian, as will appear presently.

In 1638, two years after the planting of Springfield (or Agawam, as the settlement was originally called)[1] a serious difficulty occurred between the founder of the town and the strong-headed Captain John Mason. The latter is chiefly known for his extermination of the Pequots in 1637, and his ideas concerning the proper

[1] Agawam, the Indian name for meadow, was applied to a river, the adjacent tract of land, and the Indian tribe that held it. Naturally, it was the name first applied to the new settlement. But by vote of the freemen at a town meeting, on April 16, 1640, the name was changed from Agawam to "Springfeild," in honor of Mr. Pynchon's English home.

management of the aborigines seem to have been radically different from those of Pynchon. In March, 1637, Pynchon had been appointed by the General Court at Hartford a sort of purchasing agent for the colony, to secure from the Indians and "deliver att Harteford goode Marchantable Indian Corne."[1] Some time later he communicated to the authorities that corn was scarce, whereupon the General Court enacted that "whereas . . . Mr. Pincheons . . . is somewhat fearful of supplying the plantacons, . . . Mr. Ludlowe and Captaine Mason . . . shall trade to supply theire owne necessities and the necessities of some other that are in wante."[2]

Shortly after this we find Captain Mason attempting to barter with the savages near Springfield, while the latter, not wishing to part with their corn at the price offered, declared they dared not trade without permission of Mr. Pynchon. But Pynchon, when appealed to, utterly denied this charge as a cunning excuse of the red men. Mason then proposed that Pynchon deal with the Indians and "binde them to a bargaine" to deliver the corn at Hartford. This Pynchon declined to do, declaring that if paid in advance the natives would break their promises and thus open the way for a rupture between them and the whites. In that case, said he, "they may beare me a grudge; for I feare their treacherous dealinge, we being remote, & but weaker." He proposed, however, to offer the Indians "six sixes" a peck for corn delivered at his house, or "eight sixes," for that taken down the river and delivered at Hartford. At this proposal Mason at first broke out in a furious passion, but being at last convinced by the Rev. Moxon that any payment in advance would probably result in the loss of both the money paid, the corn promised, and the friendship of the savages, he finally consented to Pynchon's plan, exclaiming, according to the testimony, "Why did you not say this at first? This is all I desire of you."[1]

Three days after this interview Pynchon was summoned to appear before the Connecticut General Court to answer to the charge of inducing the Indians to trade exclusively with himself in order that he might make a profit on the necessities of the Hartford colonists. Various other charges accompanied this, including one that he was persuading Mohawk runners to sell to him skins intended as presents to the Connecticut authorities. It would be impossible to follow here the intricacies of this trial, which resulted in the manifestly unjust condemnation of Pynchon, with the penalty of a fine of "40^{tie} bushells of Indian corne."[2] Pynchon

[1] Public Records of Connecticut, Vol. I., p. 13.

[2] Ibid, p. 16.

[1] Testimony of Pynchon and Moxon.

[2] Public Records of Connecticut, Vol. I., p. 19.

demonstrated that the Springfield pioneers and his own family and cattle, had suffered as great or greater privation than the more Southern colonists,[1] while the truth was, he affirmed, "that all the while the Indians were willing enough to trade, if they might have had their price amended." Thus it appears that at the cost of actual suffering to his own household he heroically refused to raise the price of corn, maintaining the price agreed on with Captain Mason. In short, his refusal to buy, except at the price fixed by the Court, was an attempt to prevent the natives doing precisely what he himself was afterwards charged with —bartering on the necessities of a starving people.[2]

Smarting under the injustice of the decision of the Court, Pynchon published an "Apology," dated April 18, 1638, which he circulated in the Connecticut Valley, and in which he set forth his defense. A few months later, moved by these occurrences, the settlement of Agawam, or Springfield, decided to secede from the jurisdiction of Connecticut. This action occasioned considerable excitement throughout New England.[3] The famous Dr. Thomas Hooker of Hartford had been prominent in the condemnation of Pynchon on the corn question, and, excited by the threatened secession, he now wrote to Governor Winthrop of Boston, declaring of Pynchon, "we know him from the bottom to the brim, and follow him in all his proceedings, and trace him in his privy footsteps; only we would have him and all the world to understand he doth not walk in the dark to us."

However, the secession was accomplished, a petition of the Springfield pioneers to be received into the jurisdiction of Massachusetts being granted by the General Court of that colony. But the Connecticut enemy found another opportunity to annoy Mr. Pynchon. In leaving Roxbury to come to the Connecticut Valley he had taken a letter from the church at

[1] "Mr. Pynchon's wants were often soe great," runs the testimony, "that divers times he hath not had half a bushell of corne in his house for his family & cattell, & when a Bushell or lesse hath ben brougt in to trade, he hath as much prized God's mercy & providence therein, and ben as glad of it, as at other times of 20 Bushells."

[2] It should in justice be added that Pynchon's policy of refusal to raise the price of corn was in strict harmony with previous directions of the Hartford Court. That body at its February session ordered, "that whereas . . wee conceive if every man be at liberty to trucke with the Indians . . . *the market of Corne amonge the Indians may be greatly advanced* . . . wee therefore . . . order that noe man in this River nor Agawam shall goe upp River amonge the Indians or at home at theire houses to trade for Corne." Public Records of Connecticut, Vol. I. p., 11.

[3] The much-discussed scheme of a Confederacy of the New England colonies was about to be consummated at this time, but was delayed a number of years by the contention between Massachusetts and Connecticut over this secession movement.

the former place to the church at Windsor. Of this latter church Capt. Mason was a member. Accordingly, the Windsor Congregation, as though not satisfied with the condemnation of the Connecticut General Court, assembled themselves on the 6th of September, 1640, "to determine whether Mr. William Pinchon's answers were satisfactory to ye brethren's offence, at his fayllinges in ye trust of tradinge corne." The decision was a foregone conclusion, it being found, of course, that "the Answeres [of Pynchon] doe not take off the charge." [1]

Against this finding Mr. Pynchon prepared a second defense and protest, and appealed the case to the church at Roxbury, and this body, making a thorough examination of the evidence, fully vindicated him. "Thus the Connecticut General Court and the Windsor church condemned Mr. Pynchon, and the Massachusetts General Court and the Roxbury church stood by him." [2]

But Mr. Pynchon was destined, a few years later, to come into as great disfavor with the Massachusetts authorities as with his Connecticut persecutors. And through this fact, and another unfortunate transaction, the plantation of Springfield was disgraced in the eyes of all New England. Only the most meagre outlines can be given here of the witchcraft of Hugh and Mary Parsons, and the heresy of William Pynchon, although each of these subjects is worthy of a carefully prepared volume—dedicated as a monument to folly and bigotry.

In October, 1645, were married at Springfield Mrs. Mary Lewis, a Roman Catholic, and Hugh Parsons, a brick-maker. Mr. Lewis was not dead, but his wife claimed that he had deserted her in Boston, her former home, some seven years before, and that she was therefore free to take to herself a second husband. Before consenting to the nuptials, Justice Pynchon communicated with Governor Winthrop at Boston, who corroborated the woman's story. Nothing, therefore, transpiring to prevent, the marriage was permitted to be consummated.

This was the beginning of sorrows to this wretched pair. Parsons appears to have been a loud-mouthed turbulent fellow, and was soon in discredit with his neighbors. If any of them offended him he retaliated with mysterious threats, and it may be imagined that it required but little of this sort of thing to start a rumor that the offensive brick-maker was leagued with the devil—whereupon sundry of his neighbors, especially such as he had anathematized, suddenly discovered themselves bewitched. One of these, a Mrs. Bedortha, declared that a threat from Parsons had resulted in her being afflicted by his Satanic Majesty during childbirth. Her nurse during this

[1] Windsor Church Records.

[2] Green's "Springfield."

interesting period, Widow Marshfield, corroborated the charge; whereupon, in dutiful defense of her spouse, Mrs. Parsons retaliated in kind by averring that it was publicly known at Windsor, Mrs. Marshfield's former home, that the Devil had developed a habit of following that lady about, and that a renewal of his polite attentions had probably caused the present trouble.

For this unjustifiable slander Goody Parsons was brought before William Pynchon, and, by way of punishment, given her choice between twenty lashes on the bare back, or payment to the outraged widow of a fine of £3 "towards the reparation of her good name."[1] She chose the fine, but her incorrigible husband, when he came to pay, took occasion to fling another of his mysterious threats at Mrs. Marshfield, who, thereupon, of necessity, became immediately bewitched.

The Parsons now found themselves in disrepute abroad, and since they never had lived happily together at home, their case was pitiable indeed. What could be more natural in their domestic broils than that the distressed goodwife should reproach her lord with his reputation for diabolism among the neighbors? And what could be more inevitable than that at length she should herself begin to believe the charge, and regard it as the origin of all their troubles? Indeed some such mental evolution seems to have occurred. A child born to her died at the end of a year, while a second child, which appeared

SPRINGFIELD FROM THE AGAWAM SHORE.

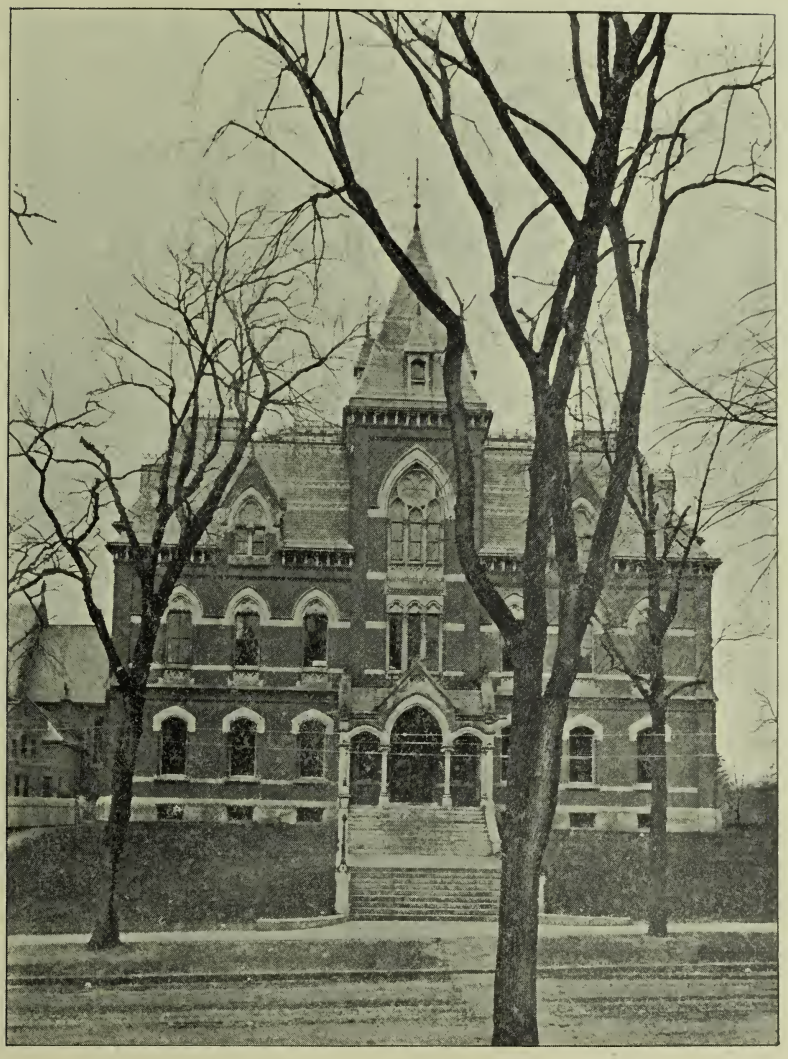
[1] Springfield Court Records.

a little later, also died in infancy. It was also noted that the deaths of two children of a neighbor had followed one of Parsons' threats. Mrs. Parsons, now fairly crazed by the loss of her children, evil report abroad, and domestic unhappiness, became convinced that her husband was a wizard, and the murderer of their two children. She made affidavit of her belief before Justice Pynchon, and Hugh Parsons was forthwith arrested for witchcraft.

No need to dwell upon the tedious trials which followed, and which were very similar to other New England witch trials. Reams of testimony were put in evidence, all either monstrous and impossible, or else utterly absurd and preposterous (and hence even more monstrous), because of the evil coloring given the most common-place and inconsequential transactions. Imprisoned as a witness at the outset, under the inquisition of her Puritan jailor Mrs. Parsons very soon implicated herself, and at length assumed full responsibility for all the witchcraft and murders which had been performed. The trial of this unhappy pair, begun at Springfield, was continued in Boston. After many vicissitudes, including conviction and sentence to death, Hugh Parsons was at length released, and at this point disappears from history. Mrs. Parsons, however, upon the strength of her insane confessions, was sentenced to be hanged. On the day set for her execution, being too ill to ascend the scaffold, she was granted a short reprieve, while upon the morning of the day next set, she was found dead in her cell. Thus ended one of the earliest and sadest cases of witchcraft delusion in the history of the Colonies.

Such a notable manifestation of Satanic activity in Springfield might have been sufficient, one would think, to arouse New England to a realization of the dangerous condition of the frontier town, without the added crime of dreadful heresy on the part of Mr. William Pynchon. Nevertheless the two monstrous things were destined to develop simultaneously, the Devil apparently having it all his own way in the new country.

In 1650, Mr. Pynchon published in London a theological treatise, his famous "Meritorious Price," the character of which is sufficiently illustrated by the title-page given on another page. The propositions he undertook to prove constituted rank heresy in the eyes of the New England theologians. When the book reached Boston in October, 1650, the Massachusetts General Court, in the greatest consternation ordered it publicly burned in the market place. Dr. Norton of Ipswich was ordered to prepare an official reply to the heretical publication, which he did in voluminous fashion in "A Discussion of that Great Point in Divinity, the Sufferings of Christ; and the Questions about his Righteousness, Active and Passive; and the imputation



SPRINGFIELD CITY LIBRARY.

thereof. Being an answer to a Dialogue Intituled 'The Meritorious Price of our Redemption, Justification, &c.'" This reply was published in 1653, and had the effect of calling out a second book in controversy from William Pynchon (then in England), in which he showed himself to

be quite as able a theologian as the learned Norton.

In the meantime the Massachusetts Court had immediately summoned Pynchon to appear before it, and had requested a recantation, recommending the heretic to consult several able and orthodox divines. It is a striking coincidence that just at this stage in his own case, Mr. Pynchon was called to preside in the trials of the unfortunate Parsons, and listened to the evidences of their guilt with as great horror and credulity as though he were not himself just undergoing the penalties of martyrdom in the cause of free thought and license of opinion.

Pynchon finally consented to propitiate the Court with so much of recantation as might be extracted from the following statement: "According to the Court's advice, I have conferred with the Rev. Mr. Cotton, Mr. Norrice and Mr. Norton about some poynts of the greatest consequence in my booke, and I hope have so explayned my meaninge to them as to take off the worst construction; and it hath pleased God to let me see that I have not spoken in my booke so fully of the price and merrit of Christ's sufferings as I should have done, for in my booke I call them but trialls of his obedience, yet intending thereby to amplyfy and exalt the mediatoriall obedyence of Christ as the only meritorious price of man's redemption; but now at present, I am much inclined to thinke that his sufferings were appoynted by God for a further end, namely, as the due punishment of our sins by way of satisfaction to divine justice for man's redemption."[1]

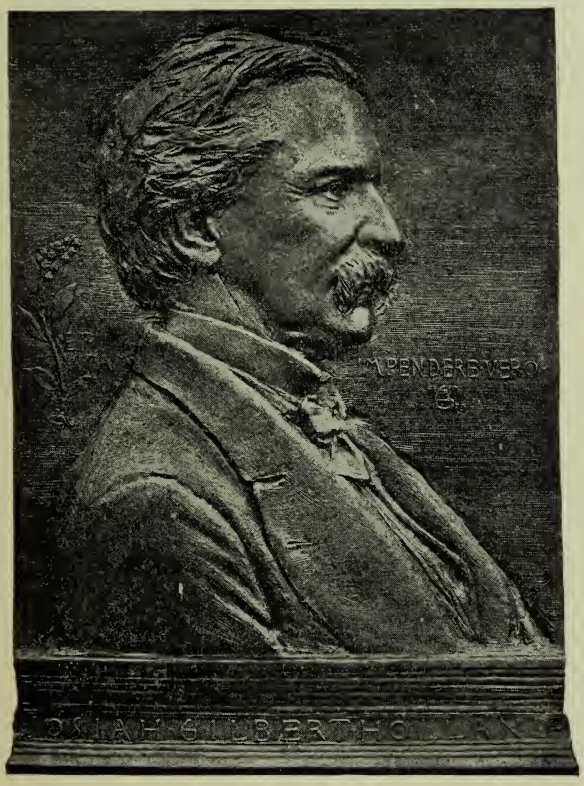
Strangely enough this statement was taken up and considered by the Court just after that august body had confirmed the death sentence upon the witch, Mary Parsons. Pynchon's concession was not by any means considered sufficient, but the magistrates graciously voted that he was "in a hopefull way to give good satisfaction," and permitted him to return to Springfield.

With the Devil working such wonders, the Court would have been lax indeed and wholly unfit to regulate the affairs of the colony, had it not taken summary measures to balk his wicked majesty, and rescue Springfield, if not all New England, from falling completely into the clutches of the powers of darkness. The following decree was accordingly hit upon as the most formidable cudgel against the bold enemy: "This Court, takeinge into consideracon how farre Sathan proyles amongst us in respect of witchcraft; as also by drawing away some from the truth to the pfession & practise of straung opinions . . . . conceive it necessary that there be a day of humiliation throughout o^r^ jurisdiction in all the churches."

Their Honors no doubt congratulated themselves, that this sort of warfare answered every purpose, for finding the Court inexorable in its

[1] Records Massachusetts General Court.

demands, in July 1652, accompanied by his son-in-law, Henry Smith and the Springfield pastor, Dr. Moxon, who presumably held views similar to his own, Mr. Pynchon took ship for England. And thus one who in 1630 fled from the England of Charles I. to a wilderness in the new world to secure religious liberty, found himself twenty-two years later returning to England in quest of the same object.[1]

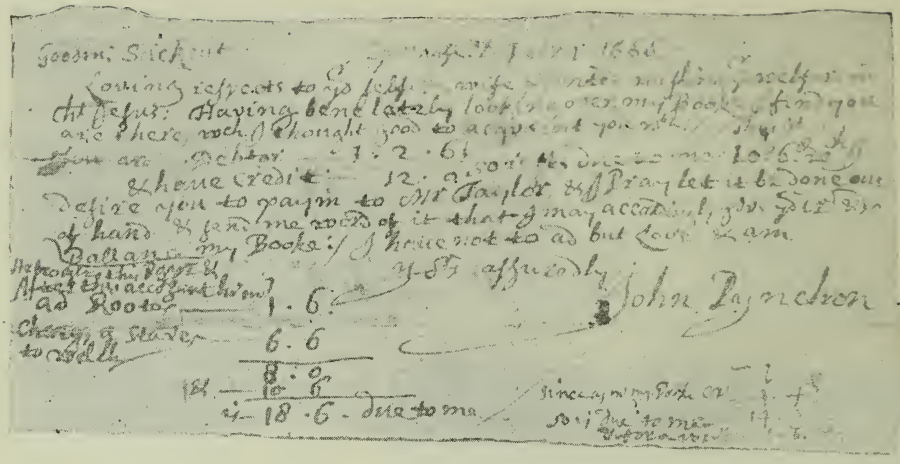


BAS-RELIEF OF DR. J. G. HOLLAND.

Executed by St. Gaudens and appearing on one of the panels of the Holland monument in Peabody Cemetery.

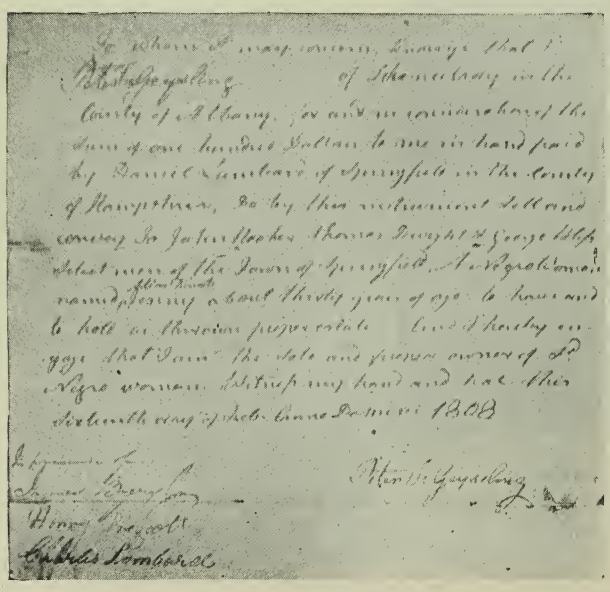
The departure of these prominent persons left the affairs of Springfield mainly in the hands of three comparatively young men, John Pynchon, son of William, Elizur Holyoke and Samuel Chapin. While lacking the rugged character of his father, John Pynchon was yet a man of unusual abilities. He was conservative, and therefore likely to be free of such affairs as embroiled the elder Pynchon; while on the other hand he was a still better business man. The shrewd fashion in which "Major John," as he was called, could instill piety into business transactions is shown by the curious dunning letter which has survived, and is reproduced on page 576 in fac-simile for this article. As might be expected, he soon became one of the wealthiest men in New England, and in

[1] And yet that Pynchon would have been as peremptory as the Massachusetts Court in putting down heretics who disagreed with his own doctrines, is indicated by the following sentiment: "I perceive by some godly ministers that have wrote into this country, that this is not a tyme of reformation, but of liberty of conscience. I beleeve by the tyme they see a little more of the lawlessness of liberty of conscience, they will change their judgmentt, & say that liberty of conscience will give liberty to Sathan to broch such horrid blasphemous opinions as were not the like in any age."



"MAJOR JOHN'S" DUNNING LETTER. [1]

[1] Addressing Goodman Sackcut, he begins with "loving respects to yourself & wife," with wishes for their "welfare in Christ Jesus;" then goes on gently to say, "Having been lately looking over my Booke, I find you are there, which I thought good to acquaint you with." After stating the indebtedness, he proceeds abruptly, "I desire you to pay in to Mr. Taylor & Pray let it be done out of hand," shrewdly closing with the request, "send me word of it that I may accordingly give you credit, and so Balance my Booke." This certainly would be creditable to the most cunning of diplomats.



DEED OF SALE OF SLAVE JENNY.

(See page 579.)

"To whom it may concern, know ye that I, Peter S. Greysling of Schenectady in the county of Albany; for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred Dollars to me in hand paid by Daniel Lombard of Springfield in the county of Hampshire, do by this instrument sell & convey to John Hooker, Thomas Dwight, & George Bliss selectmen of the Town of Springfield. A Negro Woman named Jenny, alias Dinah, about thirty years of age to have & to hold as their own proper estate, and I hereby engage that I am the sole and proper owner of Sd Negro woman. Witness my hand & seal this 16th day of Feb. Anno Domini 1808.

Peter V. Greysling."

1661 built for himself at Springfield a handsome brick garrison-house—"the finest house in New England outside of Boston."

During the early part of King Phillips' War, Major Pynchon held the position of commander-in-chief of the forces employed against the Indians. He eventually resigned this commission, however, moved, as he wrote, by "the distressed state of my affaires at Hom," and "ye sorrows & afflictions my Deare wife under goes." It was during this war that Springfield's darkest hour occurred, the town being sacked and burned by the the savages while most of the men were absent at Hadley. Fortunately, a timely warning had aroused the inhabitants in the middle of the night and hurried them from their beds to the three fortified houses of the place, and while the greatest havoc was wrought with the dwellings and other property, only three or four lives were sacrificed. Indeed most of these might have been saved had not a foolhardy recklessness and courage come with daylight and led several persons to return in the morning to the homes they had fled in the night, thus exposing themselves to the merciless foe. There was, however, some excuse for the belief that their community would be spared, whatever the fate of surrounding settlements; for such had been the efficacy of the Indian policy inaugurated by William Pynchon, that up to the time of King Phillips' War the Springfield pioneers had enjoyed a rare friendship and amity with their red friends. But it was the Agawam or Springfield Indians, their old allies (such was the subtle power of persuasion of Phillip), who finally made the attack; the leader of the war-band being Wrutherna, one of the signers of the original Indian deed, and for forty years the white man's steadfast friend.

The devastation of this raid left little behind. "Ye Lord show mercy," wrote John Pynchon, "I see not how it is Possible for us to live here this winter." Nevertheless, the settlement recuperated, grew and prospered.

The Rev. Dr. Moxon was succeeded in the pastorate at Springfield by Rev. Pelatiah Glover, and the latter by Rev. Daniel Brewer. Soon after Dr. Brewer's death, in 1733, Springfield was plunged into another famous religious controversy by its action in calling the Rev. Robert Breck, a young Harvard graduate, to the pulpit. About the time of his settlement at Springfield a charge of heresy was brought against him by a fellow-clergyman, and, forthwith, instigated by this hint, the clergy of the Connecticut Valley began a systematic persecution. It appears that in a sermon delivered at New London he had ventured to "indulge a hope that God, in his boundless benevolence, will find out a way where-

FOREST PARK LAKE.

by those heathen, who act up to the light they have may be saved."[1] For this crime against God and man the young clergyman was subjected to a ministerial trial. His enemies demanded his trial by the local association, but finding the pastors along the Connecticut a unit against him, Breck demanded a hearing before Boston divines, three of whom came to Springfield for the purpose.

Before such a tribunal his enemies preferred their charges, but fearful of the result, by pre-arrangement, ere a decision could be reached on the evidences of heresy submitted, a civil officer burst in upon the council and arrested Breck, and carried him before the town magistrates. It had even been planned to arrest the Boston divines also, and a warrant to that effect was drawn up. Fortunately, however, one of the magistrates hesitated to go so far, and the outrage was accordingly confined to Breck. The case went against the young minister—as it was quite certain to do before magistrates so warped as to permit such a case to come up at all—and the justices ordered him removed to New London. Here he was eventually acquitted, and returned to the bold church, which, with some individual excep-

[1] Paper, "The Breck Controversy," by Mason A. Green. "Papers and Proceedings of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society," p. 8.

tions, had stood stoutly by him from the first. But among his congregation there were a few rabid Calvinists who had never admired him, and these, even some months after the disturbances were settled, addressed a petition to the town justices "to compel the church to settle an orthodox minister."

A thousand details in the early history of Springfield, and a thousand incidents not yet touched upon, associated with the Revolution and the notorious Shay's Rebellion (with which Springfield was concerned most intimately, and in a highly creditable manner), must be omitted in this brief narrative, in which especial attention has been given to those matters which reveal the peculiar genius of the community, as bold and forward, among the Puritan settlements—dangerously liberal, if not absolutely heretical, in the eyes of our stern forefathers.

Among the omissions, however, we could not well include the interesting slave document given in fac-simile, and constituting one of the most curious relics of slavery in New England. It illustrates the advanced position on this great question reached by the community of Springfield as early as 1808—when the purchase of the freedom of a poor runaway slave-woman, pursued by her master, could be made a municipal affair. By the terms of the deed of sale the woman became the property of the "selectmen of the town of Springfield," and thus in a sense which has been seldom so literally realized in human property, Jenny "belonged to the town." There are citizens of Springfield yet living who remember this woman. Indeed, she exercised a decided spell over the youthful imagination, for she employed the days of her freedom in the care of a little shop on the hill, beyond the Arsenal, where she dispensed small beer and cakes in return for the youngsters' pennies.[1]

Modern Springfield, "the city of homes," has few equals in the Union as a place of residence. It contains a perfect system of electric street railways, and has probably the largest and best selected public library (80,000 volumes) of any city of its size in America. The shores of the beautiful Connecticut are lined with private and club boat-houses. With the exception of Main Street, and a few adjacent business thoroughfares, there is scarcely a street in the city which does not extend between two rows of great elms or other shade trees, while, sloping back from it, large, well-kept, well-shaded and for the most part, unfenced lawns surround comfortable and pleasing homes. Many of these streets cannot anywhere be surpassed in beauty, and it is improbable that there is another municipality such considerable portions of which can be best describ-

[1] This information is furnished by Dr. William Rice, City Librarian.

ed as one large and beautiful residence park.

In recent times the name of Springfield has been familiarized in the National mind chiefly by the facts that here is located the U. S. Arsenal, and that, a generation ago, the "Springfield Republican" attained a notable reputation and influence under the late Dr. J. G. Holland and Samuel Bowles. The parent of the present arsenal was a small plant established here during the Revolution for the manufacture of the old-fashioned flint-lock muskets. It gradually increased in size and importance, culminating in an enormous output of the famous "Springfield rifles" during the Civil War. A complete set of new buildings, with the latest mechanical conveniences have just been erected, and the manufacture of a new style of rifle for the army is about to begin.

A third Samuel Bowles, grandson of Samuel Bowles, founder of the paper, and a son of the Samuel Bowles who contributed largely towards its fame years ago, is the present proprietor of the "Republican." There are two other daily papers, the "Springfield Union," which issues a morning and evening edition, and the "News," an evening journal. The "Union" was founded by Edmund Anthony of New Bed-

FIRST CHURCH AND COURT HOUSE, COURT SQUARE.

ford in January, 1864, and was owned at various times by L. H. Taylor and John Olmsted, Clark W. Bryan & Co., and a stock Company in which Joseph L. Shipley was chief holder. Of the present company, which bought the paper from Mr. Shipley June 1, 1892, James T. Ables is president and Wm. K. Baker, treasurer. The "News" was founded as a tri-weekly, in February, 1880, by Edward Bellamy, author of "Looking Backward," and Charles J. Bellamy, his brother. In three months' time the paper was made a daily. Charles J. Bellamy has been sole proprietor and manager since 1883.

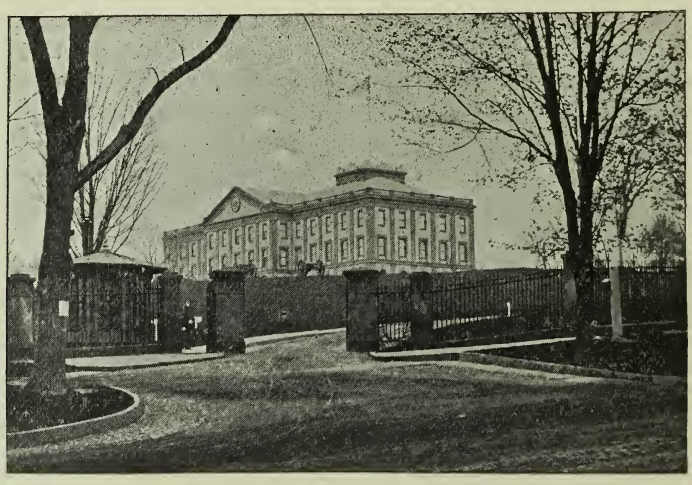
Another old Springfield firm, G. & C. Merriam, attained an international reputation as publishers of Webster's Spelling Book and "Unabridged" Dictionary. George and Charles Merriam, with a relative named Little, who soon withdrew, constituted the original firm as organized in Springfield in 1831. A third brother, Homer Merriam, became a partner in 1856, and is the only survivor of the three brothers at the present time. Orlando M. Baker and H. Curtis Rowley being admitted to the partnership in 1882, the firm style was changed to G. & C. Merriam & Co. Recently the house has been reorganized as the G. & C. Merriam Company.

Dr. Noah Webster, during his lifetime, published his famous work in two volumes which sold for $15 to $20. Purchasing the copyright after his death, the Merriams prepared a revision, under Prof. Chauncey Goodrich of Yale College, Dr. Webster's son-in-law, and in 1847 issued the new dictionary in a single volume at a price of about five dollars. In 1864 occurred a complete revision under the superintendence of Prof. Goodrich and President Noah Porter, of Yale. The result was the famous "Unabridged" which immediately took the foremost rank, and held its place until 1890. To this edition important supplements were added in 1879 and 1884.

The latest stage in the evolution of this famous work was marked by the appearance in 1890 of "Webster's International Dictionary," an entirely new revision under the direction of Dr. Porter and a staff of one hundred editors, distinguished for their scholarship. The new book is described as "the legitimate successor of the authentic 'Unabridged.'" Its creation required ten years time and the expenditure of more than $300,000. "It is believed," says Dr. Porter in his preface, "that no dictionary of the English language yet completed has cost more painstaking than the present edition." In a special period of dictionary-making, characterized by many-volume works, necessarily high-priced, like the Century Dictionary in this country and several British works, the excellency of the "International" consists in the fact that while prepared by the highest scholarship and embodying the latest

additions to the English tongue, it yet affords the convenience of condensation, and is in the popular shape of a single volume, at a cost of only ten dollars.

A remarkable feature of modern Springfield is its great variety of important manufacturing establishments, which yet seem not one whit to have impaired the appearance and character of the place as a city of homes. Noticeable among many interests is the bicycle industry, here being situated two of the three leading cycle establishments in America. The works of the Warwick Cycle Manufacturing Company are conveniently located beside the tracks of the Boston and Albany Railroad, and the huge white wheel, twenty-four by seventeen feet in size, which hangs suspended against the front wall of the factory, affords one of the first and most novel glimpses of the city to the traveler entering it from the east. It suggests some monster apparition of the Cycle family, and, curiously enough, the "Ghost" is one of the special styles of wheel turned out by these works. It is a light, high-grade machine, a rapid traveler, the first bicycle mile record below 2:20 ever made being scored on it.



UNITED STATES ARSENAL, MAIN ENTRANCE.

Other popular Warwick machines are the "Pilgrim," and the "Priscilla." The more valuable special characteristics of these wheels are dust-proof bearings, detachable spokes and hollow rims. Every part of the machine is made to gauges, and variation or irregularity is impossible. A special object of the manufacturers is to make their machines the strong-

est possible, and their success in this respect has been put to many severe tests. An accompanying illustration (page 585) shows a Warwick machine after being crushed by a freight train at Buffalo, N. Y., in October, 1891. It is interesting to note into what tortuous shapes the frame-work was bent—but not broken. Another high tribute to the excellence of these cycles is the fact that in 1891 the United States Government awarded the Warwick Company the contract for the supply of machines for the Post Office employés at Washington, D. C. They have been also adopted in the Post Office at Columbus, Ohio. The interior of the Warwick factory is a bewildering maze of belts, pulleys, whirring lathes and flying hammers, each part, however, doing its allotted work systematically, under the skillful manipulation of hundreds of mechanics. George D. Chamberlain is President and Treasurer of the company and Joel H. Hendricks Vice-President and Secretary. The other directors are Edw. S. Brewer, A. B. Wallace, M. O. Brill, Geo. A. Russell and Herbert H. Merrick.

The factories of the Overman Wheel Company, makers of the "Vic-

THE WARWICK CYCLE CO.

tor" cycle, are located at Chicopee Falls, about four miles from Springfield proper. Mr. Albert H. Overman, formerly connected with Jansen McClurg & Co., publishers, of Chicago, in 1882 came to Hartford, Conn., and organized the Overman Company, of which he is President. Several years ago the works were removed to their present location, and large factories erected in which were employed nearly a thousand men. A new addition is now nearing completion which will be larger than the original works, and the capacities of production will be correspondingly increased. In 1887 the Overman Company made the first example of the modern "Safety" wheel in America, the first machine of the kind in the world having been made the year previous in Coventry, England, by J. K. Starley & Co. The special features of the Overman wheel are the "Victor" spring-fork and cushion and pneumatic tires.

It is a common experience for Eastern capital to travel westward in search of investment, but it may occasion some surprise that a shrewd Western man should come east to locate his enterprise. The following interesting reasons have been advanced for Mr. Overman's course in this respect: "He had learned by observation that while the west was doing a fair class of mechanical work, the highest excellence came from New England, and that is how he came to locate in the Connecticut Valley. He wanted to employ a class of high grade metal workers, and he found by looking over the country that good mechanics are indigenous to the soil, where they live for generations, and that the talent for making the best metal work is inborn, handed down from father to son. To get the highest work it is necessary to have the same men year after year. They become trained to the methods of the manufacturer, and the only way to get them is to locate a shop where such men live, as they will seldom leave their homes and go to places where high grade work is not done."[1]

This ingenious exposition, which applies to all eastern manufactories alike, probably accounts in large measure for the manufacturing supremacy which the "bleak New England hills," notwithstanding prophecy, continue to maintain over other sections of the country.

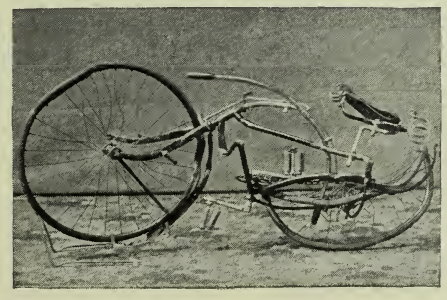
Another notable establishment is that of Smith & Wesson, whose reputation as manufacturers of high-grade revolvers is world-wide. The business was founded in 1857 by Horace Smith and Daniel B. Wesson, amid poverty, toils and disappointments at the outset. Greater success than had been dreamed of soon came to the firm, however. In 1874 Mr. Smith retired, and the business was con-

[1] "Progressive Springfield," May, 1891.

ducted by Mr. Daniel Wesson and his two sons, Walter H. and Joseph. These three still constitute the firm.

Springfield contains numerous other industries equally note-worthy, but consideration of them would carry us beyond the defined limits of the present article, and must be deferred. Two of the most interesting features of Springfield have not yet been touched upon. These are Forest Park, newly acquired by the city, and forming one of the most novel and picturesque nooks of nature in America, and the unique development of newer Springfield—the "Highlands"—transforming it into a paradise of homes, and raising Springfield to the rank of one of the most desirable residence cities in our great country. We expect to touch upon these and other interesting features in another number.

FRANK ALLABEN.



ORIGINAL DOCUMENT — LETTER ANNOUNCING PURCHASE OF NEW YORK CITY.

On July 4th, 1889, our minister at the Hague, Hon. Samuel R. Thayer, both in honor of the day and as an act of courtesy to Gen. James Grant Wilson and family, who happened to be visiting the city, gave a small dinner party, entirely informal. In the course of conversation at the table, Dr. Campbell, the custodian of the Royal Library, who has received frequent mention in Motley's prefaces, remarked to Gen. Wilson and the writer, that there was to be found in the Royal Archives at the Hague, the original deed of Manhattan Island, conveyed by the Indians to the West India Company on the purchase of the island by the latter.

This announcement was received with no little interest. The next morning Gen. Wilson and the writer repaired promptly to the Archives building on the broad Plein, and inquired after the precious document. The deed, however, did not turn up; the Royal Librarian being slightly at fault in designating the document by that name. But a document no less precious was exhibited to our delighted eyes, being the one reproduced in fac-simile on another page. It was in fact the original of that famous letter which is printed twice in the first volume of Brodhead's Collection of Colonial Documents published at the expense of the state of New York. The letter affords indubitable proof both of the fact of the purchase of the ground whereon today stands New York City; and of the actual price paid in 1626 for that now incalculably valuable territory.

This purchase was a unique event on American shores. Just because that sort of thing was of such rare occurrence, much has been made of William Penn's honorable transactions with the Indians, nearly sixty years later; and of Oglethorpe's equally noble dealings over a hundred years afterwards. Director Minuit, however, represented a small nation whose books are written in a language not understood outside of their own limited borders, and whose worthy deeds have never found room for mention in books written in England; these books devoting *per contra* so much the more space to ridiculing or slandering the Dutch.

But the Protestantism of the Dutch was genuine and thorough-going and did not stop at their pockets, although the English have ever industriously satirized or denounced their avarice. The English Puritans would not worship in churches or chapels offered for their use in Holland, because the Roman Catholics built them. But they quite fell in with the Roman Catholic doctrine that savages in heathen lands had no rights to their property, that Christians were bound to respect: hence we never heard of any purchase of Plymouth Rock and vicinity. But the Dutch renounced the Popish theory as to heathen lands, as they did that regarding the sacraments, and they scrupulously bought the land they occupied, all through New Netherland. This letter affords indubitable proof of it.

This testimony being irrefragable, the next thing to do, to take off the edge of the unusually meritorious transaction, is to poke fun at the price. This letter tells us Manhattan Island was bought for sixty guilders, or about $24. This in 1626 would represent about $100, or two hundred and fifty guilders, as money counts now-a-days in purchasing power. A small sum indeed for New York City: but Manhattan Island was not quite New York City at that date. It would have been worse than folly to have wasted thousands of dollars on Indians: it was perfectly fair to ascertain what would be a just and generous equivalent in their eyes. And we may be sure that sixty guilders' worth of cheap trinkets and blankets or colored goods, such as sixty guilders would then buy, seemed a great treasure to their untutored minds, fully equivalent to a small corner of twenty-thousand acres amid all their vast range of woods and wilderness and rivers and islands.

The exceeding interest of this original document is thus apparent. We may next make some inquiries as to the writer of it, and the occasion for writing it. "P. Schaghen," as we perceive, addressed it to the States-General or Congress of the Dutch Republic. He was at Amsterdam when he wrote, and the States-General were in session at the Hague. In short, he was a member of the latter body. Councillor or Magistrate of the good old town of Alkmaar, the first place that succeeded in beating off the Spaniards, the municipality had sent Schaghen as their deputy to the provincial legislature, or the "States of Holland and West Friesland"; this body in turn had sent him as deputy from their province of Holland to the States-General of the Republic of the Seven Provinces.

Now it was one of the provisions of the charter granted to the West India Company, that one member of the general board of directors, called the "Assembly of the XIX" should be a deputy from the States-General, and Schaghen was their representative on this board in 1626. Hence he happened to be in Amsterdam in Novem-

ber of that year attending its sessions. Just then a ship arrived from New Netherland with official notice to the West India Company of the purchase of Manhattan Island; and the fact was so important and interesting that Mr. Schaghen could not wait to incorporate it into his general report to be submitted on his return to the Hague. He at once sat down and wrote the letter, upon whose actual paper, and actual characters as written by him on November 5th, 1626, it was our privilege to look, and the fac-simile of which appears herewith. For very many reasons we may be thankful he wrote it.

It is also pleasant to be able to trace the fortunes of the good ship the "Arms of Amsterdam," which is mentioned in the letter, and which conveyed the official notice of the purchase to the board of direction of the West India Company. On the list of ships owned by the company she is put down as of two hundred and forty tons burden, and as carrying for armament fourteen iron guns, two brass pieces, and six "stone" pieces. She left Amsterdam (on the trip the return from which has been made so memorable) on July 27th 1626, and she had on board one of the officers of the Colonial government, who had for some reason not gone in the Sea-Mew with Director Minuit and the others, in January. This was Isaac de Rasieres, who had been ap-

A STREET IN ALKMAAR.

Date 5.
Recep. 7 november 1626

Hooyske Moghende Heeren

Huk is ghestick t'Cap t'ewysen van Amsterdam
achghekomy hde is de 23 septbr. myt reisi Rudk
Lant gezeylt myt de Hoop Manuitius. rapporteky
dat ons volck dark Kloot is in vrolycky Lyfy
gaes Hkouwy ghebby ook hindky alwark ghaakt
gebby t'Eylant Mankatter bay de volck ghekocht, voor
de vaarde bay 60 oud. is groot 11000 mazgy
gebbichde alle Koxy gelt mey gezeyt, hde galt
augusto gemayd. Dark bay gheynde mynstakkuk
bay Cpmk-Koxy, als taxus, Hoppy, paxste, Gabak
bouwzeyt. Anaxigaat, Boontjuk in vlas.

Het Cargasoen van twee schy 15

7246 bbkk vells
178½ ottk vells
675. ottk vells
48. mmdk vells
36. Calkoff vells
33 mindky
34 Halve vellekuk.

(Wel Eyken Balcky, in Noten-Gout.

Huk mede

Hooghe Moghende Heeky, zyt de Almoghende
sy ondaly bevoly.

In Amsterdam den 5? novem a° 1626

Ghe Hoo: Mo: Dienstwillyghe

Schaghen

pointed secretary of the Colonial Council, and was second in authority after the Director. On September 23d, she was ready to go back; and sailed "from the river Mauritius," or the Hudson as we now know it, with a valuable cargo of peltries on board, and having for passenger Mr. Peter Barents, who had been Director of the settlement about Fort Orange (Albany) before the arrival of Minuit. It is more than probable that this functionary was made the bearer of the official notice to the company of the transaction announced in the letter. The captain of the ship on this voyage was Adriaen Joris, who figures more than once in the earlier history of New Netherland. She arrived in Amsterdam after a prosperous voyage of only six weeks (quite good time for those days) on November 4th, 1626, as stated in the letter.

We next see the "Arms of Amsterdam" forming a part, in 1627, of a fleet under the command of the doughty Admiral Piet Heyn, on the way to the Bay of all Saints, or the Bahia, in Brazil. Booty large and valuable (but not so valuable as that of the Silver Fleet taken by Piet Heyn in 1628) was the result of this dare-devil exploit, and in the very careful compilations of Director De Laet of the West India Company, the "Arms of Amsterdam" is credited with having captured a Spanish ship carrying a cargo of sugar. Finally, in October 1628, she was one of two ships arriving in Amsterdam with peltries from New Netherland, having left there on August 19th. Beyond this we have not been able to trace her fortunes; but the little that has been gleaned we think is worth recording because of the mention she received in Schaghen's letter.

TRANSLATION OF SCHAGHEN LETTER.

HIGH MIGHTY SIRS:

Here arrived yesterday the ship The Arms of Amsterdam which sailed from New Netherland out of the Mauritius River on September 23; they report that our people there are of good courage and live peaceably. Their women, also, have borne children there, they have bought the island Manhattes from the wild men for the value of sixty guilders, is 11,000 morgens in extent. They sowed all their grain the middle of May, and harvested it the middle of August. Thereof being samples of summer grain, such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, small beans, and flax. The cargo of the aforesaid ship is; 7246 beaver skins, 178½ otter skins, 675 otter skins, 48 mink skins, 36 wild cat (lynx) skins, 33 minks, 34 rat skins. Many logs of oak and nutwood. Herewith be ye High Mighty Sirs, commended to the Almighty's grace, In Amsterdam, November 5, Ao, 1626.

YOUR HIGH MIGHT.'s Obedient,

P. SCHAGHEN.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

An Old Letter About The Leisler Troubles.

In connection with the article on the Leisler Troubles in 1688, there has recently been brought to light an exceedingly interesting and recently discovered letter. It was written by a lady of the Leisler party, dated New-York, August 6, 1691, or fourteen days after the death of Governor Sloughter. A few extracts will exhibit the state of mind to which the circumstances of the day had reduced the writer, and will also throw some light upon passing events. "We are under a great trouble by reason of ye present wicked government for which we may complain to God. If things go on after this rate there is no living any longer here for Christian souls. I would have departed before this time, but that they will not suffer anybody to go. . . . All this is only because we all have been so faithful to King William and Queen Mary. . . . When ye news came here that Prince William had arrived in England, to maintain ye Protestant religion, the Dutchman who brought it was threatened by ye then Governor, who put his sword upon his breast to run him through if he would not be silent of it. . . . We have not deserved that such wicked judges should be sent over to us, who hear ye one and put ye other to death without having heard his defense, nay though Leisler's wife and children in the most abject posture did prostrate themselves at ye governor's feet, and begged of him that he would hear their husband and father but half an hour speak since he had heard none but his adversary's and enemies, and if that time was too long that he might give him audience but one minute, yett all this was in vaine, he must be hurried to the Execucon without being heard and thus they died gloriously as two Martyrs." The Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller states (of course as tradition)that when Leisler was executed, "the shrieks of the people were dreadful—especially the women—some fainted, some were taken in labour; the crowd cut off pieces of his garments as precious relics, also his hair was divided, out of great veneration, as for a martyr."

* * *

Burr and the New England Sabbath.

We are accustomed to think of Aaron Burr as rather a lawless character in a genteel sense. His famous duel put him somewhat out of the pale of law; with two States, as he complacently wrote to his daughter, vying for the honor of hanging the Vice President, meaning New York and New Jersey. Even in Pennsylvania he was not quite safe. But lately has come forward a new version of a story that places him before us in the rôle of a law-abiding citizen.

The story is said to be now told accurately by a relative of stern Deacon Higby of New Milford, Conn. The deacon, as tithingman, with watchful care that the puritanic observances of the "Sabba-day" were not violated, was accustomed to sit between sunrise and sunset every Sunday in the front gallery of the old Plymouth Church, on the turnpike. From the window he could command a view of the road for several miles east and west, and if any traveller passed on pleasure or business, he was halted and compelled to stop over until the sun had set. Mr. Burr arrived at New Milford on Sunday morning. Deacon Higby saw the imposing equipage coming toward the church, and ran out to stop it. The postilions drew up at his word of command, and Mr. Burr asked, "What's the matter?"

Deacon Higby told him that he was breaking a law of the State by travelling on Sunday, and that he must put up his horse and wait until sunset. Burr was somewhat astonished at the command, and, after looking at the tall and imposing figure of the tithingman he remarked, as if expecting to settle the question: "But I am Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States."

When Deacon Higby stalked forth in the full consciousness of representing the majesty of the law, and held the horses' heads, no doubt Burr thought the absurdity of the situation would sufficiently appear to the worthy Deacon, on simply announcing who it was, he was thus stopping in so summary a manner. But the Deacon was not at all abashed; it is not usual for that kind of a character to entertain such a sentiment. Vice-President or no Vice-President, Burr was now in Connecticut, and thus-and-so was the law, and it must be done accordingly; *fiat justitia, ruat coelum.* And Burr, who had some of the best New England blood (an "Hebrew of the Hebrews,") in his veins, had the penetration and the tact to bow before the majesty of the Connecticut blue-laws. He ordered the horses to be taken from the "coachee," and the Sabbath day was quietly spent at the village tavern. We do not read that Burr went to church; possibly the hour was somewhat advanced, and he hated to disturb the meeting.

* * *

Prof. Weeks on the Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina.

It is astonishing how persistent are some historic traditions and often the more erroneous the more persistent. The difficulty of killing a cat has given it the credit of having nine lives. In the same ratio an historical error must have about twenty. Down in North Carolina the comfortable notion prevailed that the colony originated as a result of religious persecution, "Historians," says Prof. Weeks of Trinity College, North Carolina, "have delighted to represent the province as a home for the weary and oppressed of every sect and nation, as a common refuge for the lovers of soul-liberty the world over." The Professor then quotes several: first Bancroft who says that Albemarle, "the child of ecclesiastical oppression, was swathed in independence." Hugh Williamson, the first historian of the Colony after it had attained Statehood, speaking of the earliest settlers at Albemarle, remarks that they "were chiefly refugees from ecclesiastical oppression." Thus the Professor follows the list down to the latest historian, John W. Moore, who wrote in 1880, who simply follows the lead of the others.

Within a few years this position began to be questioned by one or two writers. This induced Prof. Weeks to take up the question thoroughly, and he has embodied the progress and the results of his studies in a pamphlet, one of the interesting historical series published by the Johns Hopkins press, on "The Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina." The uniform and, until lately, unquestioned statements of previous historians, had left their impress on Prof. Weeks' mind. He says "the writer came to his subject with the belief that the colony had been settled by religious refugees, and that there had been absolute freedom of religion." As he proceeded to investigate into the facts, an entire revolution took place in this conviction. His essay naturally groups the arguments about two theses; one, that the earliest settlers in North Carolina were not religious refugees; the other that, beginning with 1701, the Episcopal Church was for three quarters of a century the legal Church in North Carolina.

His array of authorities and careful and conscientious interpretation of the same, leaves no doubt in the mind that these conclusions have been legitimately reached. And he concludes his brochure with a Bibliography of the subject, so those who are interested may pursue their investigations for themselves. Of course the matter is confined to a rather limited sphere. But to historical students in general the process of advancing from a long cherished and confidently adopted position to its diametrical opposite, is instructive in many ways.

EVOLUTION OF THE HARVESTING MACHINE.

THE INVENTIONS OF CYRUS H. McCORMICK, AND THE GREAT INDUSTRY WHICH HE ESTABLISHED.

Of the invention of harvesting machines. so close a student of industrial and economic questions as William H. Seward said in 1858: "It moves the line of civilization thirty miles westward every year;" and Reverdy Johnson declared, about the same time, or possibly a few years later, that this invention "was worth fifty-five millions of dollars per annum to the United States." To no better task can the historian devote himself than to that of compiling for the present, and preserving for future generations, the history of an achievement which brought about so great an industrial revolution.

In the year 1831, the farmers of the United States, of the civilized world in fact, were harvesting their grain in a manner differing little from that which was in vogue nearly three thousand years earlier, when the fair Moabite widow, Ruth, made a favorable impression upon the Hebrew Boaz while gleaning barley in his fields. "Teeth" or "Fingers" had, to be sure, been added to the scythe, and the "Cradle"—the result of this combination — had to some extent taken the place of the sickle, but the primitive implement was still the one most generally used, and nothing practically had been accomplished in the way of lightening the labors of those who gathered the harvests.

It was just at this time that the vast and fertile domain of the present Middle States began to attract attention, and that a migratory movement to those lands from the Eastern States began to be made. When the broad prairies began to be dotted over with homes, when the immigrant agriculturalists began to understand the nature of the soil, and to comprehend how easily it could be brought under cultivation, there was but one thing to curb their ambition to extend the area of their farming operations, and that was inability to gather the crop which could, with such facility, be sown and brought to maturity. Before them, and behind them, and all around them, were the lands which could be made to yield inestimable wealth, but the key which was to unlock this vast treasure-house was not yet discovered.

It was at this juncture that Cyrus H. McCormick came forward with an invention, which like the magic "open sesame" opened the way to the accumulation of untold millions.

The history of the invention and successful application of harvesting machinery for the purpose for which it was designed, is a history of a struggle with adverse circumstances; but it is also the history of a great feature of American developement, and a long chapter in the story of modern progress and civilization. It is a story of genius, of thrift, of industry, and of a tenacity of purpose which overcomes all obstacles; and whether considered with regard to its moral or industrial bearing, it is a story of rare historic interest and value.

In the first years of this century Robert McCormick was a farmer, and the owner of saw-mills and grist-mills, in Rockbridge County, Virginia. He was recognized in a wide region in the Old Dominion as a leading man and one who applied mechanical skill to the problem of farm labor—the inventor of a threshing machine, of a hydraulic hemp-breaking machine, and of many pieces of mill-machinery. In 1815 he commenced, and in 1816 completed, a reaping machine, which was brought into his grain field that year, only to prove its incapacity for the work required of it. Disappointed, he placed the reaper, on which he built such high hopes, aside, and for a term of fifteen years did not trouble his mind with it. Early in 1831 he had it taken from its hiding-place and improved; but the result of a trial in the fields was too positive to warrant a further thought of rendering it practicable and he bequeathed the task to his son, Cyrus H. McCormick, then twenty-two years old.

The abandoned invention attacked the grain like a squadron of cavalry. A great framework showed a number of fixed hooks in front, with perpendicular cylinders, to press the stems of the grain against and across the edges of the hooks, to carry it thence to the stubble side and cast it out to the binders in swaths. It was a precocious idea, too far in advance of the times and too full of importance to the world to be perfected in one season or in fifteen seasons. It was a living idea, however, which the son of the conceiver was born to follow up and render practicable for use, in a time and country which would require the annihilation of time and the complete subjection of slavery in labor. It was a wonderful conception for that year of wonders, when Jackson—a man of the same racial extraction—drove away the British from the Gulf Coast and insured peace within and without for the young Republic.

The year 1831 did not pass over without the realization of Robert McCormick's desire for labor-saving machinery on the farm. Cyrus H. McCormick had seen the summer

suns of twenty-three years when he resolved to attempt the construction of a machine which would hold fast to the little that was practicable in the reaper of 1816, and add what he believed to be necessary to make it a *sine qua non* on the farm. He invented the horizontal or lateral cutter, and abolished, in a moment, all the hopes which others had built up on the success of a vertical cutter. He gave to the world a machine, upon the principles of which every reaper and mower since manufactured has had to be constructed—one which, from the moment of its completion, was a success. In the fall of 1831 the reaper was worked with satisfactory results in an oat field at Walnut Grove, Va., and in 1832 fifty acres of wheat were cut by it.

The machine was patented in 1834, and eleven years later the improvements made by him were patented. In 1845 he moved to Cincinnati, which was then the Chicago of the new world, and there invented other improvements which were patented in 1847 and 1848. Meantime, machines were manufactured at Brockport, N. Y., under his patents which won the admiration of the large farmers and encouraged the inventor to push the great work he had attempted farther westward. With that keen commercial intelligence which it is the good fortune of but few men, and particularly of but few inventors, to have, he looked farther west for a manufacturing site, and 1847 settled in Chicago. Before the fall of 1848 there was no less than seven hundred of his reapers sold, and within the next succeeding year fifteen hundred machines were produced and purchased from the workshops in Chicago. Since then, year by year, the industry has grown, keeping pace with the nation in its gigantic strides.

In 1845 the McCormick reaper was first extensively advertised in the Eastern States; the inventor and manufacturer agreeing to sell the reaper at one hundred dollars, subject to its proving satisfactory on trial. The terms of payment were liberal for only thirty dollars cash and a note for the balance, bearing six per cent interest, were required of the purchaser. As described by Samuel J. Mills, in the Mt. Morris, N. Y., "Spectator," August 5th, 1845, the machine did actually cut twenty-five acres of wheat in less than a day and a half, cleaner than the cradle or the sickle could cut it. It was drawn by two horses, driven by a boy and attended by a man to rake, who sat on an attached seat and took the wheat off at the side, in gavels, ready for binding. The knife was sickle-edged with horizontal action; the reel gathered the stems for cutting and lopped the cut over on the table for the raker. Many trials were made in 1845 and 1846, each one leading to the conclusion that one reaper was equal to fourteen cradles in heavy grain, and to ten cradles in

light grain, confirming the opinions expressed by farmers who had tried them within the four preceding years.

In 1845 Mr. McCormick received the first public recognition of the value of his invention, the American Institute awarding him a gold medal at that time. In 1849 he had so far perfected the hand-raking reaper that it was regarded as a marvelous success. It was constructed with a wooden cutter-bar, a straight-edged sickle and wooden pitman; was easily repaired in all its parts, capable of cutting from fifteen to twenty acres per day, and was light-running and low-priced.

Two years after the selection of Chicago as the seat of machine manufacture, Leander J. McCormick joined his brother, Cyrus H., and in 1850 William S. became a partner. The claims of the reaper were soon vindicated and the nucleus of a great industry was firmly planted. In 1851 the reaper was exhibited at the London (England) Exposition, and was awarded the Council Medal. It won greater renown after trials on the great model farms of Mechi and Pusey, for "The London Times"—which at first pronounced it a cross between an "Astley chariot, a wheelbarrow and a flying-machine"—now made the amend honorable by declaring it to be "the most valuable article in the whole expanse of the Exhibition, the value of which was equal to the entire cost of the London Exhibition." It has been worth many times the cost of that Exhibition.

A greater success waited on the McCormick reaper and mower presented at the Exposition Internationale, at Paris, in 1855. There the Gold Medal was awarded and the declaration made that "on the McCormick invention all other grain cutting machines are based," and that "not one of the imitations equal the original." In 1862 the British Judges of the London International Exposition voted the Prize Medal to the McCormicks, and the competitions in Lancashire, England, some time later, resulted in decisive victories for the McCormick machine, which were followed up at Lille, France, and Hamburg, Germany. In the report of the International Jury of the Paris Exposition in 1867, made by Eugene Tisseraud, Director-General of the Imperial domains, it was written: "The man who has labored most in the general distribution, perfection and discovery of the first practical reaper is assuredly Mr. McCormick, of Illinois. It was in 1831 that this ingenious and persevering inventor constructed the first machines of this kind—rude and imperfect when first tried. In all the universal expositions the first prize has been awarded to this admirable implement, and at this time at Vincennes, as at Touillouse, under the most difficult conditions, its triumph has been complete. Equally, as a benefactor of humanity and as a skillful mechanician, Mr.

McCormick has been adjudged worthy of the highest distinction of the Exposition.

A special trial of the reaper, made before Napoleon III at the Imperial Farm near Chalons, resulted in obtaining for the inventor the Cross of the Legion of Honor, and a decree conferring that coveted honor was signed by Napoleon, January 4th, 1868, and published January 9th, that year. The Hungarian Exposition of 1869 rendered more honors, and in 1874 the Austrian Exposition Jurors did homage to the American inventor. In the face of continued successes a Scotch paper, known as the "North British Agriculturist," claimed the honor of invention for a Scotch preacher named Bell, and with most brazen effrontery urged Scotchmen in Canada to discredit the American. In 1863 this claimant and his journalistic friends were cornered by the "Mark Lane Express" of London, England, which denied their story and declared it to be concocted out of whole cloth. Such language from such a journal as the "Express" cleared up doubts, and the canny Scots were forced to cast away their claims, which national vanity had upheld for a season. More serious claims made before that of Bell, lead one to wonder that imitators in America and Europe did not push such claims to the extent of robbing the true inventor of all his patents and crushing his business.

A list of national recognitions tells of the progress in invention and manufacture. It is the bare record of such recognitions without the golden medals or the enthusiasm of presentation, but so telling and forcible that it is a history in itself:

Grand Prize, Bronze Medal, World's Fair, London, England, . . 1851
Highest Prize, Grand Gold Medal, Universal Exposition, Paris, France, 1855
Grand Prize, Bronze Medal, International Exhibition, London, England, 1862
Grand Gold Medal, International Exposition, Hamburg Germany, . 1863
Grand Gold Medal, Universal Exposition, Paris, France, . . . 1867
Cross of the Legion of Honor, Universal Exposition, Vienna, Austria, . 1873
Two Bronze Medals, Centennial Exposition, U. S. 1876
Grand Gold Medal, Universal Exposition, Paris, France, . . . 1878
Special Gold Medal, French Minister of Agriculture, Universal Exposition, Paris, France, ... 1878
Object of Art, Society of Agriculture, International Exposition, Paris, France, ... 1878
Decoration of Officer of the Legion of Honor, Universal Exposition, Paris, France, ... 1878
Gold Medal, International Exposition, Melbourne, Victoria, . . . 1880
Gold Medal, Royal Agricultural Society, England, best twine sheaf binder, 1881
Gold Medal, New England International Exhibition, Christchurch, . . 1882
Gold Medal and $200 Prize, Grosetto International Field Trial, near Rome, Italy, ... 1883
Medal, Southern Exposition, Louisville, Ky., ... 1883

Among all these testimonials to the genius of the inventor, the most picturesque and striking, perhaps,

was that of Napoleon III., at Chalons. On beholding the reaper perform the work allotted to it, the Emporer tendered to him on the field the Cross of the Legion of Honor, a prize for which millions of soldiers had fought, and which few had received. This was the enthusiasm of an Emperor who could estimate the true value to the world of the American's invention. The honors won during the last decade are best described in statistics of the factory—the ever increasing product of the factory, and the fame of the machinery.

In 1859 the question of the validity of the patents, granted in 1834, was discussed before the Commissioner of the Patent Office and the rights of the McCormicks therein, shown to be natural and equitable. The clamor of the people against monopoly, however, led to the perpetration of a great wrong, for the officials responded to this clamor by denying justice to the inventor. Notwithstanding the fact that this was an act of government, it can hardly be regarded by fair-minded and unprejudiced persons as other than an arbitrary and unjust act which deprived a great public benefactor of the right to renew his patents, and thereby of a valuable franchise, to the control of which he was fully entitled.

The action of the government, while far-reaching in its effects, did not injure materially the interests of the McCormicks. Their own efforts to accomplish great things and the second or sober sense of the public resulted in extraordinary good for them; for the fame of their reapers was heralded throughout the world, and the enterprising farmer of all climes hoped to possess an implement so thoroughly discussed and one for which a nation battled in all her courts of justice. Since the denial to renew a patent was made, the McCormick machines have been carried into all countries, until now the sun never sets on their work, the reapers resting with the set of the Old World sun and resuming work with the rise of the New.

The venerable hand-rake reaper of forty years ago is an historic implement. It bears the same relation to the modern reaper that the pioneer of the prairies does to the modern farmer. Strong, tough, sharp, equal to all emergencies, it was a partner for the farmer of years gone by. The McCormick Harvester and Twine Binder of to-day is declared to be "King" of all farm implements. The "Daisy," a single reaper, is Queen. The McCormick Iron Mower, the McCormick Imperial Dropper and Mower, the McCormick Dropper and Mower combined, are field-marshals which tend to elevate the army of agriculturists to the rank of cavalry, and abolish marching and countermarching.

The McCormick Machine Works, located near Blue Island and Western Avenues, in Chicago, tell at once of

an industry world-wide in reputation. It is the heart of the world of agricultural machinery, where all the powers of invention and mechanics are applied to produce labor savers, the apotheosis, if the word may be used, of that little workshop of Walnut Grove, Va., in 1831. The floor space is about forty acres, filled with men, machinery and material. Over 2,000 mechanics are employed, or two full regiments of skilled tradesmen. The force of unskilled men, salesmen, agents and clerks, if brought together would equal three or four regiments, and all would form a brigade capable of turning from industry to war, and back to industry. During the year ending August 1, 1890, no less than 16,800 tons of bar iron and steel of a special quality were used in the manufacture of machines, with 2,200 tons of sheet steel and 19,000 tons of castings. Shipping boxes, crates and the wood used in the machines required about seven million feet of lumber. During that year there were 10,782 freight cars handled at the works, and 105,468 machines sold. The industry is a material painting of Chicago; it is part and parcel of the city, owing less to the city than the city owes to it, leaping forward with great bounds, bringing blessings to the agriculturists and creating wealth within and without. During the year ending August 1st, 1891, 17,400 tons of special bar steel and iron; 2,400 tons of sheet steel; and 21,000 tons of castings, besides over eight million feet of lumber used chiefly in boxing or crating machines for shipment. Very little wood enters into the construction of the McCormick product, none in fact, save that used in the tongue, and possibly one or two minor parts, a portion so small that the McCormick Harvesters and Mowers are rightly termed "Machines of Steel." In further elaboration of the above figures, the Company's books show that 13,671 cars of freight were handled by them last season, and that the number of machines sold reached the amazing total of 121,780.

In various histories of the McCormick inventions much has been written of the work of this one man, and yet all that has been written, and all that will be written, cannot exhaust interest in the personality of one who has been declared "the most useful citizen the United States produced in this century"

Cyrus Hall McCormick was born at Walnut Grove, Rockbridge County, Va., Feb. 15, 1809. There his parents, Robert and Mary Ann (Hall) McCormick, resided for years, and their parents, who came from Ireland about 1758, lived not a hundred miles away. Cyrus H. was the eldest of the eight children. Early in his youth he exhibited those traits of character

—self reliance and progressiveness—which marked all his years. The farm, the sawmill, the grist mill and the blacksmith shop, all belonging to his father claimed in turn his attention and for twenty-two years he directed his attention and energies to serve his father faithfully. In winter he was the most studious of the pupils attending the "Old Field School" and in summer he was the earliest worker in the fields, generally beginning work at five o'clock in the morning and ending at sun-down. His Sundays were observed strictly in the Puritan rather than in the Continental fashion. He beheld the attempts of his father to perfect a reaping-machine; but there is no record of a suggestion from the youth during all the years, nor did he show, by word or act, the sleeping genius in this direction which would spring into activity the moment his father declared his own invention to be a failure. It is true that in 1824 he invented a grain cradle for himself which enabled him to work alongside the most expert cradler in the field. Even before 1824 he produced several pieces of mill machinery. Early in 1831 the hillside plow was invented by him to throw alternate furrows on the lower side, and later that year, the plan for the self-sharpening horizontal plow was thought out by him. In the summer of that year he set out for the foundry, carrying with him the wooden pattern of a mold-board for his plow, to have it cast in metal. While en route thither he passed a wheat field just ripening, and studied carefully the arrangement of standing, lodged or tangled grain. Returning, he resumed the study of cutting such a field and conceiving a horizontal cutter, moved by a crank attached to the end of a reciprocating blade, he at once undertook to make the conception practical, and constructed the first reaper with his own hands. This machine was given a trial in a stubble field, near Walnut Grove, late in the fall of 1831, and from the moment the rider on the rear horse urged the tandem team forward, the assembled farmers saw that henceforth the task of cutting the grain would prove easy and that the days of the sickle, scythe and cradle were at an end. During the ensuing nine years, many trials of the machine were made, each one a success. The inventor was not carried away by enthusiasm to plunge into their manufacture at once. He waited for the time when study would point out to him where improvements were needed and how to make them.

About 1836 he became one of the owners of an iron smelter, but the panic of the following year ruined this industry and left the owners minus all their savings—even the farm presented to Cyrus H. McCormick by his father being sold to meet his share of the firm's indebtedness. It was a commercial lesson, terrible at the time, but replete with grand results for the future. The shades of those dark days of 1837 had not

passed away when the inventor, his father and his brothers, William S. and Leander J., began the manufacture of reapers within the workshops on the old farm at Walnut Grove. The sickles or six-foot knives were manufactured forty miles away and brought to the primitive factory by a horseman, where each was placed in a machine ready for delivery. This method of business was carried on until 1845. In 1844 a few machines were shipped by wagon to Richmond, Va., and then by boat to Cincinnati *via* New Orleans. They were the first in the trans-Allegheny Country, and won such a reputation that in 1845 Cyrus H. McCormick moved to Cincinnati, and established larger works. In 1847 he established his factory at Chicago, and within the next few years the two brothers, who shared in manufacturing the primitive machines at Walnut Grove, joined him here, and that great firm was founded, to become a part of the Great West, as well as a builder-up of its grandeur. Within less than ten years Napoleon conferred upon Cyrus H. McCormick the Legion of Honor, a prize then jealously guarded and difficult to win. It was only a step in the ladder of fame, for the French Academy of Sciences elected him a corresponding member. His fame was born to endure and grow brighter. In his own land, his name was on every lip; throughout the world it was echoed until now the barbarian is familiar with it.

In the fall of 1871, they saw their great Works reduced to ashes; the great business blocks they had erected, heaps of blackened brick, and their homes destroyed. In this emergency, as after the panic of 1837, or after the unfavorable Patent Office decision of 1859, they proved how gold may stand the fire, for they were among the first to rebuild, and the first to build high and wide. Like Chicago, still they grew beyond all calculation—added glories to Chicago enterprises, honored Chicago trade methods, and as employers and manufacturers and merchants, accomplished greater things in that day than the world had hitherto dreamed of.

Mr. McCormick married, in 1858, Miss Nettie, daughter of Melzar Fowler, of Clayton, Jefferson County, N. Y., a lady of high intelligence and remarkable mental powers. To them five children were born, namely; Virginia, and Anita (now Mrs. Emmons Blaine,) Cyrus H. (now President of the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company) Harold and Stanley.

A member of the Presbyterian Church, that denomination was vastly benefitted by his generous gifts. In 1859 he proposed to endow the chairs in a Presbyterian Seminary, and further to give $100,000 on condition that the Seminary should be located at or near Chicago. This proposition was accepted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in session at Indianapolis,

Cyrus H. McCormick.

Ind., and during the following years his donations to this institution amounted to over $400,000. From Virginia to Nebraska, his munificent gifts to Presbyterian colleges are memorialized by "McCormick Halls" and "McCormick Medals." In 1872 he became owner of "The Interior," a denominational newspaper, published here in the interest of the Presbyterian Church, and through this agency contributed largely to the advancement of the church interests.

So far as example and munificence may serve an organized body, so far did his services to his church go, and to him, in great measure, must be credited its present prosperity and standing in the West. His gifts to charitable and other institutions, though unrecorded, were numerous and generous.

Mr. McCormick died in Chicago, May 13, 1884, and was succeeded in the presidency of the great industry of which he was the founder and principal builder, by his son Cyrus Hall McCormick, Jr. the present head of the corporation.

The Younger McCormick was born in Washington, D.C. May 16th, 1859, and received his early education in the Brown School, one of the public grammar schools of Chicago. After that he attended the Chicago High School, and graduated at the head of his class. He finished his education at Princeton College, and in 1878 became identified actively with the management of the affairs of the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company. From the beginning of his business career he has taken a leading position among men of affairs in Chicago, and if he has not inherited the inventive genius of his father, he has inherited a large measure of his financial ability, his integrity and high moral character. Succeeding to the presidency of the McCormick Company in 1884, he has been a careful and sagacious conservator of the vast interests committed to his care, and the shadow of the McCormick fortune is not likely to grow less under his management and control. Identified with numerous important enterprises, and giving to the varied interests which he represents conscientious consideration and attention, he finds time for much systematic charitable and benevolent work. With other qualities he has inherited the generosity of his father, and his devotion withal to the Presbyterian church interests. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of Princeton University, a Trustee of the McCormick Theological Seminary—founded by his father,—and of the Lake Forest University, one of the leading Presbyterian colleges of the West. Active in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, he has for some years served that organization as its vice-president.

In 1889 he attended the Paris Exposition, as a representative of the McCormick manufacturing interests, and in partial recognition of his suc-

cessful exposition of improved and valuable harvseting machinery, he was decorated by the President of the French Republic as "Officer of the Merite Agricole," a decoration rarely bestowed upon a foreigner, and which it is said is not possessed by anyone else in this country.

On March 5, 1889, at the beautiful little church of St Marys-by-the Sea, Monterey, California, Mr. McCormick was married to Miss. Harriet Bradley Hammond, a niece and adopted daughter of Mrs. Edward S. Stickney, of Chicago. They have two children, a son and daughter.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

GERMAN-AMERICANS IN THE NORTHWEST.

HON. GEORGE SCHNEIDER.

AMONG all the elements which have contributed to the development of that portion of the United States usually designated as the Northwest, none has done more to expand to its present magnificent proportions, the wealth and prosperity, the culture and intelligence of this section, than the German-American element of its population. At a time when this great field was ripe for enterprise, when land speculation had run its course, and when the work of building up substantial communities and commonwealths through legitimate agencies, became the business of the hour, a great influx of sober, industrious and thrifty men and women to the States and Territories of the Northwest began. They came, bringing with them the industry, the conservatism, the language, and some of the customs of their native land, but they came here to become American citizens. They came to build for themselves homes, to carve out for themselves fortunes, and to become part and parcel of a new civilization. They came here, ardently in love with the American form of government, and having a high regard for American institutions. Many of them came, seeking over and above everything else the freedom and liberty which can only be enjoyed by the citizen who lives under a Republican form of government, and burning all bridges behind them, they identified themselves fully and unreservedly with the land of their adoption.

From the moment of their arrival in this country, they became factors in the advancement of its civilization and promoters of its industrial development. At no time were they mere "lookers on in Vienna," but in every city, in every town, in every hamlet, and scattered all over the broad and fertile plains, they became toilers and producers. They travelled all the avenues of trade and commerce, tilled the soil, wrought as artisans, and

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made themselves known and felt in the learned profession and in the world of letters. Their industry, their tenacity of purpose, their integrity, and their economic theories made them most desirable as citizens, and inducements were held out to them by ambitious communities, which proved mutually beneficial, and the result has been the establishment of a large German population in all portions of the North-west.

To this population the North-west is not only indebted in a great measure, for its material development, but also for bringing about some of the great governmental reforms of the past quarter of a century. The liberty-loving Germans of the North-west were potent allies of freedom-loving Americans, in bringing about the overthrow of the slave power.

With voice and pen and sword, and with almost all the power of their elective franchise, they aided in the suppression of the Southern States' rebellion, and almost as a unit they have aided in preserving the financial credit of the nation, and in maintaining a sound national currency. In no small number of instances have conspicuous public services been rendered by representatives of this element, and none among those who have been called upon to assume important responsibilities have discharged their duties more faithfully or proven themselves more useful citizens of the Republic, than has Hon. Geo. Schneider, who has been, for two-score years a moulder of public opinion, and a promoter of important enterprises in the City of Chicago.

Born in Pirmasens, Rhenish Bavaria, Dec. 13th, 1823, he immigrated to the United States when twenty-six years of age, to become almost at once a potent factor in shaping public opinion and public policy in this country. His father was Ludwig Schneider, and his mother, before her marriage, Josephine Schlick. His early education was received in the Latin School of his native town. When he grew up, he engaged in journalism, becoming noted—while still a young man, as a forcible and elegant writer, and an outspoken advocate of popular government and German unity. When the revolution ripened, he was among those who took up the sword in the effort to establish a more liberal form of government, but when the Bavarian monarchy was sustained by the Prussian Crown he was quick to discover that the patriotic efforts of the revolutionists would prove unavailing and that the contest which they had begun was a hopeless one. He determined therefore to seek a new home, and in 1849 came to the United States.

Arriving in New York he remained there but a short time; then went to Cleveland, Ohio; from Cleveland he went to St. Louis, where he at once resumed journalism, establishing a daily German paper which he called "*Neue Zeit.*" This paper soon became a popular publication among his

countrymen, and wielded no small influence. As a matter of course, a question which almost immediately attracted his attention, was the slavery issue then dominant in American politics. Against a perpetuation of this system and particularly against its extension, Mr. Schneider took strong ground, and bravely and courageously maintained his position in a Southern city until his newspaper plant was destroyed by fire, and its publication discontinued in consequence of that disaster. It was at this time that his attention was called to Chicago, and that he was invited to assume editorial charge of the "Staats Zeitung." This was a weekly newspaper which had been established in 1848, and which had become the recognized organ of the German population in Chicago. Accepting the proposition to assume editorial charge of the "Staats Zeitung" Mr. Schneider came to Chicago, and entered upon a highly successful journalistic career. The history of the paper from that date until he severed his connection with it in 1862 was practically a history of Mr. Schneider. He gave to it and to its management the most careful attention, and won for it a prominence among the newspapers of the country which no German publication of the West had before attained. Before the end of the year 1852 he had converted the paper into a "daily," had enlarged and improved it in various ways, and added greatly to its circulation.

In 1854 he began the publication of a Sunday edition which enjoyed the distinction of being the first Sunday paper published in Chicago. His paper was also the first daily newspaper in the West to oppose actively the famous (or as many characterized it in those days, infamous) Kansas-Nebraska bill. It was through this paper that Mr. Schneider convoked, on the 29th of January, 1854, the first public meeting held in Chicago to formulate organized opposition to that measure. The meeting was held at Warner's Hall, and was probably not only the first meeting held in the West in opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska scheme, but the first meeting of its kind held in the United States. At this meeting stirring resolutions were adopted, denunciatory of the obnoxious measure, which were at once forwarded to Hon. John Wentworth, then representing a Chicago District in Congress, and these resolutions, expressive of the sentiment of so large a proportion of his constituents, unquestionably had much to do with causing him to vote against the measure in Congress. Wentworth's vote was the first Democratic vote in opposition to this Democratic measure. It was the beginning of the end, and the significant action which led many other Democrats to follow his example. As an opponent of slavery, Mr. Schneider very naturally became actively identified with the formation of a new political party. This he had advocated through the

"Staats Zeitung" and, although the friends of slavery became violent enemies of the paper, and of its editor, he persisted in the course which he had mapped out for himself, because his conscientious regard for right would not permit him to do otherwise. There were times when very serious danger not only threatened him personally, but threatened his property interests and at one time—in 1854—an angry mob attacked the office of the "Staats Zeitung"; proffers of assistance came to him from various scources, but he declined these kindly offers and announcing his ability to take care of himself and his office, quietly armed his assistants and prepared to defend himself and his property, whatever might be the outcome of the affray. His courageous bearing and his evident determination to maintain his principles at all hazards, had the effect of cowing the mob, and he suffered no serious injury. Having had much to do with, and being largely influential in forming the Republican party, Mr. Schneider was brought into close personal relation with Abraham Lincoln, and other early leaders of the party in Illinois. At an editorial convention held at Decatur, Illinois in 1856, he presented resolutions which had been endorsed by Lincoln, Jno. M, Palmer, Norman B. Judd, and others, condemning the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and also seeking to crush out the know-nothingism which was making an effort to fasten itself upon the party, to the injury of the great cause for which it had been brought into existence. These resolutions were adopted, and their effect in solidifying and strengthening the Republican party in Illinois can hardly be over-estimated. Upon the breaking-out of the war, Mr. Schneider at once became most actively identified with measures set on foot in Chicago to aid in the prosecution of the war and in the suppression of the rebellion. He was made a member of the Union Defence Committee, an organization which rendered more important services in behalf of the Union arms, than any similar organization in the West. His labors in this connection were indefatigable, and his patriotic efforts knew no limit save that of physical endurance. He was a delegate to the National Convention which nominated Fremont in 1856 for the presidency of the United States, and also to that which nominated Lincoln in 1860. In 1861 he was appointed by Pesident Lincoln, Consul to Denmark to look after and promote certain interests of the government in that country. After serving in this capacity a short time he returned to Chicago, and the next official position which he was called upon to assume was that of Internal Revenue Collector of the first District of Illinois. This position he held four years, his administration being recognized as one of the most efficient, honest and praiseworthy in the history of the office. Especially was

it noted for the Civil Service features which made efficiency and trustworthiness the only requirement of subordinates—politics not being taken into consideration.

In 1862 he had sold his interest in the "Staats Zeitung," and when he retired from the Internal Revenue Collectorship he did not return to journalism. In 1866 the State's Savings Institution made him its president, and in this way he began his career as a banker. He remained at the head of this institution until 1871, the Nat'l Bank of Illinois was organized, of which he became president. It is now twenty-one years since he became the executive head of this financial institution, and under his management it has become one of the leading banks of Chicago and the Northwest. Mr. Schneider has devoted himself with the zeal of his earlier years to building it up, and advancing its interests, and as a result it has attained a high standing among the financial institutions of the country. He has also been identified with many other important enterprises and under all circumstances has been an able representative of Chicago's business and financial interests. He has been connected with various local Improvement Boards, with charitable organizations, and Humane Societies of the city and state. The German Emigrant Aid Society has received from him special aid and encouragement in its work, and the Illinois Humane Society has also profited largely by his benificence, he having been chiefly instrumental in organizing a branch of the society designed especially to prevent cruelty to children. In the midst of his numerous business affairs, he has found time to interest himself in music, of which he has always been recognized as a cultured and enthusiastic friend and admirer. The "Chicago Press Club" made him its First Treasurer, and he retained the position until 1891. He was appointed Minister to Switzerland in 1877 by President Hayes, but resigned the position on account of a pressure of private business, and he has had no ambition for public office-holding during the later years of his life, the only offices which he has held since the war period, being that of Elector on the Republican National Ticket of 1880, and that which he at present holds as one of the directors and active managers of the Worlds Columbian Exposition.

A glance backward over the period during which he has been identified with the state of Illinois shows George Schneider to have been one of the leading "history makers" of the west. Joseph K. C. Forest, one of the noted pioneer Journalists of Chicago, recently wrote in the *Inter Ocean;* "To Mr. George Schneider is justly due the honor of having done more than any other Journalist to bring the Germans of the Northwest into line with that great Anti-Slavery movement, which taking its rise in

David Blaney

Great Britain under Wilberforce, Clarkson, George Thompson, Daniel O'Connel and others, had its culmination in the emancipation proclamation of Abraham Lincoln. I have always and do now insist that Mr. Carl Schurz and Mr. George Schneider did more to kill slavery and save the Union than any two other men of their or indeed of any other nationality."

At the close of his term as governor of Illinois, General—now United States Senator—John M. Palmer addressed to Mr. Schneider a letter of which the following is a copy:

My Dear Sir:—I am just leaving the executive rooms to make way for my successor and avail myself of the last moment to thank you for your kind and friendly note. Among the most interesting of my memories are those that are connected with the events to which you refer (the convention of 1856) and I shall hereafter make no friends to whom my affections cling so fondly as to those who encountered the storms of obloquy and the bitterness of party to initiate the great movement for the overthrow of slavery and the preservation of republican institutions upon this continent.

You are entitled to a full share of the honors of this great revolution, for you aided to commit the great people, the German-Americans, to the movement, and their tongues and pens and swords have done noble service at all points and in all fields where the contest was maintained. May God bless you and them for the noble service you and they have rendered. . . Respectfully

John M. Palmer.

This letter is of special interest in this connection, because coming as it does from one of his contemporaries in the great Anti-Slavery movement it could hardly be other than a just estimate of his services in that memorable struggle.

Married in 1853 to Matilda Schloetzer, Mr. Schneider has a family of seven daughters, and his home has long been one of the recognized domestic centers of culture and refinement in Chicago.

LOUIS WAHL.

On the 25th of April, 1892, Chicago lost an ideal German-American citizen in the person of Louis Wahl, who had been prominently identified with its business interests for thirty years, who had held various important official positions under the city and county governments, and who was widely known as a man of broad culture and high character. A German by birth, he was a splendid specimen of the American citizen, made such by adoption. Endowed with the rich heritage of his race, he cherished the glory of the fatherland, and was an ardent lover of its literature, its music and arts, but above all else he loved the land of his adoption, its customs and institutions. No native born American ever cherished for the

Great Republic a stronger regard, or hesitated less to give forcible expression to his sentiments when occasion offered. In the practical affairs of life, as well as in loyal sentiment and genuine patriotism, he was an admirable representative of the best American citizenship.

Beginning on the lower rounds, he climbed fortune's ladder, relying upon his own efforts for success, and reaping in large measure the rewards of industry, enterprise, and business sagacity. Refined and scholarly, the accumulation of wealth brought to him the means for gratifying cultivated tastes, and made his home a charming social centre. It also enabled him to devote time and money to lightening the burdens of his fellowmen, and in this work he seemed to find the greatest pleasure of his life outside of that which he found in the domestic circle.

His life was one which had in it not a little of the spice of adventure, and coupled with the conservatism of the careful man of affairs, he had a touch of the dash and enterprise of the prospector and explorer. Born in Grunstadt, in the Rhine Phalz, Oct. 27th, 1830, the first fifteen years of his life were spent in his native land. His father was a man of fine attainments and marked business ability, who held the position of Head Forester in the Rhine Phalz. In 1845 the elder Wahl immigrated with his family to the United States, and settled in Milwaukee, Winconsin. In that city — then little more than a frontier village — he soon completed an education to which careful attention had been given during the earlier years of his life. Grown to manhood, he resolved before selecting a permament business location, to see something more of the vast territory of the United States. Accordingly in 1852, he set out for St. Joseph, Mo., which was at that time the outfitting point for overland trains to California, the train of that period being an altogether different affair from that of to-day. Arrived at St. Joseph he decided to continue his trip to the Pacific coast, and connected himself with one of the wagon trains which he found ready to start out across the plains. Taking charge of one of the wagons, to which was attached four yoke of oxen he acted in the capacity of teamster during the long journey of ninety-three days, having many unique experiences, and suffering the hardships incident to the overland travel of those days. Arrived at a mining camp in California — known as Hangtown — he left the wagon train and turned his attention to mining. Locating a claim at that place, he went to work at what was to him an entirely new business, and for a year he diligently pursued his quest for gold.

Three months after his arrival in Hangtown, his brother Christian arrived in San Francisco and began looking for him. A former acquaintance informed the brother that Louis

had sailed for Australia, and he followed on the next vessel leaving that port. In Australia he looked in vain for the brother who was making an earnest effort to carve out a fortune in the mining camp at Hangtown. One day he picked up a newspaper in which he found a list of advertised letters, and his own name among those for whom letters were lying in the post-office. The letter thus advertised brough him news of the whereabouts of his brother, and shortly afterwards they were reunited in San Francisco, and having had enough of Pacific Coast adventure, they returned together to Milwaukee. There they joined their father and established a glue manufactury, the firm becoming "C. Wahl & Sons." They did a prosperous business for several years, building up a large trade which extended over a wide area of territory; but for the purpose of still further extending the business, the brothers determined to remove to Chicago. The father retired and the firm in Chicago became known as "Wahl Bros." A large factory was established here, which continued in operation until 1885, when it was destroyed by fire, after which the interests of the Wahl Bros. were sold to P. D. Armour. Later they established a brick manufactory, which has become one of the largest establishments of its kind in the United States.

His early experiences in California, while they did not result in the accumulation of a large amount of money at that time, were such as to give Mr. Wahl a taste for mining and mining enterprises. Later in life he became largely interested in the development of various mining properties in California, Idaho, Nevada, Colorado and Georgia. He was at one time the owner of the famous Terrible Mine in Leadville, Colo.—which was sold some years since to an English syndicate — and his investments in mining properties contributed largely to the building up of a handsome estate. To these interests and realty investments in Chicago, he gave the greater share of his attention during the later years of his life.

From the time his residence in Chicago began, Louis Wahl was recognized as one of the public spirited, broad minded, liberal and progressive citizens of the city. He took an active interest in public affairs and in politics, in the sense of contributing his full share toward securing for the city and country good government, but was never at any time a seeker after political preferment. Although frequently urged by his political associates to become a candidate for important official positions, he invariably declined to enter into any struggle for an elective office. His eminent fitness for the public service was recognized, however, on numerous occasions by his appointment to positions of trust and responsibility. In 1871 he was appointed

by the Mayor of Chicago one of the Inspectors of the House of Correction. Soon after his appointment the institution was thoroughly reorganized, and many improvements made in its conduct and management. Before that the prisoners had not been employed, and their support had been a heavy burden on tax payers. Mr. Wahl and his colleague introduced prison labor, and idleness among the prisoners became a thing of the past. The success of the new system was such that no appropriation for the support of the institution was asked of the City Council after 1875. With the reforms inaugurated here, Mr. Wahl had much to do, and he was reappointed one of the Inspectors of the House of Correction by successive administrations, regardless of their politics, and continued to hold the office up to the date of his death.

From 1873 to 1876, he was a member of the Board of Public Works of Chicago, and in this capacity he also rendered valuable services to the city. From 1883 to 1885 he served as a member of the Board of South Park Commissioners, was a member of the Special Relief Committee of the Relief and Aid Society after the fire of 1871, and in various other capacities contributed to the good government and upbuilding of Chicago.

While he was a staunch Republican in politics, he never allowed his political affiliations to influence his official actions. He believed that the public institutions of the city, and especially its benevolent and reformatory institutions, should be kept out of politics as much as possible. He particularly emphasized this belief while serving as an Inspector of the House of Correction, his chief aim being to take the institution entirely out of politics, to hold it aloof from sectarian influences, and to manage it in the most economical way, at the same time meeting all its requirements. He was especially interested in the boys and young men committed to this prison, and gave much study to the matter of bringing about a better system of dealing with them. He was an earnest advocate of the Industrial Training School, and did much toward inaugurating and advancing this feature of the prison management.

While he was all his life an exceedingly busy man, Mr. Wahl found time for self-culture, through reading, and travel both in United States and abroad. He was an accomplished linguist, speaking the English, German, Spanish and French languages with almost equal ease and fluency. He was a lover of music and the drama, and in 1885 was conspicious as one of the Directors of the first Chicago Opera Festival.

In his charities, as in everything else, he was kindly, generous, broad-minded and sympathetic. Unostentatious in everything, he shrank from prominence in public charities; but upon all proper occasions his sym-

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B. F. Ayer

pathies went out to those who needed encouragement and assistance, and along with his sympathy always went substantial and helpful gifts.

Married in 1862 to Phebe Grace Wilson, a cultured lady of Detroit, Michigan, Mr. Wahl established his home in Chicago, and for many years he resided, and his family still resides, is one of the handsomest residence districts of the south division of the city. Mrs. Wahl and her two daughters, Eva and Lillian Wahl respectively, still live in the old homestead. A third daughter, now Mrs. Morton, also resides in Chicago.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

BENJAMIN F. AYER, LL. D.

IN the year 1637 John Ayer of Norfolk, England, immigrated to America, and in 1645 he was one of the settlers of Haverhill, Massachusetts, thirty-two miles north of Boston and the head of navigation on the Merimac River. From this immigrant ancestor are descended the numerous branches of the Ayer family in New England, representatives of which have now become widely scattered throughout the United States. Robert Ayer, a descendant of the seventh generation, born at Haverhill, married Louisa Sanborn, a daughter of Benjamin Sanborn, of Kingston—who came of an old New Hampshire family—and great-granddaughter of Rev. Stephen Bachelder, who immigrated from Derbyshire, England in 1632, and upon the settlement of Hampton, New Hampshire, became pastor of the first church established there.

One of the sons of Robert and Louisa (Sanborn) Ayer is Benjamin Franklin Ayer, distinguished as a member of the western bar, and as one of the great corporation lawyers of the United States. Born in Kingston, New Hampshire, April 22nd, 1825, and brought up in the midst of an environment calculated to develop to the fullest extent the intellectual vigor and force of character inherited from worthy ancestry, he received careful educational training in early life, and after being fitted for a collegiate course at Albany Academy, New York—then under the charge of Dr. T. Romeyn Beck, eminent as physician and educator—he entered Dartmouth College, from which he graduated in 1846.

Turning his attention then to the law, he entered upon a three years course of study, attending the regular course of lectures at Dane Law

School, the law department of Harvard College. Being admitted to the bar in 1849 he opened a law office in Manchester, New Hampshire, entering upon active professional work with the equipment of a thorough and finished education, superior mental endowments, and a remarkable capacity for close and continuous application. In 1853 he was elected to the state legislature, in 1854 was made prosecuting attorney of Hillsborough County, and rapidly built up a practice which continued to increase until 1857, when he decided to identify himself with the western bar, and came to Chicago with this object in view.

Chicago was at that time just fairly entering upon the era of industrial and commercial development which has challenged the wonder and admiration of all those familiar with its history, and to men of character and ability, in all the avocations of life, a hearty welcome was extended. Mr. Ayer therefore entered a field in which his thorough professional training, his mental activity, and keen perceptions, were promptly and fully appreciated, and within a year after his change of location, he had taken rank among the busy and successful practitioners at the Chicago bar. Within four years he was filling the important position of corporation counsel for the city, to which he was appointed in 1861. In this official capacity he rendered various important services to the city government, and among others, drafted the revised city charter of 1863. While he was to some extent active in politics during the earlier years of his professional career, and held official positions both in Manchester and Chicago, these offices were in line with his profession, and did not operate against his professional advancement. Starting out in life with an ambition to become a thoroughly well informed lawyer, he was a close student of every legal problem which presented itself to him for solution, and no question was ever dismissed by him with a superficial investigation, nor was anything allowed to divert his attention from his chosen work.

When he retired from the office of corporation counsel, he became a member of the law firm of Beckwith, Ayer & Kales, the firm becoming Ayer & Kales in 1873. While thus associated he was engaged in general practice, but at the same time made a special study of railroad and corporation law, and soon became recognized as a remarkably able and successful practitioner in this field. Great railroad corporations had begun to concentrate their interests in Chicago, and the natural consequence was a vast amount of railroad litigation in Chicago courts. A broad and comprehensive knowledge of the laws governing and applicable to these corporations, and a genius for analysis were qualifications of a lawyer, which made his services of great value to the railroad companies, at a

time when serious complications threatened many of them with irretrievable disaster. These qualifications Mr. Ayer possessed in an eminent degree, and as a result he numbered many of their leading corporations among his clients, long before he turned his attention entirely to this branch of the practice. In 1876 the Illinois Central Railroad Company tempted him from the general practice, and most likely robbed the state or federal courts of a distinguished jurist, by making him its general solicitor. Elected a director of the company the following year, he at once became prominently identified with this great western corporation, and a zealous guardian of all its interests. For fourteen years he retained the position of general solicitor of the Illinois Central, becoming at the end of that time general counsel.

Persons well informed in regard to western railway matters will concede without question, that of all the railroad companies whose interests center in Chicago, the Illinois Central has had interests of greatest magnitude involved in litigation. One of the pioneer corporations of its kind in the state, it came into existence at a time when concessions—which have since become immensely valuable—were willingly and freely made. With the lapse of years and advent of other railways, conditions have changed, Chicago has repented of its early generosity to the Illinois Central corporation, and has long coveted certain of its valuable possessions. To guard what the company deems its vested rights, to prevent any encroachments thereon, and to checkmate any movement which may prove ever so small an entering wedge for an infringement of its privileges, has been the business of the general solicitor and general counsel, and the task has been one which put to the severest test the ability of that official, not only as a lawyer, but as a diplomat. In the controversies which have been continually arising for many years, mutual concessions had to be made by the conflicting interests, and how much might safely be conceded, or how much it might be necessary to concede, has usually had to be determined by the law representative of the railway company. In all these minor controversies, Mr. Ayer has handled the affairs of the Illinois Central Company with a consummate skill, evidencing to almost as great an extent as his conduct of famous contests in the courts, remarkable intellectual resources.

In the litigation involving title to a portion of the lake front in Chicago, now pending in the United States Supreme Court, he has represented an interest of many millions of dollars, and all lawyers familiar with this noted case, will give him credit for having championed his cause with great ability, whatever may be the final issue.

In litigation involving the right of

the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company to maintain station grounds in the yards of the Illinois Central Company in Chicago, and in another case involving the right of the Chicago, Burlington & Northern Railway Company to condemn eighteen miles of the Illinois Central's right of way between Galena and East Dubuque, the points at issue have been such as to attract the attention of the bar and leading railroad men of the country. In both these cases the positions taken by Mr. Ayer as counsel have been sustained by the Supreme Court of Illinois, and decisions rendered in favor of the Illinois Central corporation.

In the thirty years that he has been a leading member of the Chicago bar, representing, as he has, much of the time, interests of great magnitude, he has been brought into competition with many of the most distinguished members of the American bar, and judged by his achievements, and by the measure of his success, has taken rank among the ablest of those engaged in his special branch of the practice in the United States.

In the trial of causes, the arguments submitted by Mr. Ayer are always of the clean cut, incisive and tersely analytical, rather than of the ornate type. His sentences are crisp and forcible, his reasoning direct and logical, and his conclusions are evolved through mental processes operating apparently with mathematical precision. Remarkable self-poise is one of his distinguishing characteristics, and those who have been intimately associated with him for years assert that they have never seen in him the slightest evidence of a ruffled temper. It has been said of Rufus Choate that "his urbanity was exquisite," and those familiarly acquainted with Mr. Ayer will agree that the same thing may, with equal propriety, be said of him.

In 1876 Dartmouth College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, and he has been honored with official position in the American and Illinois state bar associations, and is a distinguished member of various social and literary organizations.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

Geo. S. Carmichael

CHICAGO BOARD OF TRADE.

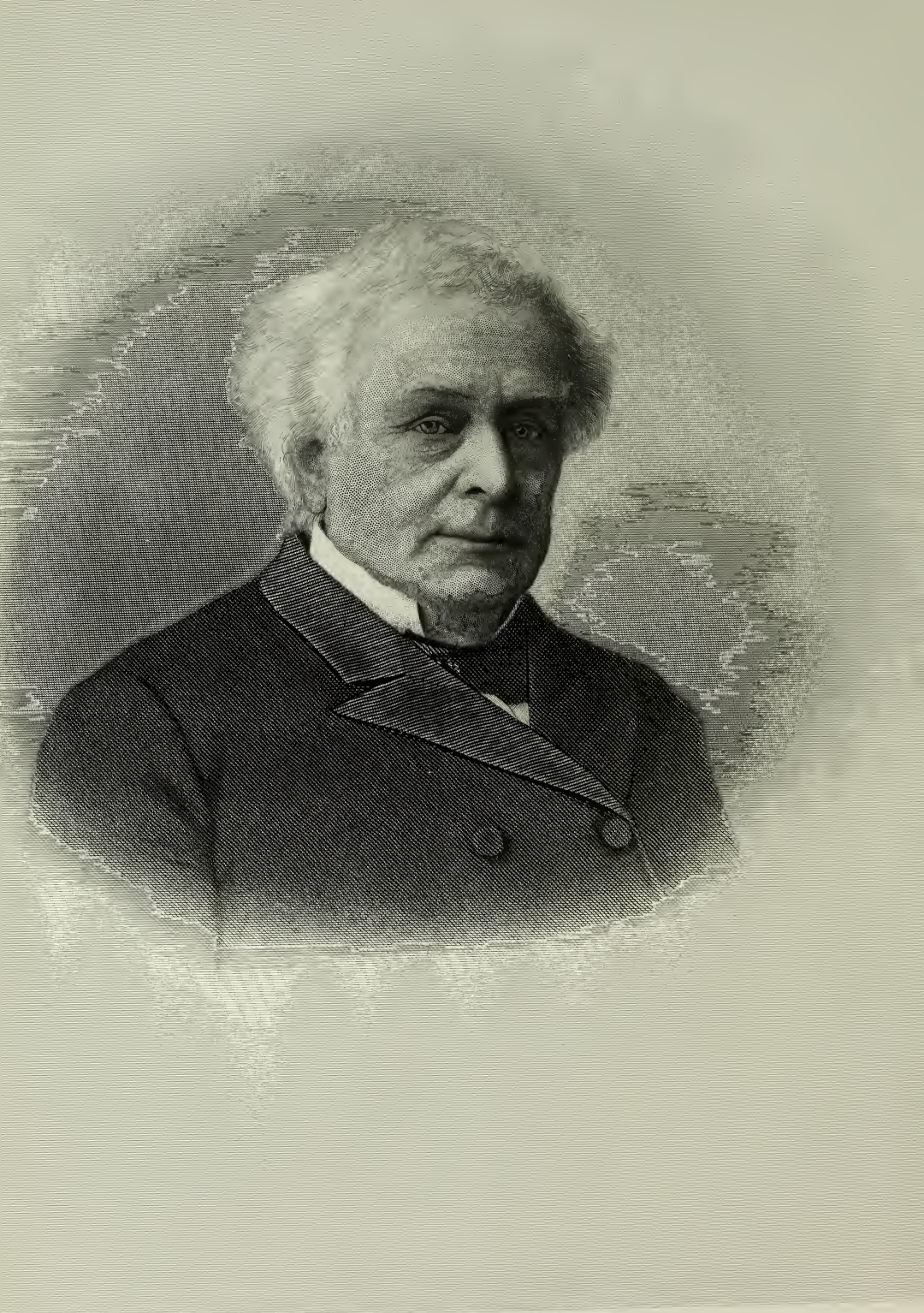
GEORGE S. CARMICHAEL.

For a score of years, more or less, George S. Carmichael was recognized as an unusually successful man of affairs, in Chicago, and one who combined with rare business sagacity, broad culture and a nobility of character which endeared him to a large circle of friends and associates. He belonged to the class of men whose coming to Chicago may be said to have marked the beginning of the most progressive era of the city's history, and through whose enterprise and activity the transition from town to metropolis was brought about. Trained in a conservative business school these men were apt students of men and markets, quick to adapt themselves to the conditions by which they found themselves surrounded in a western city, and prompt to grasp opportunities for advancing their individual interests and promoting general prosperity at the same time. That they were men of superior capacity has been demonstrated by their achievements, and a great city as well as private fortunes, are the monuments which they have built to themselves.

Of this class of men Mr. Carmichael was a typical representative. Born in Sullivan County, New York, April 27th, 1827, he grew up in a rural community, and his early education was obtained in the country schools. At thirteen years of age he was a pupil of the late Hon. William Bross—when that distinguished journalist and politician was a school teacher in New York State—and at a later date he was a student at Middletown Academy. Having completed an academic education, he began reading law with Judge James Stryker, a noted lawyer and jurist of New York State. It was not long, however, before his law studies were temporarily laid aside at the request of his father, an extensive public-works contractor, and one of the builders of the Hudson River Railroad. Becoming associated with his father while the railroad was in process of construction, he gave his time and attention entirely to the keeping of books and accounts until 1849, when the elder Carmichael died suddenly of cholera. After the death of his father the responsibility of administering upon the estate and settling its affairs devolved upon him.

After discharging his duties in this connection faithfully he went to New York City, and again turned his attention to the study of law, with John C. Dimmick as his preceptor. His law studies completed, he was admitted to the bar and for ten years engaged in successful practice. Thoroughly in love with the profession, he became recognized by his associates at the bar and the general public as a lawyer of fine attainments and high character, but failing health compelled him to enter a less arduous and exacting field of labor. He therefore relinquished his practice and came west, locating first at Alton, Illinois, where he remained one year. At the end of that time finding his health much improved, he accepted a proposition which came to him from Phillip Bros., commission merchants of Chicago, to join them in a business which they believed could be largely extended through his influence and assistance. A partnership was accordingly formed, and Mr. Carmichael removed to Chicago, where he became an active member of the Board of Trade, and was soon recognized as one of the most sagacious and far seeing members of that famous body of traders. The knowledge which he had gained as a student and practitioner of law aided him materially in the successful conduct of a business which speedily grew to large proportions, and which yielded to him and his partners a golden harvest. His marked success in the business in which he first engaged in Chicago, led to his identification with numerous other enterprises, which became important factors in contributing to the growth and development of the city, one of the institutions, with the building up of which he had much to do, being the old Fifth National Bank of Chicago—now the National Bank of America—of which he was long a director.

From the time he became a resident of Chicago up to the date of his death—which occurred October 2nd 1878—Mr. Carmichael was one of the most active, energetic and forceful citizens of the western metropolis, and one whose influence and usefulness continually increased. Somewhat reticent and reserved in his manner naturally, it was only when occasion demanded that he gave expression to his views upon matters of public policy and general interest. When the occasion presented itself, however, he expressed himself with a clearness and forcefulness which left no one in doubt as to his position. Whatever the question which presented itself, he seemed intuitively to grasp the situation, and to reach correct conclusions by the shortest and most direct route. An eminently successful business man, he was at the same time a close student of social, economic, and political questions, and one who continually surprised even his most intimate friends by the breadth of his information



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Yours N Higgins

and the extent of his knowledge Seeking nothing in the way of self-preferment, his fitness for important trusts impressed itself upon those who came in contact with him, as a natural consequence of association, and suggestions of political and other honors came to him unsought and unsolicited. An earnest and aggressive Republican in politics, he was active in promoting the interests of the party, because he believed in its principles and policies, and not because he was ambitious for political distinction. He was regarded, however, as a man who would reflect credit upon himself and his constituency in any official capacity, and his name was under consideration in connection with congressional honors at the time of his death in 1878.

Broad minded, liberal, and progressive, George S. Carmichael is held in kindly remembrance among the men who have contributed most to the greatness of Chicago. His widow—who before her marriage in 1864, was Miss Harriet K. Brush, a daughter of Colonel I. E. Brush, and sister of C. F. Brush, the noted electrician of Cleveland, Ohio—is still a resident of the city, with which her husband was so long conspicuously identified.

Howard Louis Conard.

CHICAGO PIONEERS.

HON. VAN H. HIGGINS.

In the long series of articles published in this Magazine under the heading "Chicago Pioneers"—a series, by the way, in which an earnest effort has been made to place on record so much as might be of interest to their descendants, to the future historian, and to the general public, concerning the early settlers of one of the most famous of American cities, more or less extended biographies have at one time or another been published of nearly all the men who were prominently identified with the city during the earlier years of its history. Interesting personages, these founders and builders of a great city, and especially interesting are those who still survive to look back over a period of such wonderful commercial and industrial development, as to be without a parallel in history, and who looking backward can say "all of which I saw, and part of which I was."

In the year 1837 Chicago had just begun to be a municipality. The first city election had been held, and the first officers elected under the city charter had been duly installed, but there was little outside of this to entitle the place to recognition as a city, so that those whose acquaintance with it began as far back as that year may be said to have been witnesses

of its growth from the beginning. Among the young men who came to Chicago that year, and who have been identified with it the greater part of the time since that date, there were none who developed into more useful or honored citizens than Van Hollis Higgins, lawyer, jurist and financier. He was sixteen years old when he came west to join a brother who had preceded him to Chicago, and all the earlier years of his life had been spent in New York State where he was born February 20th, 1821. His father, David Higgins—a farmer by occupation—was a native of East Haddam, Connecticut, who immigrated to Cayuga County, New York in 1814, and later to Genesee County.

His mother was Emma (Sackett) Higgins, a native of Vermont, and sister of Wm. A. Sackett, once a congressman from New York State, prominent as an anti-slavery agitator, and somewhat noted also as a traveler in Egypt and the Holy Land.

Van H. Higgins received his early educational training in the village schools of Auburn and Seneca Falls, and before he came to Chicago had supplemented this training by a knowledge of the mercantile business which he acquired as a clerk in a store kept by an elder brother in Seneca Falls. When he came west this training served a good purpose and he was installed in the same capacity in a store which another brother was carrying on in Chicago. Not satisfied with his educational attainments, and ambitious to fit himself for a professional rather than a mercantile career, he kept up his studies in connection with his clerical duties, and in the winter of 1837–38 being adjudged competent to teach school, he engaged in that occupation snccessfully in Vermillion County, Illinois. The next summer he spent in Chicago, and the following winter he again taught school in Vermillion County. In the spring of 1839 he found Chicago suffering from a business stagnation, which rendered it almost impossible to secure profitable employment for the summer, and he went to St. Louis. St. Louis was then a city of fifteen-thousand population, and the chief city of the west. Still another brother—he was one of eight sons—had preceded him to St. Louis, and was engaged there in the publication of the "Daily Argus," a newspaper of considerable consequence among the pioneer journals of the city. Associating himself with this brother he devoted a year to general newspaper and reportorial work, and then, going into business on his own account, engaged again in commercial pursuits.

Considered from a business standpoint his mercantile venture was entirely successful, but he was not satisfied with it as a permanent vocation, and sold out his mercantile interests to take up the study of law. The means which he had acquired by this time enabled him to devote some time to a systematic course of study, and removing to Iroquois County, Ill-

inois, he was admitted to the bar there in 1843. After practicing a year in Middleport, he went to Galena, Illinois, where he formed a professional partnership with O. C. Pratt—at a later day a judge of the supreme court of Oregon,—and the firm thus constituted became one of the most successful and prominent law firms of the city. Elected city attorney of Galena, he served two years, and was identified with the bar of that city until 1852, when he was again attracted to Chicago by its rapid growth, and the enlarged field which it offered for the profitable practice of his profession. When he located in Chicago, he became associated with Corydon Beckwith—a few years since one of the most famous of American lawyers —and B. F. Strother, under the firm name of Higgins, Beckwith & Strother. Strict attention to business and eminent ability on the part of those who composed it soon gave this firm a leading position at the Chicago bar, and a highly renumerative business.

Actively interested in politics from the beginning of his professional career, Mr. Higgins did not feel for a time that he could afford to sacrifice his professional interests for political preferment, but in 1858 he was elected to the state legislature, where he served with distinction as one of the early Republican members of that body. A pronounced opponent of the extension of slavery, he had condemned the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and hailed with satisfaction the advent of a political party, which proposed to offer organized resistance to the slave power. It followed therefore as a natural consequence that he should have become an active and influential member of the Republican party, and such he has continued to be ever since. At the close of his legislative term, he was elected one of the judges of the superior court of Chicago, and served in that capacity until 1865, when he resigned to resume the practice of law, with Leonard Swett and Col. David Quigg as partners, the style of the firm being Higgins, Swett & Quigg. In 1872 having been elected to the presidency of an important manufacturing company, he practically retired from the practice of law, other than that of looking after his own interests. At a later date he accepted the financial agency of the Charter Oak Life Insurance Company for the western states, and since 1880 has been president of the National Life Insurance Company of the United States, the only corporation of the kind which has ever been chartered by act of Congress. He has also been president of the Fidelity Safe Deposit Company, has held the controlling interest in Rose Hill Cemetery, and been associated with many other enterprises of importance to Chicago.

In private life Judge Higgins has been one of the eminently successful business men of Chicago. With a genius for financiering, he has coupled

the strict integrity and conservatism which guaranteed absolute security for the trusts reposed in him. As a lawyer he was among the recognized leaders of the bar during his many years of active practice, a diligent student, and a chivalrous devotee to the interests of his clients. As a jurist he was distinguished for broad knowledge of the law, careful judgment, and splendid judicial bearing under all circumstances.

Coupled with his professional knowledge and his thorough conversance with financial affairs, a practical, as well as theoretical knowledge of mechanics is one of Judge Higgins' somewhat remarkable accomplishments. As other eminent lawyers have turned to literature or art for diversion from the affairs of professional and business life, he has turned to "the science which treats of the nature of forces and of their action on bodies either directly or by the agency of machinery," and so careful a study has he made of it that his judgment of any new mechanical device is said to be as unerring as that of any skilled mechanic. With the formulas of the text books he is apparently as familiar to-day as if he had been all his life a college professor instead of a practicing lawyer, and scarcely any new discovery of consequence escapes his attention. Mechanical and allied scientific publications are perused by him with the ardor of a student, and to the invention and improvement of various mechanical devices he still gives no small share of his attention.

A faithful and efficient public servant in whatever capacity he has been called upon to serve, one of his most important services to his state, and to the country at large, was rendered during the war period, when he was one of the most active of the patriotic members of the "Union Defense Committee" of Chicago. Organized at the very opening of the conflict, its labors were not ended until the war closed. In the matter of organizing and forwarding troops, of providing subsistence, of contributing men and money for the preservation of the Union, this committee had no superior among the patriotic organizations of the United States. Of this committee Judge Higgins was one of the organizers, and as a member of its executive branch, he shared largely in the responsibility of formulating its policies, and of inaugurating and pushing to a successful issue the various important movements in which it engaged. For these and other distinguished services as well as for his enterprise as a public spirited man of affairs, he will be remembered as one of the most useful and honored of the pioneer citizens of Chicago.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1892, Edited by James Grant Wilson. Volume II, (New York History Company. New York, 1892.)

It is a pleasure to look upon the second volume of this History. It strikes the eye at once as a piece of superior workmanship, on the part of the printers, the artists, and the illustrators. As to the printing of the text and of the illustrations, we seem to have before us a number of the superb "Century" expanded to a larger size, and crystalized into a permanent form. We can not but admire the wisdom of the publishers in securing for the mechanical part of their production, the "Printers for the Century Company," the DeVinne Press. Without the reading of a line or a word, every one on opening to any chance page of this volume, utters an involuntary exclamation of delight. But the pleasure of the eye only the more surely tempts to the perusal of the matter thus beautifully and profusely illustrated, and placed before one in such comfortably clear type. If possible the second volume surpasses the first in these mechanical details. A good sign, that! There need be no apprehension on the part of subscribers who have taken the series of the four volumes on trust, or upon seeing the first volume, that their confidence was misplaced.

The second volume takes up the thread of New York's history where the first dropped it, about the close of the seventeenth century, and the opening of the eighteenth; in fact, the first chapter, covering the rule of Governor Bellomont, dates 1698–1701. The history of the eighteenth century is then pursued until we reach the end of the Revolutionary period, or 1783. The evacuation of New York by the British on November 25 of that year, was absolutely the final episode of the Revolution; and it marked the beginning of a new and exceedingly important era in the history of the city. Hence the dividing line between the second and third volumes is very properly placed here. The Federal capital — for such New York was for some years under Congress and under the first administration — destined to become the metropolis of the young Republic, entered upon a distinctly new life when it ceased to be colonial.

The plan pursued up to the time of the earliest movements tending towards independence, is the same as that of the earlier volume. Periods during which the successive Colonial Governors ruled are assigned to the several contributors. This division is both natural and convenient under the circumstances, in view of the fact that the book is not written by one author, but is the result of the coöperation of many. It is justified moreover, by the consideration that New York was the seat of the colonial government. Yet to avoid merging too much the history of the city into that of the province— to keep the writers at home so to speak— there was given to each writer, besides the name and dates of the particular governor, some leading thought, or striking incident of local importance, which pre-eminently distinguished the period in hand. So that for instance, the titles of some of the chapters read as follows: "The Earl of Bellomont, and the suppression of Piracy;" "Robert Hunter and the Settlement of the Palatines;" "William Crosby and the Freedom of the

Press" alluding to the great Zenger trial in 1734. When it comes to the "Stamp Act," the names of the Governors disappear from the titles, and "New York During the Revolution." closes the list of the historical chapters.

As was true of the former volume, so again the inevitable result of coöperative writing is here apparent; viz., there is some inequality in the literary merit of these several chapters. Variety of style is to be expected—for many men are of many minds—and when a man is known as a specialist in a certain department, and his work is wanted for that reason, one can not always stop to inquire what is the measure of his literary quality by the side of his unquestioned weight as an authority in his line of study. But what is also indubitable, on the other hand, is that this multiplicity of writers, guarantees a freshness and vigor of application at every point of the composite structure; *i. e.* in every successive chapter. We have an idea that this is what a person interested in the history of New York City is looking for, and that he can do with a little less "literature" if only the "history" is reliable and exhaustive.

It is a somewhat unfair thing to single out any one chapter of this volume for particular mention. Each reader, for one reason or another, will hit upon some chapter which shall be to him or her a favorite: largely determined by the study given by any one to this or that period, or by some other obvious or subtle link of interest. Yet it will not be very invidious on our part if we do make mention here of the chapter on "New York During the Revolution." Not only has the writer gathered his facts with evident and most painstaking diligence, and is thereby enabled to present in clearest view before us the picture of New York preparing for the Long Island campaign; the battle of Long Island itself; the manœuvers, and battles on Manhattan Island, correcting several erroneous impressions as to localities; and finally the life of the city in all the years of British occupation. But the editor has with warm enthusiasm seconded the diligence of the writer in making this chapter the most profusely illustrated of all. There are fully a hundred illustrations within the pages devoted to this chapter alone: Some rare, several curious, all of them handsome and distinctly helpful in elucidating the text. Even here, however, it must be said in justice to the writer, it was his earnest interest which led to the discovery of many of the prints, and they were inserted at his suggestion.

A word must be added to give evidence that we are not forgetting the scope of these pages, and to indicate the interest and utility of this volume (though a local history) for the student of our National history. The course of events throughout the eighteenth century, was one prolonged progress towards the goal reached by the peace of 1783, and the evacuation of New York. The struggle was between Royal prerogative—asserted constantly by the ministers who had in charge Colonial affairs, and by the governors sent out to govern here, who were selected either by ministerial influence, or because they were creatures in royal favor, and without the slightest reference to the wishes or the good of the colonists; and the awakening consciousness of the colonists that they possessed rights, especially that their hard-earned money was their own, and not to be taxed out of their pockets without their having something to say about it. That intensely interesting political struggle can be clearly traced from chapter to chapter in the present volume. New York presents one of the fairest fields for its study, and as it were by a sort of instinct, or because that lesson was such a palpable one in the history they were all discussing—every author has done his part in adding point and force to this gradual development of the spirit of independence which culminated in the Republic of the United States.

William Steinway

1892.

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. XVI. OCTOBER, 1892. *No. 6.*

BENJAMIN FLETCHER AND THE RISE OF PIRACY. 1692–1698.*

ON Sunday the 28th of August, 1692, the sentry on Fort William Henry perceived a signal at the Narrows flagstaff that a vessel was sighted "att Sandy Point," and the news spread rapidly through the city that the Wolf, with the long-expected Governor, Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, on board, was in sight. This conjecture became reality when, next morning, the frigate stood up the bay, and towards evening dropped anchor under the fort, with a salute to the flag. During the night preparations for the reception of the Governor with ceremony befitting his rank and dignity were consummated. At eight o'clock next morning he disembarked and was received by a great company—the Council of the province, including the Chief Justice, the Mayor, Abraham De Peyster, and the Common Council of the city—courtly, dignified gentlemen in the handsome and distinctive costume of the day, with the militia regiments in arms and a great concourse of citizens. These saluted the Governor with "acclamations and firing," and a procession being formed, the whole body marched to the fort, where the council-chamber was thrown open, and his commission publicly read; after which Colonel Fletcher, with due solemnity, administered their several oaths to the councilors. This done the procession again formed and marched to the City Hall, where the new Governor was publicly proclaimed and his commission read to the people, which was followed by "the like ceremony of acclamations and firing." The ceremonies concluded with a grand banquet in the evening which cost the city twenty pounds.

The Governor, thus publicly inaugurated, was a striking and im-

*From "The Memorial History of New York."

portant figure in the annals of New York City, and everything relating to his history and personality is of interest. Unfortunately few data of this kind have been preserved. None of the historians who have touched upon his career have given the date or place of his birth. John R. Brodhead, collector of the "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York," remarks that his arms point to Cheshire, England, as the place of his birth, but the county history of Cheshire is silent concerning him. The Assembly of New York, in 1699, adopted a petition to Lord Bellomont asking that the arms of Governor Fletcher might be removed from the king's chapel in the fort and from Trinity Church, "since his birth was so mean and obscure that he was not entitled to bear a coat of arms." Fletcher himself, writing to one of his refractory Assemblies, said that his education had been that of the camp. About all that is known of him prior to his being appointed Governor is that he was an Englishman by birth and a soldier by profession, who had done good service for William in the Low Countries and in the heady Irish war. Frederick De Peyster states "that, having been an active propagandist of Englishism and Protestantism in Ireland, he was rewarded with an estate in that country." He had been appointed Governor by William and Mary for two reasons: first as a distinct reward for services performed, and second because it was thought that his energy and military talents would bring peace and order to the distracted colony. It was expected that he would advance his own fortunes out of the governorship—this had been the custom of all royal governors. No portrait nor authentic description of him is known to be extant. In character he was arrogant, avaricious, passionate, something of a zealot in religion, fond of social pleasures, not averse to exhibiting himself in the gilded trappings of his station, but brave, energetic, loyal, and well affected towards the colony.

Long and minute instructions were

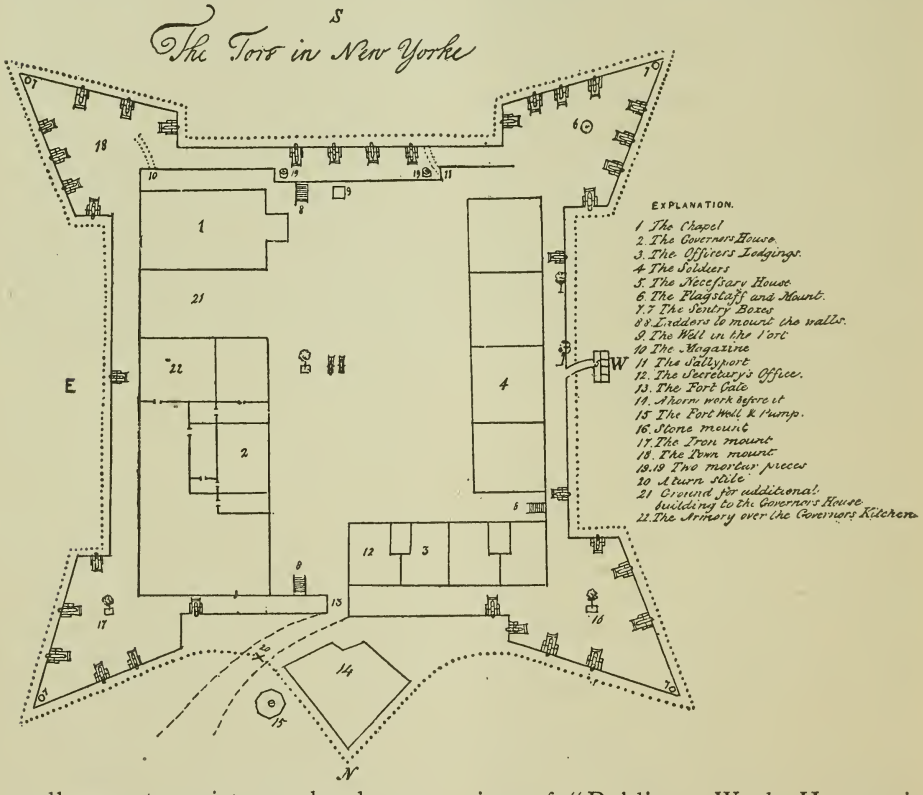
given for his guidance in the government, which, as forming the key to his administration, we will notice at length, since they have been largely ignored by many writers who have treated of this period. He was to proceed to his government with all convenient speed, call the members of the council together—who were named in the instrument—viz., Joseph Dudley (the Chief Justice), Frederick Flypson (Philipse), Stephen Cortlandt, Nicholas Bayard, William Smith, Gabrielle Mienville, Chidley Brooke, William Nicolls, Thomas Willett, William Pinhorne, Thomas Johnson, Peter Schuler (Schuyler), John Lawrence, Richard Townley,

and John Young, Esquires,[1] administer the oath to them, and cause, "with all due and usual solemnity," his commission to be published in the province. He was to communicate to these councilors so many of his instructions as he deemed necessary for the good of the service, and permit them to have and enjoy freedom of debate and vote; he was not to act with a quorum of less than five members except in case of necessity, when three would be deemed legal. In nominating members of the Council, judges and others, he was to exercise care that they were men of estate and ability, not necessitous people, or much in debt, and that they were well affected towards the government. He was not to suspend councilors without good and sufficient cause, and then must transmit to the home government copies of charges, proofs, and the replies of the accused thereunto. He was to transmit authentic copies of all the laws and statutes made in the province. He was not to be absent from his government on any pretense whatever without leave. He was to forward by the first opportunity a map with an exact description of the whole territory under his government; likewise a list of all officers employed under him, with all public charges, and an account of the present revenue. He was not to displace any judges, justices, sheriffs or ministers, without good and sufficient cause, which cause was to be reported to the king in full. He was to erect a Court of Exchequer for the trial of all cases affecting the revenue, if he deemed it necessary. "You shall take especial care," the document continued, "that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout your government, the Book of Common Prayer, as it is now established, read each Sunday and holy day, and the blessed sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England. You shall be careful that the churches already built there be well and orderly kept, and more built as the colony shall by God's blessing be improved, and that besides, a competent maintenance be assigned to the minister of each Orthodox church, a convenient house be built at the common charge for each minister, and a competent proportion of land assigned him for a glebe and exercise of his industry. . . . We do further direct that no School Master be henceforth permitted to come from England and to keep School within our Province of New York without the License of the said Bishop of London, and that no other person now there, or that shall come from other parts, be admitted to keep school without the license first had. You are to take care that Drunkenness and Debauchery, Swearing and Blasphemy be severely punished, and that none be admitted to Publique

[1] Caleb Heathcote, who later became a prominent figure in New York history, was added a year later.

Trust and employment whose ill fame and conversation may bring scandal thereupon."

He was also to exercise care that no man's life or estate should be put in jeopardy except by due course of law; to permit liberty of conscience



to all except papists; make due entries of all goods and commodities imported; cultivate the friendship of the Indians, and seek to attach them to the British crown, with the assistance of his Council; find out the best means "to facilitate and encourage the conversion of negroes and Indians to the Christian Religion," and provide for the raising and building of "Publique Work Houses in convenient places for the employing of Poor and Indigent people." He was not to permit any alteration in the value of current coin, and was to exercise censorship over the printing-press. In addition he was to make full and frequent reports of his do-

The above plan, also the one of the town on p. 637, as they appeared in the year 1695, are copied from the Rev. John Wooley's "Discription of the Province and City of New York."

ings and of the state of the province, to the Lords of Trade. His salary was fixed at six hundred pounds, exclusive of perquisites.

The new Governor, as soon as he was able to take a calm survey of the situation, found himself beset with difficulties. Three elements of discord—race, religion, and politics, or, more properly, faction—were present in his government. The English conquerers mostly hated and despised the Dutch. The latter, but twenty-eight years under the English yoke, looked with no kindly eyes on their conquerors. The body of the people was composed of Independents who regarded the Church of England with a dislike second only to that felt for Rome. Those who have read in the preceding number of the career and execution of Leisler and Milborne can imagine the feeling existing between the two factions at this moment.

Twelve days after disembarking, Fletcher wrote the Earl of Nottingham: "The two parties seem implacable, and those who suffered by the violence of Leisler are suing those who acted by his commission to their prejudice. . . . This inveteracy on both sides weakens us very much, and obstructs his Majesty's service." There were also foes without. King William was now waging war against France, and the brave Count Frontenac, who commanded in Canada, hung upon the northern frontiers of New York in constant menace, and was using all his ability to seduce the Five Nations—the bulwark of the English power—to his master's interest. Special commissions gave Fletcher authority over the militia of Connecticut and Rhode Island and East and West Jerseys, and as full authority over Pennsylvania and Delaware as over New York. This was deemed by the colonies affected, a violation of their charter rights, and they would not submit to his authority; nor would they furnish troops and munitions for carrying on the war against Cānada, as the king had commanded. The Governor made a long and tiresome journey into Pennsylvania and Connecticut, without achieving results. At the first meeting of the Council, finding that Joseph Dudley, the Chief Justice, had removed to Boston, and William Pinhorn, Recorder, to New Jersey, he suspended them, and appointed William Smith to the former and James Graham to the latter office, until their Majesties' pleasure should be known.

Of the city government, Abraham De Peyster (who has been presented to the reader) was Mayor; the members of the Common Council were William Beekman, Alexander Wilson, William Merritt, Thomas Clarke, John Merritt, Garrett Dow, Johannes Kip, Robert Darkins, Peter King, Brandt Schuyler, and Stephen De Lancey. The Assembly called by Governor Sloughter was still sitting, and he prorogued it after "it had provided for Albany next winter."

He then called a new Assembly "to relieve the revenue of debt." The public debt he found amounted to £3,000, and the finances were in a wretched state, partly from the mismanagement of his predecessors and also because New York had been forced to bear alone the expenses of the Indian war, the other colonies holding aloof. The people had been taxed until they were on the verge of revolt. This debt was the chief burden of Fletcher's administration.

THE VAN RENSSLAER ARMS.

His subsequent quarrels with the popular Assembly were due largely to its refusal to vote the money necessary for carrying on the government. To placate the Leislerians "he discharged all recognizances taken on the score of Leisler and superseded all proceedings," and also tried his personal powers of persuasion and blandishment, which were not inconsiderable, so that on January 7, 169⅔, he was able to write Judge Dudley, "that all things appeared serene, no wave to ruffle, no cloud to obscure our peace; the face of love was not more smooth." Suddenly he heard from several sources of meetings, violent expressions, threats against certain councilors, demands of reparation for Leisler's death, and discovered at length by a letter that fell into his hands that it was Boston that was sowing the seeds of faction and fanning the smoldering embers of discontent in his government.

In local affairs one of the first things brought to the Governor's attention was the "Bolting and Baking Act." This curious privilege, savoring of the feudal ages, was a monopoly (granted New York in 1678) of bolting all the flour and baking all the bread that should be exported from the province. The neighboring towns desired to have the act repealed, but were strenuously opposed by the merchants of the city. At the initial banquet given to the Governor, his attention was called to it by Mayor De Peyster, and his good offices with the king invoked in favor of continuing the privilege. The Common Council also addressed him several times upon the subject. At length, in 1694, the Assembly by an act directed against "unlawful by-laws," abolished the privilege.

The Common Council in 1696 wrote an address praying to have the law restored, and in support of their petition cited some interesting statistics.

"When the bolting began in 1678," they said, "there were only 343 houses. In 1696 there were 594. The revenue in 1678, 1679 and 1680 did not exceed £2,000; in the year 1687, £5,000. In 1687 there were 3 ships, 7 boats, 8 sloops; in 1694 there were 60 ships, 40 boats, and 62 sloops, since which is a decrease. In 1687, New York killed 400 beeves; in 1694 near 4,000. Lands had advanced tenfold in value. If this Act continue [that is, abolishing the monopoly of bolting], many families in New York must perish." Some other local incidents of interest occurred about this time, worthy of mention. Nassau street was opened. A night or "rattle" watch of four men was instituted. The streets were first lighted by suspending a lantern from every seventh house. Frederick Philipse built the first bridge over Spuyten Duyvil to his manor of Phillipsborough; the Common Council authorized him (January 12th, 1693) to charge as toll 1d. for cattle, 2d. for each man and horse, 12d. for each score of sheep and hogs, 6d. for each cart and wagon, if he would build a good and convenient drawbridge. "Overseers of the poor" and "poor-houses" were instituted, and surveys of the streets were made, to see which needed paving.

On making an examination of his capital, Fletcher found its defenses in a wretched state, the fortifications decayed, the troops ragged and ill provided with arms and munitions, and at once undertook to place them on a better footing. Late in September, he wrote that he was about making a secret visit to the frontiers to inquire into affairs there. He went again openly in February 169⅔, when an attack by Frontenac on his allies, the Mohawks, called him to their defense. The account of this expedition given by Colonels Bayard and Lodowick, who accompanied it, is so

quaint and picturesque that we present extracts. On February 12th, about midnignt, an express arrived from Colonel Beeckman, of Ulster County, with news that five hundred and fifty French and Indians were on the 8th within twenty miles of Schenectady, "ready to fall upon the first two castles of our Mohogs," (Mohawks). Fletcher at once ordered the colonel of the city regiment to draw out his men next morning, and

sent orders to Colonel Cortlandt, of Kings County, and Colonel Willett, of Queens, to detach out of their regiments one hundred and fifty men and have them ready to embark at the ferry. "About 8 o'clock (next) morning, the City Regiment being under arms, his Excellency, on horseback at the head of the regiment, demanded who were willing to follow him to the frontiers against the enemy; they unanimously threw up their hats, crying, 'One and all.' Upon which Colonel Bayard was ordered to detach one hundred and fifty of the fittest men to be under the command of three captains with their subaltern officers, ready at first beat of drum, and dismiss the regiment."

"About 10 o'clock," the account continues, "his Excell. did send the Express forward to Lieut.-Col. Beeckman with orders to get all the horses in the County of Ulster together in readiness to carry his Excell. and the detachments to Albany from Kingston by land in case the river were not open, and to forward any confirmation of the news to his Excell. which he expected before he did intend to imbarq. 14, Tuesday—By break of day an Express from Major Ingoldesby confirming the former news and that the two first castles were taken by the French and Indians, whereupon eight sloops were ordered with necessary provisions and ammunition to goe around the fort, and be ready to saile, and the detachment of the City Regiment did immediately imbarq about 4 o'clock afternoon: (and) the tide offering, his Excell., attended with the officers of the detachment and several volunteers, did imbarq and sett saile." All through Wednesday and Thursday the flotilla beat its way up the river, pausing only to salute the little stockade fort at Kingston, and reached Albany at last about nine o'clock Friday morning. At once Fletcher dispatched Major Schuyler with fifty men towards Schenectady, and himself followed about 11 A. M. with sixteen horse, leaving orders with Colonel Bayard to forward the several detachments as they should arrive. Fletcher and his advance-guard reached Schenectady late on Friday, and next day learned that the enemy had been attacked in his fortified camp, and routed by Major Peter Schuyler's brave little army of Christians and Mohawks.

The Governor and troops, therefore, returned to Albany, where the former received an address from the Corporation congratulating him on his safe return, and thanking him for his prompt assistance. On Saturday, the 25th, Fletcher held a grand council with the savages. Accompanied by the magistrates of the city and the soldiers and militia in arms, he went to the City Hall and made a speech to the Mohawks, which was translated to them by the "Interpretesse, Helle." And on Monday the 27th, after issuing a proclamation

prohibiting the selling of rum to the Indians, he "did imbarque for New-Yorke, where he arrived on Thursday following, and was received with such expressions of joy and thankfulness (as) the place could afford." The boldness and celerity of his movements, joined to the phenomenon of the Hudson's being navigable in midwinter, greatly impressed the Indians, who ever afterwards spoke of the governor as Caijenquiragoe, or

C Frontenac

[1] Copied from the statue erected on the front of New Parliament House of Quebec, in September, 1890. Other niches are to be occupied by Wolfe, Montcalm, and a score of other conspicuous characters connected with Canadian history.

"Lord of the Swift-arrow." Colonel Ingoldesby was left in command at Albany, with Major Peter Schuyler, Mayor of Albany, and a member of the famous Schuyler family, as second in command. Governor Fletcher

made a second visit to the frontiers in June of the following summer, and held a grand council with the Five Nations and River Indians there, beginning on June 23d, and continuing until the 6th of July, during which he effected important treaties, and by his tact and politic speeches succeeded in attaching them more firmly to the British Crown. One instance of his art in this respect may be narrated in the words of the chronicler:

ALBANY, the 4th of July, 1693.

This evening, after the young Indians had ended their sport of killing the two fatt bulls which were presented by his Excell. with bow & arrow & roasting & eating them, His Excellency invited severall of the Chief Sachims & Captains of the most note and bravery on board their Majesties ketch Albrought rideing before the citty of Albany & treated them to their extraordinary satisfaction. Upon their desire his Excell. gave them account of the success the King of England has had against the French King beyond the great lake—of the great victory which the English fleet obtained against the French the last summer, with the Particulars of that defeat, also of a great fight that had been on land where our great King attacked the Enemy in their Camp because they would not come out to fight him, where many men were slain on both sides . . . His Excellency also bade them be mindfull of what he said to them & true to the covenant they have renewed which they all promised to observe & keep inviolable, where upon as a seale thereunto his Excell. ordered the firing of five guns which they answered with the like number of shouts.

On his return to New York from this expedition the Common Council issued an address of congratulation and ordered that a cup of gold to the value of one hundred pounds be "presented unto his Excellency on behalf of the city, as a token of their gratitude."

Perhaps the most important events during Governor Fletcher's reign were the founding of Trinity Church and the erection of a printing-press.

When the new Assembly which he had called convened, he directed their attention, as the king had commanded, to the establishment of the state church. A more unwelcome subject could not have been presented. Probably two-thirds of the members were either indifferent or opposed to such a scheme, and the English Independents certainly were not well affected towards the Church of England. Nothing was done, but the next Assembly, which met in September, 1693, was better disposed, and passed a "Settling Act," which provided for the building of a church in the city of New York, two in Suffolk, two in Westchester, and one in Richmond counties, in each of which was to be inducted a Protestant minister with a salary ranging from one hundred to forty pounds, to be raised by a tax levied on the freeholders. Fletcher himself built a chapel in the fort, or repaired the old one. In this chapel the Rev. John Miller, chaplain of his Majesty's forces, held services until Trinity Church was completed, measures for erecting which under the active encouragement of Governor Fletcher were at once begun.

An account of the various phases

in the evolution of this historic structure will be of interest to our readers. The first of which we have knowledge is a petition from "sundry inhabitants of the city of New York, members of the Church of England," setting forth that whereas they were desirous of building "a church within this city for the use of the Protestants of the Church of England," and having met

A

JOURNAL

OF THE

Late Actions

OF THE

French at Canada.

WITH

The Manner of their being Repuls'd, by His Excellency, *Benjamin Fletcher*, Their Maieſties Governour of *New-York*.

Impartially Related by Coll. Nicholas Bayard, *and Lieutenant Coll.* Charles Lodowick, *who attended His Excellency, during the whole Expedition*

To which is added,

An Account of the preſent State and Strength of *Canada*, given by Two *Dutch Men*, who have been a long Time Priſoners there, and now made their Eſcape.

II. The Examination of a *French* Priſoner

III. His Excellency *Benjamin Fletcher's* Speech to the *Indians*.

IV. An Addreſs from the Corporation of *Albany*, to His Excellency, Returning Thanks for His Excellency's early Aſſiſtance for their Relief

Licenſed, Sept. 11th. 1693. Edward Cooke.

London, Printed for *Richard Baldwin*, in *Warwick-Lane*, 1693.

with great encouragement from several good Protestants, they asked "license" to purchase "a small piece of land lying without the north gate of the said city betwixt the King's garden and the burying-place, and to hold the same in mortmain, and thereon to build the said church, as also to take and receive all voluntary contributions, and to do all other lawful acts and things for the effecting the same." Signed by Thomas Clarke, Robert Leveting, Jeremiah Tothill, Caleb Heathcote, James Evetts, William Morris, Ebenezer Wilson, Milliam Merritt, James Emott, R. Ashfield, 19 March, $169\frac{5}{6}$, who are called "managers" of the Church of England. On the back of this paper Fletcher wrote the word "Granted."

Having received their "license," the managers began the work of building the church with vigor. All classes seem to have been interested in the work. Even the Jews contributed; for instance, "for building the steeple" Lewis Gomez gave £1 2s., Abraham Luilna, £1, Rodrigo Pachico, £1, Jacob Franks, £1, and Moses Michaels, 8s, 3d.

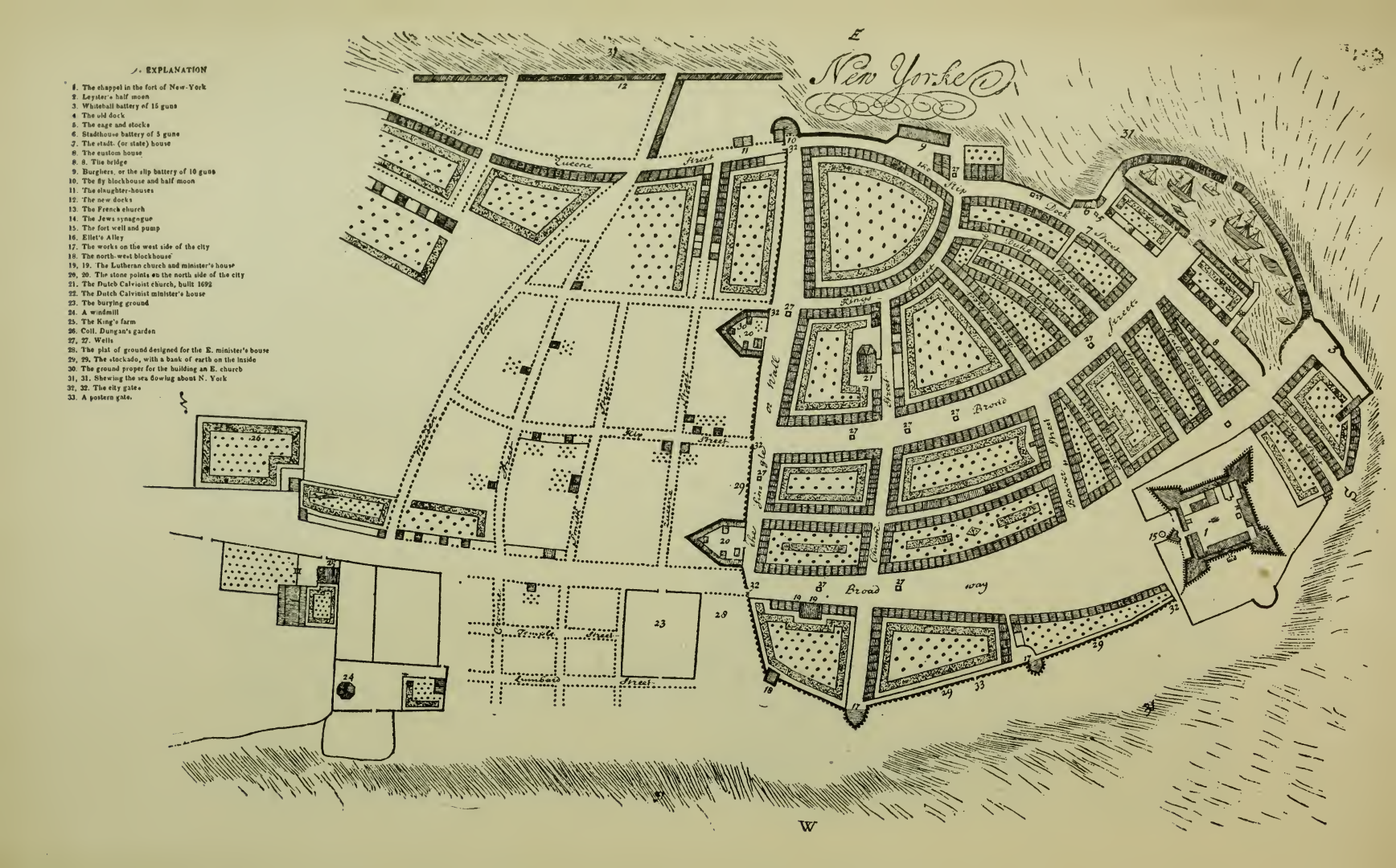
On May 6, 1697, the managers applied for a charter, citing the Act of 1693, for settling a minister "to officiate and have the care of souls" in the city, and stating that they had built and covered a church in which such minister might officiate, but that they still needed his Excellency's countenance and pious favor, and asking that he would "be pleased to grant the said church to the petitioners in trust for all those that now are or hereafter may be in the (Communion of the

It is believed that Bayard's Journal was the first book printed in New York by William Bradford, who was invited to this city from Philadelphia, in 1693 by Colonel Fletcher. The work does not exist in its American original. The London reprint, of which a fac-simile of the title-page appears above, is exceedingly rare.

Church of) England as now established by law, and that your Excellency would be pleased to order the same (to be one body) politick in deed, fact, and name by the name of the members in Communion of the Church of England established by law; and that as such they and their successors may have, hold, use, occupy (and possess all the) advantages, privileges, immunities, mortuarys, and appurtenances as are usually held (used, occupied, and possessed by) churches of the Church of England within their Majesties' realm. And also that your Excellency (will grant the said) church the aforesaid yearly maintenance by the aforesaid law established (and for the benefit and) for the charitable and pious use of the same what quantity of lands thereunto (near or adjoining that to your Excellency and) the Council shall be thought fit."

It appears by the Council minutes that the petition was read and the charter of incorporation ordered drawn, "the quit-rent to be one pepper-corn as desired." The land granted was the "King's Farm," so called, a lease only for seven years from August 19, 1697, the yearly rental being fifty bushels of wheat. When the lease expired in 1704, however, the farm was deeded the church in fee simple by Queen Anne, and became the nucleus of the Trinity Church property. This tract of land was originally the Dutch West India Company's farm, which, on the conquest by the English, was confiscated by them and called the King's Farm. It lay on the west side of Broadway between Fulton and a line between Chambers and Warren streets, and extended west to the North River. North of it lay the "Domine's Farm," or Bouwery, comprising about sixty-two acres, extending on Broadway from Warren to Duane streets, and then, leaving Broadway, extending northwesterly along the river; this farm was also subsequently granted to Trinity Parish by Queen Anne. The property has become famous in law.

One incident connected with the raising of funds for building Trinity Church portrays so vividly the life of the period that the story may be told in detail. In June, 1693, Governor Fletcher issued the following proclamation: "To all Officers and Ministers, Ecclesiastical and Civil, throughout the Provinces and Territories under my Government: Whereas, I am credibly informed that the son of Warner Wessels and Husband of Antie Christians, Inhabitants and Sailers of the City of New-York following their lawful Occupation, were taken into galley, where they are now in miserable slavery, under the Power of the Infidell, and that their Relations are not able to advance a sufficient Ransom for their Redemption, I have therefore, upon their application to me, by and with the advice of the Council, out of Christian Charity and in Commiseration of the grievous Bondage


E
New Yorke
W
EXPLANATION
1. The chappel in the fort of New-York
2. Leyster's half moon
3. Whiteball battery of 15 guns
4. The old dock
5. The cage and stocks
6. Stadthouse battery of 5 guns
7. The stadt. (or state) house
8. The custom house
8. 8. The bridge
9. Burghers, or the slip battery of 10 guns
10. The fly blockhouse and half moon
11. The slaughter-houses
12. The new docks
13. The French church
14. The Jews synagogue
15. The fort well and pump
16. Ellet's Alley
17. The works on the west side of the city
18. The north-west blockhouse
19, 19. The Lutheran church and minister's house
20, 20. The stone points on the north side of the city
21. The Dutch Calvinist church, built 1692
22. The Dutch Calvinist minister's house
23. The burying ground
24. A windmill
25. The King's farm
26. Coll. Dungan's garden
27, 27. Wells
28. The plat of ground designed for the E. minister's house
29, 29. The stockado, with a bank of earth on the inside
30. The ground proper for the building an E. church
31, 31. Shewing the sea flowing about N. York
32, 32. The city gates
33. A postern gate.
Broad way
Broad Street
Queen Street
Smith Street
Dock Street
Bridge Street
Pearl Street
Princes Street
Beaver Street
Whitehall
Custom House
Fort
Fly
Slip
Ferry
Bowling Green
Coll. Dungan's garden
Fresh Water
Kings
Queens
Duke's
Princes
Beaver
Pearl
Broad
Dock
Bridge
Smith
Queen
Fresh
Water
Ferry
Slip
Fort
Whitehall
Custom House
Bowling Green
Coll. Dungan's garden

and Slavery of said Persons, granted & do by these presents grant license or liberty to the said Warner Wessels and Antie Christians to ask and receive the free and charitable Benevolence of all Christian People under my Government, as well at publick Meetings as private dwelling Houses. And to avoid irregularity in collecting the same all Ministers or Preachers where there are Parish Churches or publick or private Meeting Houses are required to publish a true Copy of this Grant by reading thereof openly, and affixing thereof afterwards upon the Door or other publick place, and admonish the people to Christian Charity, and at the next Meeting shall receive the free Offering & Benevolence of the people for the use above said. And where no Churches nor Meeting Houses are, the Constables are hereby required in their respective Precincts, having a true Copy of this Grant, to go about and Collect the Charity of good Christian people for the use above said. Of all which Benevolence and Charity the said Ministers or Preachers and Constables are to keep a distinct Account, which they are to transmit with what Money they shall collect by virtue of this Grant without delay to Stephen Courtland, Esq., Peter Jacobs Marius, John Kirbyll, and John Kipp, who are hereby empowered to receive the same, and transmit the said Money, or so much as shall be required for the Redemption of the said Captives from Slavery, by the best and most convenient means and way. Provided always, that in case there shall be a surplusage above the value of their Redemption, or in case any of the said persons shall be dead, or otherwise redeemed, they, the said Stephen Courtland, Esq., Peter Jacobs Marius, John Kirbyll, and John Kipp, shall be accountable to me or to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief for the time being for the sum collected, or so much thereof as is left upon their or some of their Redemption, that it may be set apart for the like or other pious uses, and for no other use or intent whatsoever. Given under my hand and seal at Fort William Henry, the 8th day of June, 1693. Benjamin Fletcher."

By a postscript the same license was given to the friends of Bartholomew Rousston, John Crage, and William Green, "sailers taken in the same vessel and then prisoners with them." Nothing seems to have been done in the matter until the 2d of December, 1697, when the petition of the churchwardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church was read and considered in Council, and it was reported: "One of the captives having escaped is come home, the others are dead; only one named Barthol. Rousston is removed up into the country, who by the report of him who is escaped from Galley, cannot be redeemed. His Majesties Chappell is allmost finished, and Trinity Church being a Publick structure erecting for the service of God by the Voluntary contributions

of some people, which is a publick and pious use, and much is wanted to finish it. It is resolved and agreed *nemine contradicente* that the money raised by virtue of the Lycense bearing date the 8th day of June, 1693, for the redemption of the said captives in Galley be applyed to the use of Trinity Church to finish the building thereof, any former order of Councill Notwithstanding. Provided always, that if it be possible to purchase the redemption of the said Bartholomew, that the Corporation of said Trinity Church be accountable for the like sume, or so much thereof as will answer the redemption." The first trustees were ordered to deliver over the moneys to the then churchwardens, Mr. Thomas Wenham and Mr. Robert Lurting. The money, or a part of it, had been placed in the hands of May and Banker, bankers of Amsterdam, to be used in redeeming the captives. On March 20, 1700, these gentlemen wrote the Trinity corporation, saying that they had learned through their correspondents at Cadiz that Rushton (Rousston) and William Green were alive in Maquines, and had since used every effort for their redemption, and that lately they had received a letter saying that, by virtue of an agreement obtained by the English, the captives would receive their freedom in a few months, and that therefore they would have to use but little of the money in their hands and asking what disposition to make of it. On August 14, 1704, the committee to whom the petition of the churchwardens and vestrymen had been referred reported that they had examined the papers, etc., and were of the opinion that the prayer should be granted, from which

The illustration in the text is that of the second or enlarged building, completed in 1737, and unhappily destroyed by the fire that devastated the city shortly after its occupation by the English in 1776. There exists no picture of the first building, opened for service in 1698.

it may be inferred that it was conveyed into the treasury of the church.

The building was completed in 1698, and stood on the site of the present structure. It fronted towards the Hudson; in length it is said to have been one hundred and forty-eight feet, and in breadth seventy-two feet. Its steeple, the pride of the citizens, was one hundred and seventy-five feet high. Within, above the main entrance, was a sonorous Latin inscription, beginning *Per Augustam Hoc Trinitatis Templum Fundatum est anno regni illustrissimi*, the full inscription rendered into English being: "This Trinity Church was founded in the eighth year of the most illustrious sovereign Lord William the Third, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in the year of our Lord 1696, and was built by the voluntary contributions and gifts of some persons, and chiefly enriched and promoted by the Bounty of his Excellency Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, Captain-General and Governor-in-chief of this Province, in the time of whose government the inhabitants of this city of the Protestant religion of the Church of England, as now established by law, were incorporated by a charter under the Seal of the Province, and many other valuable gifts he gave to it out of his private fortune." One of these gifts was a Bible for the reading-desk, another was the "Governor's Pew." [1]

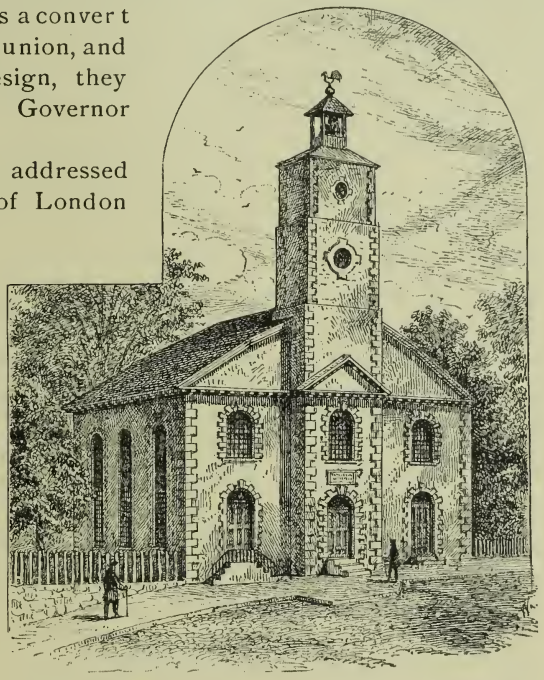
[1] "To all Christian People to whome these Presents shall come Coll Benjamin Fletcher late Capt.Gen sendeth greeting. Know yee that the said Coll Benjamin Fletcher by the consent, allowance, and approbation of the Rector, Church Wardens, and Vestrymen of Trinity Church att his own private Charge did Erect and build a Pew att the East End thereof for the use of his family & for his Heirs and Assigns for Ever, and his Majesty having thought fit to Recall the said Coll Benjamin Fletcher from this Governmt the said Coll Benjamin Fletcher doth therefore hereby Assign and make over the said Pew in Trinity Church with all the Rights and Priviledges thereunto belonging unto the Honble Coll Nicolas Bayard and Coll Caleb Heathcote of his Majts Council of the said Province and to such others that now are of his Majesties Council of the said Province as are not otherwise seated and Provided with Pews in the said Church & to such Persons of Quality & Gent. travelling to the said City as the said Coll Nicolas Bayard & Coll Caleb Heathcote or the Church Wardens of the said church for the time being shall see meet. Provided allways, and it is the true intent and meaning here of, that in Case the Heirs of the said Coll Benjamin Fletcher or any of his friends or Relations doe att any time hereafter Arrive in this citty of New-Yorke that they Claime and have a Right to sitt in the said Pew for the hearing Divine Service, anything above mentioned to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witness, &c. Dated Ap. 26, 1698,"

To this instrument Colonel Fletcher's seal —*i. e.*, coat-of-arms—was attached. He seems by these arms to have been originally from Cheshire, Eng. His wife's arms are impaled with his, and resemble those of the Lincolnshire branch of the Monckton family.

The visitor to St. James Church, Piccadilly London, of which Sir Christopher Wren was the architect, may see an ancient memorial stone on one of the pillars which support the south gallery, bearing the following interest-

When the church was ready for occupancy, the Reverend William Vesey was inducted rector. An appointment more distasteful to the Independents could not well have been made, for he was a conver t from their communion, and made so of design, they charged, by Governor Fletcher.

In a petition addressed to the Bishop of London by the friends of Governor Burnet in New York about 1714, it is charged that Mr. Vesey was a dissenting preacher on Long Island at the time, that he "had received his education in Harvard College under that rigid Independent Increase Mather, and had been sent by him to minister to the Puritans of New-Yorke," who might be proselyted by the Church. But "Colonel Fletcher saw through the design and 'took off' Mr. Vesey by an invitation to this living, a promise to advance his stipend considerably, and to recommend him to holy orders to your Lordship's predecessor, all which was performed ac-



DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH IN GARDEN STREET, 1693.

ing inscription: "Beneath this Pillar lies the body of Elizabeth, wife of Colonell Benjamin Fletcher, late Captain Generall and Governour in Chiefe of his Majesties Province of New-Yorke in America and Daughter to Doctor John Hodson, Lord Bishop of Elphin in Ireland, who after her Return from that long voyage in which she accompanied her Husband, Departed this life the Fifth day of November, Anno Domini 1698, leaving one Son and two Daughters behind her and a sweet and lasting Monument in the Memorie of all that knew her."

cordingly, and Mr. Vesey returned from England in priest's orders." To be taxed for the support of a church which they disliked and distrusted was distasteful enough, but to see inducted into this comfortable living one whom they looked upon as a renegade was still more unpalatable, and intensified the opposition which the Governor's zeal for the Church had already created.

Another interesting and important church edifice was built during Governor Fletcher's term—the Dutch Reformed Church of St. Nicholas on Garden street. As early as 1691 the congregation had become dissatisfied with the stone church in the fort, and fixed upon a site in what is now Exchange Place, then occupied by the peach-orchard of the widow of Domine Drisius, a former pastor of the church. The work was pushed forward with such vigor that in 1693 it was dedicated and occupied by the congregation. It was at that time the most imposing church edifice in the city. The material used was brick; in form it was an oblong square, with a large steeple in front containing a belfry, and a room below in which the consistory held its meetings. It had long, narrow windows with small panes, in which were burned the arms of the principal supporters of the church, and there were also escutcheons of the leading families upon the walls. The silver-toned bell of the old church in the fort was transferred to the belfry of the new, together with the pulpit and other furniture. In 1694 the people brought their silver coin and ornaments as offerings, and these were sent to Amsterdam and hammered into a massive baptismal bowl by the skilled artisans of that city.[1]

While Fletcher went into Pennsylvania to assume control of its government, he was called upon to preside at the trial of a young man named William Bradford, who had been for some time official printer of the colony. In 1692, having issued a pamphlet by one George Keith, which charged the Quaker authorities with a departure from their pacific principals by aiding in the capture of a privateer, his press and materials were seized by them, and he, with McComb the publisher, was thrown into prison. At the trial—which, as before stated, was presided over by Governor Fletcher—he had been acquitted, but the authorities made it so unpleasant for him in Philadelphia that he determined to return to England.

The Governor, however, had other designs. On March 23, 1693, the Council passed a resolution which declared, "That if a Printer will come and settle in the city of New-York for

[1] The bowl with its quaint inscription by Domine Selyns now forms part of the plate of the South (Dutch) Reformed Church, which worshiped for many years in the building on the corner of Fifth avenue and Twenty-first street, the legal and corporate successor of the Garden Street Church.

the printing of our Acts of Assembly and Publick Papers, he shall be allowed the sum of £40 current money of New-York per annum for his salary and have the benefit of his printing, besides what serves the publick."

Bradford accepted the offer, which was really meant for him. Immediately on arriving in the city he was appointed Royal Printer, and it appears entered on his duties April 10, 1693. He met with such encouragement in New-York that he made it his permanent abode, printing not only the laws, but books of merit, and some years later founded the "New-York Gazette," the first paper issued in the city. He died in New-York, May 23, 1752, aged eighty-nine years, "being quite worn out with old age and labor," as the inscription on his tombstone in Trinity churchyard states, and after "being Printer to this government for upwards of fifty years." John William Wallace, of Philadelphia, for many years President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in a commemorative address on the two hundredth anniversary of Bradford's birth, in 1863, paid him this just tribute: He "first planted the printing press in these regions. He first maintained its rights against arbitrary power. He established in this chief city of our land an influence the greatest which the world has as yet known." This influence he exerted in behalf of liberty—"a liberty inseparable from religion, from order, from good morals, from good manners, a liberty which education, self-respect, and dignity preceded, and in whose train moderation, amenity, decorum, and all the graces followed." Governor Fletcher's services in introducing Bradford are fully recognized by Mr. Wallace, who observes, "whatever suggestions may hover about the name of Fletcher, . . . his services at this time deserve, no doubt, our eulogy."

During this term, also, the question of a suitable market-place was considered by the Council. Originally the "plain before the fort," now the Bowling Green, was used for this purpose; but an inconvenient location, not in the heart of the town, having been designated later, the landing-place of the hucksters' boats carrying the produce of the surrounding country had gradually come to be used as a market, putting at a disadvantage those who came into the city with wagons. Hence a petition was adressed to the Council to restore the Bowling Green to its ancient use; while from the following extract from the minute-book of the Council it is learned what was done for the useful institutions of weights and measures and the currency:

May itt Please your Excellency:

In obedience to your Excellencies Command, wee have Examined the Memoriale Exhibited to your Excellency by the Attorney Gen^le^ Concerning the Settling of a Standard and Appointing an Officer for the Regulation of Weights & Scales for Curr^t^ Gold & Silver, & are humbly of the Opinion that itt is very Necessary to be done, & Pursuant Thereto

Presume to recommend unto your Excellency Cornelius Vanderburgh & Jacob Boelen, Silver Smiths, as Persons of good Reputation and very fitt to be appointed by your Excellency for the keeping of the Standard of Silver & Gold Weights and markeing all such as shall be used in this Citty & Province; and that there be allowed, for the Markeing of a Ballance ——— 18°, 17°, 16°, 15°, 14° weights, one Shiling—which is most humbly Submitted by etc., etc., etc.

Robert Lurting, A. D. Peyster,
John Barbreie, Gerard Domo.

An event soon occurred, however, which, skillfully used by his enemies,

By His Excellency

Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General and Governour in Chief of The Province of *New-York*, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon in *America*, and Vice-Admiral of the same, His Majesties Lieutenant and Commander in Chief of the Militia, and of all the Forces by Sea and Land within His Majesties Collony of *Connecticut*, and of all the Forts and places of Strength within the same.

A PROCLAMATION

WHereas I have received the Joyful News of the safe Arrival of Our Most Excellent Sovereigne Lord *WILLIAM* the Third, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c., in His Kingdom of *ENGLAND* in the Moneth of *October* last past, and of the Success of His Majesties Arms in *Flanders*. I have therefore thought fit, and by and with the Advice and Consent of His Majesties Council, for the Province of *NEW-YORK*, Do Appoint *Thursday*, the Sixteenth Instant, for the City and County of *New York*, and the Three and Twentieth Instant for the City and County of *ALBANY*, and the rest of the Countys of the said Province, To be Observed and Celebrated Publick Days of Thanks giving to Almighty God for the same And all Persons within this Province are Required on the said Respective Days, to forbear Servile Labour, and to Observe and Celebrate the same with fervent Demonstrations of Joy and Thankfulness

Dated at His Majesties Fort in New York *the Ninth Day of* January, *in the Seventh Year of His Majesties Reign.* Annoq, Domini 1690, 6

God Save the KING

BEN. FLETCHER.

F. Phillips, N. Bayard, G. Munvevill, } *Esqrs.* *T. Willet, J. Lawrence, C. Heathcote* } *Esqrs.*

FAC-SIMILE OF THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION.

sufficed to depose him. Piracy had long flourished in the colonies, particularly in New York and Rhode Island. It was the logical outcome of the system of privateering which the maritime nations of that period had adopted as a legitimate arm of war. King William's war drew out from the colonial ports scores of these swift-sailing combatants, armed with the king's commission to capture and destroy enemies' ships. Many of them, once at sea, were unable to resist the temptation to take and plunder indiscriminately, and thus became pirates of full import. This guild flourished at New York under Fletcher as never before, simply because the war gave it cloak and opportunity. Most of the principal merchants connived at it, and profited by it. The method of procedure was as follows: Putting to sea as a privateer, under the ægis of his commission, the pirate bore away for the Arabian Gulf, the Red Sea, and that part of the Indian Ocean bordering the southern shore of Asia. These seas were then traversed by the rich galleons of the British and Dutch East India companies, bearing precious fabrics, spices, gold, and gems from the opulent cities of the Orient. These argosies fell an easy prey to the corsairs, who, after capturing them, would send their booty to New York, and, in their character of privateers, enter it in the Admiralty Court there, as lawful spoil of war. This was one method. The more popular plan, however, was to carry the prize to a pirates' stronghold on Madagascar Island, where they usually found a merchant ship waiting, having been sent out by the merchants of New York with supplies such as the freebooters required, and which would then load

with the corsairs' booty, and return to New York as an honest merchantman, the pirates not appearing in the transaction.

Enormous fortunes were made and lost in the nefarious traffic. For instance, the ship Nassau, Captain Giles Shelly, left New York in July, 1696, for Madagascar, laden with Jamaica rum, Madeira wine and gunpowder, which the freebooters bought eagerly at several hundred per cent. advance. She took of them in exchange East India goods and gloves, and brought back also twenty-nine of the rovers as passengers, they paying four thousand pounds passage-money. The voyage is said to have netted the owners thirty thousand pounds. The pirates, who figured as reputable privateers, lent a picturesque and Oriental magnificence to the city unknown in later and more prosaic times. They were fond of swaggering about the streets armed cap-a-pie and clad in uniforms of blue, trimmed with cloth of gold and silver, their swords and daggers showing hilts set with gems, and the stocks of their pistols made of mother-of-pearl. Many of them were intelligent men, who had seen the world and could speak entertainingly of their adventures, and who were invited to the tables of the resident gentry, and even to that of Governor Fletcher himself. Of course, had they been what they professed to be, honest and lawful privateers, there would have been nothing improper in this. However, in 1695, an event occurred which brought the matter of New York piracy prominently before the king and his ministers. New York pirates took in the Indian Ocean one of the sacred ships of the Great Mogul, laden with presents for Mecca. The Mogul learned that the corsairs were Englishmen, and threatened reprisals, which so alarmed the East India Company that they applied to the king for a frigate to protect their interests in those seas. None could be spared, being then engaged against France. Robert Livingston at this juncture proposed to Bellomont to fit out a private expedition against the pirates, the reward for the risk incurred to be the spoil of the pirates taken.[1] He recommended a certain shipmaster of New York, William Kidd, who he said knew both the pirates and their haunts, as a proper person to command the expedition. Kidd, he affirmed, "was a bold and honest man, and he believed fitter than any other to be employed in such service. Kidd, on being approached, promptly announced his terms. He required one of the king's ships, "a good sailer of about thirty guns and one hundred and fifty men," with which he would undertake to

[1] An account of these negotiations may be found in a rare pamphlet entitled, "Captain Kidd. A Full Account of the Proceedings thereto, In two letters written by a person of quality to a kinsman of the Earl of Bellomont in Ireland. Second Edition. London, 1701."

capture or disperse the pirates, as he knew many of them, "and had some knowledge of the places where they usually made their rendezvous."

The matter was debated by the king in consultation with five of the highest lords of the realm — Somers, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Bellomont, the Earl of Romney, and Lord Oxford— and it was agreed to furnish Kidd with ship and crew in return for a certain share of the booty he should take. The agreement was made by Bellomont acting for his colleagues, and was dated at London, February 20, 1695–6. By its terms the Earl agreed to provide a good and sufficient ship, to pay four-fifths of her cost, victualing, and equipment, to procure a commission from the king empowering Kidd to fight against the king's enemies and take prizes from them as a private man-of-war, and to conquer and subdue pirates, and to capture them and their goods. Kidd, on his part, was to enlist one hundred seamen, proceed at once against the pirates, use his utmost endeavor to conquer and subdue them and take from them their goods, and also to take what prizes he could from the king's enemies, and proceed with them immediately to Boston in New England. In case he captured no pirates or prizes, he and Livingston were to refund the money advanced, amounting to £6000. The prize-money was to be divided—one-fourth to the ship's crew, the other three-fourths into five equal parts, four of which were to go to the earl, and the other fifth to be divided between Kidd and Livingston, who were also to pay one-fifth of the entire cost of the expedition. If, however, Kidd captured and turned over to Bellomont prizes to the value of one hundred thousand pounds, the ship should remain his as a reward for his services. Both Kidd and Livingston were held in bonds for the former's good behavior, Kidd's being placed at twenty thousand pounds, and Livingston's at ten thousand. It only remains to add that King William himself was a partner in this strange enterprise, and a prospective sharer in its spoils. A large ship, the Adventure Galley, was purchased, and in her Kidd sailed (February, 1696) ostensibly for the Red Sea in quest of pirates.

Meantime those opposed to Governor Fletcher were using the occasion to effect his recall. They charged that he consorted with pirates, that he gave them commissions knowing them to be such, that he sold them protections at exorbitant sums—the price of one being an eight-hundred-pound ship — and pocketed the money. The feeling entertained against Fletcher at this time by the opposition is shown in a letter written by Peter De la Noy, Mayor of New York under Leisler, who after a long list of grievances exclaimed: "We are not solicitous whether he is gently recalled, or falls

into disgrace, so we are rid of him!" The feeling was so intense that the king decided to displace Fletcher and appoint Bellomont; but in the letter to Fletcher announcing his recall, it was stated that this was not done because his Majesty was dissatisfied with him, but that the king would give him other employment. Bellomont's commission was dated June 18, 1697, but owing to delays in England and by storms on the voyage, he did not reach his government until 1698.

As soon as he heard of the charges, Fletcher wrote a letter to the Lords of Trade absolutely denying them, and making such explanations as to put them in a different light. He wrote that he was anxiously awaiting Bellomont's arrival, the Leislerians having become very bold and restive since the triumph of Leisler and the appointment of Bellomont, as they had imbibed the idea that there would be no more taxes after the Earl's arrival, and that all that he (Fletcher) had laid upon them would be refunded. Fletcher closed his letter containing the above statement with this paragraph: "My chiefest endeavor, as it always has been, is to assert my duty to his Majesty in studying the safety of the Province, and I bless God my efforts have not been ineffectual. It has improved more in building and trade these last five years than in many years before, which I shall be able to demonstrate to your Lordships when it shall please God to bring me to my native country of England, and to justify myself as to my loyalty and honesty."

Bellomont came filled with the idea that his predecessor was a man of iniquity and corruption, which belief was encouraged by the Independents and Leislerians, whose cause he espoused. These asserted that Fletcher was not only in league with pirates, but had embezzled great sums of their public moneys, and urged that he should not be allowed to depart the province until his accounts could be investigated by competent authority — meaning the Assembly. To appease the people Bellomont appointed a commission for this purpose, but as an examination would prevent Colonel Fletcher from sailing in the frigate Richmond as he had designed, he, out of respect "to his Majesty's Commission, which he so lately bore," took bonds of him in £10,000 to answer to the king for all public money irregularly disposed of by him, and allowed him to depart. On arriving in England, Colonel Fletcher demanded an examination, which was accorded by the Lords of Trade. The Board convened at Whitehall, January 20, $169\frac{8}{9}$, the majority of its members, the impartial reader will note, being friends of Lord Bellomont.

The Attorney-General and Robert Weaver, agent of New York, stood for the king; Sir Thomas Powis for ex-Governor Fletcher. There were eighteen "articles" or counts, in the

complaint, which were considered under separate heads. The principal charges were: That Fletcher had accepted from one Edward Coats the pirate ship Jacob in return for his protection, which ship he had sold for £800; that he had granted like protections to other notorious pirates for stated sums, generally about one hundred pounds per man; that he had granted commissions to Thomas Tew, John Hoare, and others as privateers for money, when it was notorious that they were pirates; that his intimacy with Tew, a well-known pirate, was scandalous; that the security for the good conduct of the privateers thus commissioned taken by Colonel Fletcher was insufficient, and did not appear in the public records; that he had granted vast tracts of lands without accurate survey and for inconsiderable quit-rents; that he had exacted of the soldiers one half penny per day out of each man's subsistence, and had sent home full muster-rolls on which pay was drawn, when they were not half full.

Here lies the Body of M^r. WILLIAM
Printer who departed this Life May
1752 aged 92 Years. He was Born in
Leicestershire in Old England in 1660.
came over to America in 1682 before
the City of Philadelphia was laid out. He
was Printer to this Government for upwards
of 50 Years
with Old age
Mortal Coate
Glorified Immortality
Reader reflect how soon you'll quit this Stage
You shall find true Few are in such an Age
Live in Toil & Pain: Lo there's a Place of Rest.
Prepare to meet your GOD; then you are blest.
Also lies the Body of Elizabeth Wife to
the said William Bradford who departed
this Life July 8th 1731, aged 68 Years

BRADFORD'S TOMBSTONE.[1]

[1] The original tombstone placed over the grave of Bradford, represented in the above illustration, was unfortunately broken, and was removed, at the time of the commemoration in this city in 1863, from Trinity Churchyard to the hall of the New York Historical Society. It was replaced by another similar stone which now marks his grave.

Certain depositions, reports, etc.,

of persons in New York were read in support of these charges. Sir Thomas Powis at once objected to the admission of such papers unless the defense were permitted to send to New York for counter-evidence. "One of the deponents," he said, "admitted that he had been forced to swear by Bellomont; another that he had been tricked into it, and he inveighed against the Earle of Bellomonts undue method in forcing witnesses to swear." The Board, however, admitted the papers in evidence, and denied the defense opportunity to secure rebuttal evidence. Colonel Nicholas Bayard and Mr. Chidley Brooks, of Fletcher's Council, testified that Governor Fletcher had had the consent of the Council in all cases, and that without coercion. The ex-Governor's defense, as given in the court reports, was very lame and impotent, insomuch as to justify the suspicion that his side was not fully reported. In reality, he made a vigorous defense, as we discovered in two letters by him—one, without date, written from New York on first hearing of the charges; the second dated London, December 24, 1698, and which was laid before the Board. In the last he observed that his designation to New York was utterly unknown to him, and without his seeking; complained that he did not know his accusers, or in what manner he was to be attacked, as only the heads of articles were exhibited; and prayed that, for "the manifestation of the truth," he might have counter-witnesses summoned and examined. As to the ship Jacob, he said she had been commissioned by Leisler, and, after roving for some time, came into the Sound off Montauk, and, on hearing of the fate of Leisler, most of her men dispersed. Those who were of New York sent to know if they might come in safety to the city; whereupon he had called his Council, and it was unanimously their opinion that the men should be permitted to come in on giving security not to depart the province for a year and a day. The men came, and fulfilled these conditions. The reason that their bonds could not be found now among the public papers was that, the year and a day having expired, they had reclaimed them. He had accepted the Jacob as a present, and he frankly told their Lordships why he did so. "Those who victualled the forces had a great arrears due them, and were unwilling to trust any further, and a merchant of the place bidding £800 (of that money) for the ship, he had it accordingly. I touched no part of the money, but directed it to discharge and supply the victuallers, as was honestly done. Hereupon I writ to the Agent of the Province in England that when he could recover the value of this money (which might be of about £600 Sterling) he should remit it for me into Ireland, where my small patrimony of an adventure lay in ashes by the calamity of the late re-

bellion. And here, my Lords, let me presume to say that I had my share in the Irish Warr, and do appeal to all the Commanders in that army as to my behaviour in it, and whether in that, or near thirty years' service before, ever any complaint was brought before against me." He declared that he was never directly or indirectly concerned in unlawful or even lawful trade, and that he never gave protections or commissions for rewards. As to prosecuting pirates, he never had any complaints made to him against them on which such a prosecution could be conducted. Tew, he said, was a man of great sense and remembrance of what he had seen, so that it was a divertisement to hear him talk. He also wished to make him a sober man, and reclaim him from a vile habit of swearing, to which end he had given him a book, and Tew had given him a trifling present in return. As to the land grants, he reminded their lordships of the tenor of his instructions, and that they might find in their books how all the valuable lands of the province had been granted before he came, and that some governors had had large tracts of land.

His replies to other articles were equally convincing and forcible. In the first letter he has an interesting reference to Captain Kidd, who, instead of proceeding a pirate-hunting, as his instructions ordered, had borne away for New York. "One Captain Kidd lately arrived here, and produced a Commission under the Great Seal of England for suppressing of Piracy. When he was here many flockt to him from all parts, men of desperate fortunes and necessitous, in expectation of getting vast treasure. He sailed from hence with 150 men, as I am informed. . . It is generally believed here they will have money *per fas aut nefas;* that if he miss of the design intended for which he has Commission, 'twill not be in Kidd's power to govern such a hord of men under no pay," which surmise proved to be true. The outcome of the examination was unfavorable to Fletcher. The Lords of Trade reported to the king that his proceedings concerning the pirates "were contrary to his duty and an encouragement to Piracy;" and, on the land grants, that "his having made such large grants of land to single persons without due caution for improvement, was not for your Majesty's service, nor did it tend to the settlement of those parts;" and recommended that the charges be referred to the Attorney-General for further action.

Fletcher attributed the decision to the influence of Bellomont and Livingston. "I cannot be ignorant," he said, in the letter above quoted, "that there are two Scotchmen got into credit who are my mortal enemies, men that are able not only to trouble a Province, but to turn it upside down; and if these men can by successive complaints keep me under prosecution they have their ends."

And again: "When I consider the cloud I am under, and the bitterness with which I am pursued even to gall, and that all my actions are ransacked, 'tis truly a wonder that in so many years administration I should not have fallen into more absurdities and errors." And on August 5, 1698, at London, he wrote Mr. Blathwayt about being prosecuted by the Earl of Bellomont, and observing "the great credit his Lordship has with persons in the chiefe Stations and trusts here. . . I am confounded at the design and meaning of it; especially, looking back at the five and thirty yeares that I have borne Commission under the Crown of England, without the least reproach or impreachment of my reputation, and after nine years service in the war of Ireland and America, to become a castaway in the rear of my days is no small mortification to me."

The king, however, seems to have interposed in favor of a faithful servant; at least we discover no evidence of further proceedings against him. From certain expressions in a letter of Bellomont's it appears that the Bishop of London espoused his cause. Of Benjamin Fletcher's subsequent career nothing is known, nor is there any record of either the time or place of his death.

THE EXTRADITION AND RENDITION OF FUGITIVE CRIMINALS IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

PART III.

I. RECLAMATION FROM THE INDIANS.

The facility of escapes to the Indian tribes early rendered arrangements for the surrender of fugitives by the Indians imperative.

The Dutch, and indeed later some of the English colonies apparently regarded it the absolute duty of the Indians to surrender fugitive offenders upon demand.

Among the New York Colonial documents we find a quaint proposition printed in the extracts from the papers of Director Kieft of New Netherlands, under date of 1649.[1] It is interesting as showing the sentiments of our Dutch ancestors toward the friendly savages:

"Proposals of the Honorable Director and Council of the Commonalty.

"First is it not right and proper to punish the scandalous murder lately perpetrated by a savage on Claes Swits; and in case the Indians do not surrender the murderer to our demands, is it not right to destroy the whole village to which he belongs?

"Secondly in what name and at what time shall it be done?

"Thirdly by whom shall it be executed."?

The commonalty assembled by the Director's order to answer the three proposals, frankly recorded their views in the following language:

"To the first, we deem it in every respect expedient that the murderer should be punished as the Director proposes, but subject to God and opportunity, and meanwhile everything necessary ought to be provided and the Director ought, especially to get 200 coats of mail (*malj rocken*) from the North as well for the soldiers as for the freemen who will pay for their own share of them.

"On the 2nd And that a friendly traffic be carried on in the meantime . . . and until an opportunity and God's will be made manifest; . . .

"To the 3d The people say, as they know no other superior than The Director . . . the Director shall personally lead the expedition . . .

"Finally, for the purpose of lulling the suspicions of the Indians without using any threats, we consider it pru-

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. I., 414.

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dent that the Director send a sloop again 1, 2 a 3 times, peaceably to to demand the murderer, in order then to put him to death."[1]

A threat to discipline the Indian chief in the event of non-compliance accompanied the demand in a case which occurred in 1673 and is thus stated:

"The Commissioners of Connecticut made a relation of a murder lately committed by an Indian called Mowim, upon a Pequot Indian girl in the bounds of Stonington, within their jurisdiction, which murderer was apprehended and imprisoned in order to his trial; but breaking prison he fled to Ninicraft, who refuseth to deliver him up to justice amongst the English, pretending his own right to be the proper judge himself. Upon consideration thereof, and being requested to give our advice the commissioners think it most just and necessary that the authority of Connecticut do forthwith make further demand of the said murderer and bring him to his trial; and in case of neglect or refusal, to prosecute their demand to effect; and that Ninicraft (sic) be called to account and compelled to make reparation for the injury and effront hereby done to the English and their Government."[2]

In August 1682 the commissioners appointed by Lord Baltimore, to treat with the five Iroquois Nations, proposed among other things, the following article which was agreed to:[1]

"In case any Indian or Indians living amongst you shall for the future murder any Christian or Christians in Maryland or Virginia, wee do expect that you will cause him or them to be delivered up to the L^{d} Proprietary to be dealt withall according to the Christian law, and in case any Indian or Indians shall kill any Horses, Cattle or Hoggs, or robb or steal anything from us that you cause satisfaction to bee made to us for the full value thereof."

By the second article of the "Preliminary Articles of Peace, Friendship and Alliance, between the English and the Seneca Indians, concluded April 3, 1764, the Senecas agreed "that they forthwith collect all the English prisoners, deserters, Frenchmen, and Negroes amongst them, and deliver them up to Sir Wm. Johnson (together with the two Indians of Kanastio, who murdered the Traders in Nov^{r} 1762) previous to the Treaty of Peace, which will take place within three months if these articles are agreed to; and that they engage never to harbour or conceal any Deserters, Frenchmen or Negroes, from this time, but should any such take refuge amongst them, they are to be brought to the Command-

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. I., 415.

[2] Minutes of Meeting of Council of United Colonies, August 27, 1673; Col. Rec. of Conn., 1678, 488–489; Moore on Extradition, § 521. (Note.)

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. 111, 321.

ing Officer of the next garrison, and delivered up, promising likewise never to obstruct any search made after such persons, or to hinder their being apprehended in any part of their country."

Article 7 contained the following stipulation: "That should any Indian commit Murder, or rob any of His Majtys subjects, he shall be immediately delivered up to be tried, and punished according to the equitable Laws of England, and should any white man be guilty of the like crime towards the Indians, he shall be immediately tried and punished if guilty."[1]

By the Articles of Peace between Sir William Johnson and the Huron Indians concluded at Niagara July 18th, 1764, it was agreed:

"That any English who may be Prisoners or Deserters, and any Negroes, Panis or other Slaves amongst the Hurons, who are British property shall be delivered up within one month to the Commandment of the Detroit and that the Hurons use all possible endeavors to get those who are in the hands of the neighboring nations; engaging never to entertain any deserters, fugitives or slaves; but should any such fly to them for protection they are to deliver them up to the next commanding officer."[2]

The treaty with the Delawares of May 8th, 1765, contained similar provisions.[3]

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. VII, 621, 622.
[2] N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. VII, p. 651,
[3] Ibid, 738.

II. A CONTRAST BETWEEN THE COLONIAL PRACTICE, AND THE PRESENT METHOD OF INTER-STATE RENDITION.

The deductions to be fairly drawn from these illustrations are. First, that the English Colonies recognized and performed the duty as component parts of the Kingdom of Great Britain of surrendering fugitive offenders for trial in the locality having jurisdiction of the offense; second, that as between the English and Dutch, and English and French, fugitives were reciprocally delivered up on demand without any requirement of proof of guilt; and third, that the colonists of all nationalities regarded it as the absolute duty of the Indians to surrender criminals seeking shelter among them, for trial and punishment under the laws of the colony in which the crime was committed.

At the present time, when a criminal, having violated the laws of one of the States of the Union is found within the territorial limits of another State, the authorities of the locality where the offence is committed are compelled in order to procure his return for trial and punishment, to institute a proceeding as circumlocutive and technically involved as any undertaking known to modern jurisprudence.

If the accused is likely to remain in his place of refuge for sufficient time to prepare the formal documents required under the constitution, the proceeding preliminary to the "Governor's requisition" can be dispensed

with. This rarely happens, however, in these days of alert and elusive law-breakers, and delay is nearly always fatal. Therefore, the first step in the case is the fugitive's arrest, usually based, by necessity, upon telegraphic information, communicated to the police of the place sought as the fugitive's shelter.

The accused is apprehended by an officer of the law who takes him before some magistrate, and charges him with being a fugitive from justice, referring to the telegraphic information as the authority for the allegation; and if the magistrate deems the case to be one requiring the exercise of comity toward the sister State, he commits the offender to jail, to await the arrival of a requisition from the Governor of that State. Usually criminals with means enough to carry them out of the jurisdiction, have enough left to secure the services of an attorney versed in the resources of inter-state rendition law; and in the great majority of cases the fugitive thus committed is brought into court without delay upon a writ of *habeas corpus*, and his astute attorney protests against his imprisonment upon the flimsy, illegal contents of a telegram, and the law is with him.

No matter if California is 3,000 miles away from New York, if the police of San Francisco telegraph to the police of New York that a murderer is in the latter city, on his way to England, giving an accurate description of him, sufficient to enable his identification and arrest, if the arrest is made upon the information thus communicated, the Supreme Court would be justified, and, indeed, required under the rules of law, to declare the arrest illegal and unwarranted.

It makes no difference that to permit the criminal's escape would defeat the ends of justice. In theory of law no man can safely be deprived of his liberty for one moment except upon legal proof. So if a murderer is to be arrested in New York, as a fugitive from California, there must first be at hand legal evidence to prove that he is the man charged with the crime in California, and has fled from the justice of that State.

To return, however, the authorities may and in fact often do, produce evidence sufficient to warrant the fugitive's preliminary commitment, and to withstand the scrutiny of the court on *habeas corpus*.

This being done by the police, the public prosecutor's labors are next called into play to prepare the necessary papers, which in every case should consist of a certified copy of an indictment or affidavit charging the commission of the crime by the fugitive, a certified copy of a warrant issued thereon, and of the return to the warrant, an affidavit alleging the flight of the accused and his whereabouts, and a formal application to the Governor requesting him to issue a requisition upon the Governor of

the State to which the fugitive has fled.

These papers are forwarded in duplicate to the Governor of the State having jurisdiction of the offence, one set remaining on file in his office, and the other accompanying the requisition.

The requisition is then issued, together with a warrant authorizing some person (usually proposed in the application) to act as agent in bringing the fugitive back to the demanding State.

Then the requisition is transmitted to the Governor of the surrendering State, who, if he honors it, issues a warrant of rendition, authorizing the agent to receive the fugitive and take him back to the demanding State.

Thus with all the facilities of modern enterprise and advancement, before the delivery of a fugitive criminal can be finally accomplished, three branches of the government of two States—the police, the prosecuting power and the executive—must each perform a separate duty, and considerable time must ensue, pending the completion of the undertaking.

This is the method of recovering fugitive criminals as between the States of the Union, made necessary by modern laws and under a narrow construction of the object and effect of the constitutional provision. And yet one of the main objects of modern legislation, we are told has been to simplify legal proceedings, and to dispense with useless forms and impediments!

Two hundred and fifty years ago when a criminal fled from one of the English colonies to another he was pursued and taken back to the place where his crime was triable, upon the presentation of a warrant for his arrest endorsed by a magistrate of the place of refuge.

The colonies were as independent of each other's jurisdiction, so far as the administration of criminal laws was concerned, as are the various States of the Union at the present day; yet they did not regard the protection of the rights of fugitives from each other's justice of so great importance as to require the intervention of the chief executive before the fugitive could be delivered.

A comparison of the present complex system with the simple, though irregular, method in vogue in the colonies is not likely to commend the former.

While we have a uniform system, and a settled procedure, which in theory, insures the object contemplated by the federal constitution, the labor, expense, and delay incidental to a modern inter-state rendition proceeding, is wholly inappropriate and needless, and often defeats the accomplishment of the undertaking. The necessity of calling upon the executive authority of two States in every case, in order to secure the fugitive's surrender, deters prosecu-

ting officers from instituting rendition proceedings, except in cases of more than ordinary gravity, and immunity is thus virtually extended to petty offenders who succeed in withdrawing from the jurisdiction of the State where the offence was committed.

The strict construction of the Constitution, by the decisions of Federal and State Courts, under which to have "fled from justice" is declared to cover only the case of a person actually committing a crime in one State and withdrawing therefrom, so that there has been no opportunity to prosecute him, has taken away, from all power of reclamation and punishment, that great class of offenders, who, by criminal acts, commenced in one State and completed in another, render themselves amenable to the justice of the latter State though they themselves were never there.

These are but a few of the more prominent objections to the present system, but if no other existed they would afford sufficient reason for a change.

And if no better mode were suggested, the writer is of opinion that a return to the colonial method, with proper Federal and uniform State laws to secure its operation, would greatly improve the means and manner of recovering fugitive criminals as between the States.

Can any one say it is not absurd that in order to bring to trial and punishment in the city of New York, a person accused of petty larceny there, and apprehended in Jersey City, less than two miles distant, it is necessary to carefully prepare the numerous documents above described, to make an application, based upon those papers, to the Governor of the State of New York, at Albany, nearly one hundred and fifty miles away from the place of the offense, to secure from him a requisition upon the Governor of the State of New Jersey, and to present the requisition at Trenton, about fifty miles away from the place of the accused's refuge, and to obtain from the Governor of New Jersey, his warrant authorizing the surrender !

Moreover, if the same person were overtaken at Buffalo, nearly five hundred miles away, no such proceeding would have to precede his delivery to an officer of the city of New York, because, while New York and Jersey City are in different States, Buffalo and New York city are both within the territorial limits of the same State.

The writer does not believe that this condition of affairs was ever intended by the able and far-seeing framers of the federal constitution, nor that that instrument and the Act of Congress now in force are responsible for it; on the contrary it would seem that the difficulty has arisen from the notion, that the federal constitution and the Act of Congress govern inter-state rendition proceedings, to the exclusion of every other method.

If this view is correct, the laws now in force, besides requiring a cumbersome proceeding in place of the simple system in vogue in the colonies, restrict the power of States to reclaim fugitives and qualify the duty of such surrenders, always recognized in the colonies. Yet it is not a very unusual thing for criminals to "waive requisition papers" and be taken from one State to another without even the ancient form of endorsing the warrant. Surely the Constitution did not intend to prevent this being done?[1]

The writer believes the true construction of the Constitution is that expressed by Chief Justice Brearly of New Jersey in 1789, of the object and force of the Articles of Confederation as follows:

"We have considered that part of the Articles of Confederation which respects the matter as merely designed *to prevent one State from giving protection to offenders from another; and that the powers therein given the executive are not necessary to be exercised in ordinary cases.*"[1]

These articles required the delivery up and removal to the State having jurisdiction of the offense of "persons guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor," in any State, who had fled from justice and might be found in any State of the United States, upon demand of the Governor or executive power of the State from which he fled.

"This provision," says Mr. Moore,[2] "appears to have introduced a new method of recovering fugitives from justice, and for this reason, and because it was not as comprehensive as the previous practice, it does not seem to have been regarded as exclusive."

The constitutional provision, as far as providing a means of reclaiming all fugitive criminals without regard to the character of the offense of which they were charged, was indeed "broad and unconditional,"[3] but has always been subject to criticism upon the grounds herein above referred to. It does not cover, and was not intended to cover, the case of a person who commits a crime in one State, though absent from the State at the the time, and the cumbersome and costly procedure required under it,

[1] Note: Some of the States have indeed enacted statutes declaring it unlawful to take a fugitive criminal from their jurisdiction for trial elsewhere even though he consents to it, except by virtue of a warrant of rendition, and in those States a person now arrested is required to remain in custody pending the rendition proceedings, no matter if by waiving all objections to his surrender he could be taken at once to a place where he could procure bail, but one would hardly contend that the act thus proscribed was *malum in se;* and indeed it is hard to understand what real logical reason governed the enactment of such laws.

[1] 13 Am. Law Rev. p. 190, 119; Moore on Extr. § 519.

[2] Moore on Extradition § 519.

[3] Ibid.

prevents its use except in extraordinary cases.

As has been well said[1] it makes obligatory upon every member of the confederacy the performance of an act which previously was of doubtful obligation.

This was the object and effect of the constitutional provision. It provided a means of enforcing, as between the States, the theretofore recognized duty to mutually surrender fugitives. It was intended to cover a case where the authorities of one State refused to perform that duty upon a proper request, so that the difficulties, which from time to time occurred in the colonies, by reason of the shelter afforded to fugitives could not occur in the States.

That the same duty of surrendering fugitives at the present day is incumbent upon the the several States, entirely independent of the Constitution, admits of no dispute, and in the opinion of the writer, fugitive criminals might now be lawfully recovered as between the States by virtue of this inherent right of reclamation and duty of surrender, without the aid of the constitutional provision; but, however this may be, there can be no question but that each of the States could enact measures authorizing such a practice, and thereby establish a uniform and simplified system, unhampered by the present laborious, tedious, and expensive forms and methods.

JOHN DOUGLAS LINDSAY.

[1] Matter of Fetter 3 Zabr. 311: See also Dow's case, 18 Pa. St., 37; Matter of Voorhies, 32 N. J. L. (3 Vroom) 145.

THE SIOUX MASSACRE OF 1862.

History records no more bloody or more disastrous Indian outbreak, than that of the Sioux massacre of 1862. However barbarous this tribe was regarded before that time, in this wholesale butchery it surpassed its entire record of revolting cruelty and unrestrained savagery. The Sioux nation had always been regarded by the government and the Indian agents as one of the most intractable and ferocious of all the Indian tribes. It was at this time that the government was making special efforts to civilize these Indians by giving them lands in severalty and encouraging them to cultivate the soil and learn the arts of peace.

The Medawakontons, Wapatons, Sissetons and Wapakutas were the Indian tribes inhabiting the territory of Minnesota at the date of the massacre of 1862, and they were all embraced under the general term of "Annuity Sioux." In 1862 these tribes numbered about six thousand. All these Indians had from time to time—from the year 1816 to the date of the massacre—received presents from the government, by virtue of various treaties of amity and friendship between us and their accredited chiefs and heads of tribes. From the treaty of St. Louis in 1816 to the treaty ratified by the United States Senate in 1859, these tribes had remained friendly to the whites, and had by treaty stipulations parted with all the lands to which they claimed title in Iowa, all on the east side of the Mississippi river, and all on the Minnesota river, except certain reservations. These Indian treaties inaugurated and contributed greatly to strengthen a custom of granting to the pretended owners of lands occupied for the purpose of hunting the wild game thereon, and living upon the natural products thereof, a consideration for the cession of their lands to the government of the United States. This custom culminated in a vast annuity fund, in the aggregate over three million dollars, owing to these tribes in Minnesota. These Indians became known as "Annuity Indians." This annuity system is dwelt on at length because the distribution of this fund was one of the causes that led to the bloody outbreak in 1862.

Furthermore it is to be noted that the treaty of 1858 made at Washing-

ton elaborated a scheme for the civilization for these "Annuity Indians." A civilization fund was provided, to be taken from their annuities, and expended in improvements on the lands of such of them as should abandon their tribal relations, and adopt the habits and modes of life of the white race. To all such, lands were to be assigned in severalty, eighty acres to each head of a family. On these farms the necessary farm buildings were to be erected, and farming implements and cattle were to be furnished them. Indian farmers now increased rapidly until the time of the outbreak, at which time there were about one hundred and sixty who had taken advantage of the munificent provisions of the treaty. The Indians who took advantage of this treaty were known as "farmer Indians," while the others were known as "blanket Indians." It is worth while to note that Little Crow, the projector, organizer and leader of this outbreak was a "farmer Indian," that he had adopted the white man's dress, that he lived in a snug brick house, and that he professed to have come under the peaceful sway of civilization.

When we come to consider the proximate causes of this disastrous outbreak, we find a number of considerations claiming our attention. As a rule the Indians disliked the idea of taking anything belonging to the general fund for the purpose of carrying out the scheme of civilization. Those Indians who retained "the blanket" denounced the measure as a fraud upon their rights. The chase was to them a God-given right; this scheme forfeited that ancient privilege. It pointed to a time when the rude children of the plains would no longer be permitted to roam with unrestricted freedom over an almost boundless territory. Again by certain treaties between the government of the United States and the Indian tribes composing the Sioux nation, certain distinct and definite sums of money were to be paid these Indians in open council. Investigation shows that they were not consulted at all, but that arbitrary divisions and distributions were made of the entire fund, and their right denied to direct the manner in which they should be appropriated. Another cause of irritation among these Indians arose out of the Inkpaduta massacre at Spirit Lake in 1857. Inkpaduta was an outlaw of the Wapakuta band of Sioux Indians. The leader of this outbreak was allowed to escape without being brought to justice. The Indians construed this either as an evidence of weakness on the part of the government, or that the whites were afraid to pursue the matter further, lest it might terminate in still more disastrous results to the infant settlement bordering on the Indian Country. Little Crow and his adherents found capital in this to foment future difficulties in which the two races should become involved.

Let us glance for a moment at the more remote causes that led to this fearful collision. The white race some two hundred years ago, had entered upon the material conquest of the continent, armed with all the appliances for its complete subjugation. Here was met a race of savages, possessing many of the traits peculiar to a common humanity, and yet exhibiting almost all the vices of the most barbarous races. The white man was at once acknowledged, the Indian being judge, to be superior to the savage race with which he had came in contact. We here discover the first cause with a universal principle, in which the conflict of the two races had its origin. It was a conflict of knowledge with ignorance, of right with wrong. As a necessary result the inferior race must either recede before the superior or sink into a common mass. Again we come to the great law of right. The white race stood upon the undeveloped continent ready and willing to subdue it. On the one hand stood the white race armed with his law; on the other the savage resisting the execution of that law. The result could not be evaded by any human device. Right as founded and conditioned by the law of the survival of the fittest; wrought out by the ever operative laws of progress will continue to assert its dominion, with varying success, contingent on the use of means employed, until all opposition is hushed in the perfect reign of the superior aggressive principle.

The first blow in this unparalleled massacre fell upon Acton, thirty-five miles northeast of the Lower Sioux Agency, in the county of Meeker, on Sunday the 17th day of August, 1862. Prior to this time, in June, 1862, a secret organization, known as the "Soldier's Lodge," was founded by the young men and soldiers of the Lower Sioux. The real object of this "Lodge" was to adopt measures to wipe out all the white people in the Minnesota Valley. It is certain that the manner of the execution of the fearful tragedy was a deep laid conspiracy, long cherished by Little Crow, taking form under the guise of the "Soldier's Lodge," and matured in secret Indian Councils. In all these secret movements Little Crow was the moving spirit. The murders at Acton were probably not known to Little Crow when he and his conspirators met in council on that day at Rice Creek, where it was decided that the fearful tragedy should commence on the next morning, the 18th day of August, 1862. The final decision of these fiends must have been made as early as sundown, for by early dawn almost the entire force of warriors of the Lower tribes, were ready for the work of slaughter. They were already armed and painted, and dispersed through the scattered settlements, over a region at least forty miles in extent, and were rapidly gathering in

the vicinity of the Lower Agency, until some two hundred and fifty were collected at that point, and surrounded the houses and stores of the traders. The action was concerted, and the time was fixed. The blow was unexpected and unparalleled. Early on the morning of the 18th, the settlers on the north side of the Minnesota river, adjoining the reservation, were surprised to see a large number of Indians in their immediate neighborhood. They were seen all along the river from Birch Coolie to Beaver Creek, and beyond on the west, apparently intent on gathering up the horses and cattle. When asked what they intended to do, they said they were after Chippewas. About seven o'clock they suddenly began to repair to the houses of the settlers, and then the flight of the inhabitants and the work of death began. No age or sex was spared. The slaughter was indiscriminate and thorough. Sucking babe and tottering age shared the same fate. Those who survived the tomahawk and fell into the hands of the savages were reserved for a still more terrible punishment than death itself, being outraged and tortured in every way savage barbarity and hellish ingenuity could devise.

In two days the whole work of murder was done, with here and there exceptional cases in different settlements. During these two days a population of thirty thousand, scattered over some eighteen counties, on the western border of the state, were rushing wildly over the praries, on foot, on horseback, or in whatever way possible, to places of safety, either to Fort Ridgely or to the yet remaining towns on the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers. Flight from an invading army of civilized foes is awful, but flight from the uplifted tomahawk brandished by savages in pursuit of unarmed men and women and children is a scene beyond the descriptive power of the most vivid pen. The unarmed men among the settlements offered no defense, and could offer none, but fled before the barbarous savage, each in his own way, to such places as the dictates of self-preservation gave the slightest hope of safety. Children of tender years, hacked and beaten and bleeding, fled from their natural protectors, now dead or disabled, and by the aid of some trail of blood, or by the common instinct of our nature, fled away from scenes of slaughter, and cautiously crawling along by night made their way to Fort Ridgely or to some distant town on the Minnesota or Mississippi rivers. This human avalanche of thirty thousand beings consisted of all ages and in every possible condition, the rear ranks maimed and bleeding and faint from starvation and loss of blood, continually falling into the hands of the inhuman savages, keen and fierce, on the trail of the white man. This vast and indiscriminate multitude from the wide area of eighteen counties, were im-

mediately cast out upon the highways and praries, hiding now in sloughs and now in the grass of the open praries; some famishing for water and some dying for want of food; some bare-footed, some in torn garments, and some entirely denuded of clothing, some by reason of their wounds crawling on their hands and dragging their torn limbs after them. All these were making their way over a country in which no white man could offer succor or administer consolation. The varied emotions that struggled for utterance in that fragmentary mass of humanity cannot be even faintly set forth in words.

The main defense for the settlers was made at New Ulm in the Minnesota Valley on the 22d and 23d of August, but the Indians were finally defeated and driven off, although with great loss of life. Foiled in their attack on New Ulm, the Indians turned their attention toward Fort Ridgely, eighteen miles northwest. They made a determined assault upon this place led on by their renowned chief, Little Crow. Every attack was successfully repulsed and the assailants driven off with great loss. If these two points had not withstood the attacks made upon them, all the towns in the Minnesota valley would undoubtedly have been laid waste, but prompt and brave action on the part of the whites gained for them the victory. A military commission on the 5th of November, 1862, tried and condemned for capital punishment three hundred and three of the savages and their allies who had taken part in the massacre. These had been apprehended by Gen. H. H. Sibley who had been commissioned by the government to prosecute the war against the Indians. Under his command, the whites, who had been captured by the Indians, and who had been spared their lives were released at a place that has since been known by the name of Camp Release.

As a sequel to this bloody outbreak, thirty-eight Indians who had taken part in it were hung on a single scaffold at Mankato, Minn., on the 26th of December, 1862. Little Crow who was the leader in the outbreak escaped apprehension, but was afterwards shot and killed near Hutchinson, Minn., on the 23d of July, 1863. Thus terminated the careers of the principal instigators of one of the most bloody Indian outbreaks in our entire history. When we view Indian character in the light of history, and in view of all that has been attempted to be done for the Indian race, we are almost forced to the conclusion that "no washing will make the gypsy white."

SAMUEL M. DAVIS.

"SOJOURNER TRUTH."

HER EARLY HISTORY IN SLAVERY.

No history of the American Union, and especially the agitation for the abolition of human slavery therein, can ever be quite complete without some record of this unique and remarkable product of human serfdom, known in the later years of her life as "Sojourner Truth," or "Old Auntie Truth," as she was fond of being called. Wholly without education and removed from the advantages of social life; living under the heel of prejudice and oppression engendered and fostered by the law of the land, this poor colored woman became an eloquent and powerful champion of her race, living to see the rights of her fellow men restored to them, and to rejoice in the triumph of her cause.

A share of that success is due to her efforts, and it would be an injustice not to grant her a place in that galaxy of eminent persons whom we shall hand down to posterity as "Abolitionists." With her rude and native eloquence backed by characteristic moral courage and profound earnestness, she was able to tear the sophistry of the enemies of her race into shreds, or convert it into a whip of torture for their backs. In the harvest field, on the street corner, at the revival meetings, or on the lecture platform, wherever her tall, thin and bony form arose to speak, her auditors were astonished by her native eloquence, and impressed with the strange force of her intellectual and spiritual power. Many an orator of education and training has envied this old black freed-woman for her subtle power over an audience. Keen and quick-witted, with a memory that never dropped a single thread, she was always ready with an answer that went straight to the mark, and often withered her opponent into silence. Soon after the war of the Rebellion began, Sojourner hastened to Washington where she assisted in caring for the contraband slaves who fled from their broken chains and rebellious masters in large numbers.

But concerning these subsequent events in her later life, the reader is doubtless more or less familiar. My purpose in this article is to speak of her early history, her slave life, and the earliest years of her freedom, and in doing this I hope to correct many

strange stories and false impressions in regard to her which were widely printed and have since prevailed almost universally. And such corrections are made upon the best authority, as will readily appear.

HER OLD HOME.

A few rods down the track of the West Shore Railway from the little picturesque West Park station, and just where the road begins to curve and descend to hug the shore of the Hudson River, is the place where Sojourner Truth, then known as "Isabel" spent most of her slave life. The old house is still standing, but has been enlarged and modernized. Immediately adjoining this farm on the south resides the old Dumond family, with whom "Isabel" lived in servitude for over seventeen years. So much having been published concerning the early life of "Old Auntie Truth," and especially her great age, which seemed imaginary to me, I sought and obtained an interview with the survivors of this old Dumond family soon after the death of Sojourner Truth, which occurred at Battle Creek, Mich., in November, 1883. The family dwelling is modest and old-fashioned and has a quaint appearance among the many fine country villas for which the locality has long been noted.

NOT A CENTENARIAN.

Solomon W. Dumond and Miss Gertrude Dumond, his sister, both then on the snowy margin of eighty, were the children of John I. Dumond, who was "Isabel's" master. Miss Dumond has since died, which renders her statement to me more important than ever. When asked to give her recollections of "Isabel," she said:

"My father bought her at private sale in either 1809 or 1810, of Martin Schryver, who then kept a wayside tavern on the post road about two miles from Rondout, now Kingston City. He paid $70 for her. She was born at the house of Charles Hardenburgh, who then lived at Swarte Kil, a place now known as Rifton. Her parents were James and Bet, who were also slaves of Mr. Hardenburgh. The exact date of her birth we never knew, but it could not have been previous to 1795, unless my father was deceived by Mr. Schryver who said she was fourteen years old when he sold her to him. She may have been fifteen, but she certainly did not look any older than that."

"Then you did not consider her a centenarian when she died," I remarked.

"No sir, that is all nonsense. I know she was not a hundred years old, and don't think she was even ninety. If fifteen when she came to us, as before stated, she was only eighty-nine when she died. She was a young slip of a girl when father got her, and could not possibly have been twenty years of age."

On this point Mr. Dumond was

equally positive, and both agreed that even allowing for their possible error in judgment, Sojourner Truth could not possibly have been over ninety-three at death.

THE LAW FOR MANUMITTING SLAVES IN NEW YORK.

All that has been published regarding her age is based upon the strange assumption that she was twenty years old in 1817 when, as claimed by the press throughout the country, a law was passed by the Legislature of New York State freeing all slaves who had then attained that age. In reality, however, there never was any such law, as any of the writers above alluded to could easily have learned by a little research. The only law passed in 1817 on the manumission of slaves was a reënactment of an old statute passed in 1799. It provided that all negroes, mulattos and mustees within the State, born before July 4, 1799, should be free after July 4, 1827; also that every child born of a slave in the State after the previous date should be free, but must remain the servant of its master's owner until the age of twenty-eight if a "male" and twenty-five if a "female." And the only other provision contained in that law was that every child born of a slave in the state after the passage of that act, must remain a servant as aforesaid until the age of twenty-one, and no longer. Not a word is said or implied about any forty year provision. This comprises the abolition of slavery in New York State, and it seems strange that the terms and provisions of so important a measure should be so vaguely understood by those who ought to know. This then disposes of the only theory upon which the age of this woman has previously been figured; and the good people of Battle Creek, Mich., where her later years were spent, were obviously misapprehending the facts, when in 1880 they celebrated what they believed to be Old Auntie Truth's 104th birthday.

Miss Dumond said Isabel lived with them as a slave until 1826, and became free in 1827. In this she is unquestionably correct, as by the terms of the above law no slave could have been freed before that time except by the voluntary act of the owner. Born previous to July, Isabel would be free in July, 1827.

This state of facts of course rules out many of the graphic pictures which have been drawn by enthusiastic writers concerning the earlier existence and experience of this remarkable woman. But inasmuch as she posed before the world as an exemplifier of truth in her later years of religious conviction, it seems fitting that now since her death history should record her life with as much accuracy as possible.

She could not then have seen Kingsston in ruins after its destruction by the British in 1777, nor the evacuation of New York in 1783; nor could she have witnessed all the other re-

markable events occurring during that formative period of our Republic's history, which have been located in her youthful days by so many of her biographers. She may indeed, have seen Washington, as she claimed, and possibly remembered the occasion of his death in 1799, but she certainly was not a full grown woman then, as has been stated.

But resuming Isabel's early history as given by Miss Dumond "When about nine years old, Col. Hardenburgh, her original owner, died, and Isabel was sold to a Mr. Neeley, who lived at Twaalfs Kill, now known as Wilbur, a part of Kingston City. From this man she afterward passed into the possession of Mr. Schryver, who sold her to father."

HER FLIGHT—CONSULTING THE LORD.

"When she left us in 1826 she ran away by night, taking her infant child with her, and going, as we afterward found to the house of one Isaac Van Wagoner, a Quaker, residing a few miles distant. She returned to us soon afterward and wanted father to keep her child, but he said it was too young to be left without its mother, although we did take the child afterward. Isabel begged father to take her back also, but he refused. He said he had always treated her well; and now since she had run away he would have nothing more to do with her. He then sold out the balance of her time to Mr. Van Wagoner, with whom she remained until she became free, some nine or ten months later."

In this connection it will be interesting to recall briefly Sojourner's own statement concerning this flight, which she made to a party of visitors at Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's house in Andover, Mass., many years afterward. She said she had been praying in these words. "O God, I been a askin' ye, an' askin' ye, an' askin' ye, for all this long time to make my Massa and Missus better, and you don't do it; an' what can be the reason? Why maybe ye can't. Well, I shouldn't wonder if ye couldn't. Well, now I tell ye, I'll make a bargain with you. E'f you'll help me to get away from my Massa and Missus, I'll agree to be good; but ef you don't help me I really don't think I can be. Now, says I, I want to get away; but the trouble is jess here; ef I try to get away in the night, I can't see, ef I get away in the day, they'll see me, and be after me. Then the Lord said to me 'Git up two or three hours before daylight an' start off." This she said she finally did as the Lord advised, and with the result already stated.

ISABEL'S FAMILY RELATIONS — MISCHIEVOUS "PETE."

Miss Dumond said that about 1820 Isabel married Tom, who also belonged to her father. At least Isabel always said they were married; but Tom's version of the affair was that they had merely been out on a frolic together and had agreed to live to-

gether as man and wife. They had five children, four living to grow up; three girls, Dinah, Elizabeth or Bet, and Sophia.

The youngest was a boy named "Pete," and he was a regular Sancho; no one could do anything with him, and everybody expected he would land in State Prison. This was the child she took in her flight, and he was called Peter Van Wagoner afterward. Once while living with Dr. Gedney, a neighbor, this little ebony rascal yoked up a pair of young colts with an ox-yoke, and going to the house soon after to enjoy the fun, he was asked by the doctor what that terrible racket meant out at the barn. Pete, of course, knew nothing about it, and his face was a thunder-cloud of blank astonishment, apparently in full sympathy with his master's bewilderment. He finally went away to Alabama, which greatly troubled his mother when she heard of it, and she managed to get him back after a time. Most of his later life has been spent at sea; when last heard of he was in Canada.

HER SKILL AS A FIELD-HAND.

In Miss Dumond's opinion Isabel was an uncommonly smart woman. She had an extraordinary memory, and had she been educated, she would have been "fully the equal of Fred Douglas anyway," as she expressed it. She was a good, faithful servant, and an excellent cook. She was exceedingly strong and healthy, tall, thin and bony, tough as a whip, and could do more work than any man on the Dumond place. After finishing her work in the house she would frequently go out in the field in summer, and there she would lead all the men. In binding grain, they say, she could bind a sheaf, throw it up in the air, and have another one bound before the other fell. She was very quick in her movements. She could quote scripture freely, remembering all she ever heard read; but it seemed almost impossible to teach her anything. She was an excellent dancer and a good singer, having a pleasant voice, rich and powerful. She was fond of liquor and tobacco, and used both when she could get them, for years, but she became greatly changed in these respects afterwards.

SUBDUING A MOB WITH A SONG.

For a time Isabel was a great Methodist and attended every camp meeting she could reach. In later years she would tell how while attending a camp meeting once somewhere in Massachusetts, a riot occurred, and there was a terrible time. The authorities were unable to stop it. Sojourner said she went off some distance from the grounds, and sat down on a stump. She began to sing, she said, in her own wierd, strange manner. The mob was soon attracted to the spot, and the rabble gathered around her in crowds, listening almost breathlessly to her Methodist hymns. They were soon apparently

spell-bound by her strange religious songs. She at length arose to go, but they demanded another song. After obtaining from them a promise to depart and leave the meeting in peace, she consented to sing the one other hymn desired. At its conclusion, Sojourner said, they all left the place and there was no more trouble.

She at one time became converted to the Jewish faith, in which she was very enthusiastic for sometime, becoming a devout follower of a certain Jewish Rabbi in New York, who was well known at the time. Her religious convictions always seemed of the strongest character, although she was very changeable. Her belief in a personal Deity was, however, unwavering, and she spoke of what the Almighty would and would not do, as though she was in His secret councils.

TREATMENT OF ISABEL.

In regard to the statements which have been made concerning the treatment of Isabel while a slave in the Dumond family, it can only be said that both Miss Dumond and her brother emphatically denied all knowledge of any cruelty or inhuman treatment of her while with them; and they seemed to regard her frequent complaint on this point, since her bondage, as the imaginary wrongs suggested to her by abolition friends. It will be remembered that one of her greatest grievances was, as she claimed, that her children were sold away from her. Miss Dumond said that all of Isabel's children, save "Pete" who went South, remained with their mother at the Dumond place until they became eighteen years of age, and even afterward. She herself became free and went away before that of course. Solomon Dumond said he had two of the girls with him long after Isabel left, and both said that none of the children were ever sold from her.

THE DUMOND FAMILY.

As to the standing and trustworthiness of this Dumond family, it may be remarked here, that it is among the oldest and most respected in Ulster County. Miss Dumond and her brother were cousins of the late Justice T. R. Westbrook of the New York Supreme Court, who they said was a frequent visitor at their father's house when a child and during the bondage of Isabel, who used to hold him in her lap at times. Old John I. Dumond, Isabel's master, was the son of Judge Westbrook's great-great-grandfather, who was brother to Egbert Dumond, the Sheriff of Ulster County, when the New York State government was inaugurated at Kingston.

Walter Dumond, the son of Solomon Dumond, who was at home during my visit, is the person who distinguished himself by his heroic conduct in rescuing a score or more of lives from the wreck of the Steamer Sunnyside in the winter of 1875. The

vessel, as many will remember, was pierced by the ice in the Hudson in December of that year, and sank opposite Hyde Park on the west bank of the river, immediately at the foot of this Dumond farm, and only a few rods from the house. It was a very cold night; and Walter, hearing the shrieks of the drowning and panic-stricken passengers, sprang from his bed, rushed to his boat on the shore, and at the risk of his life, succeeded in saving a large number who must otherwise have perished with the rest. For this he was afterward awarded a medal by the Life Saving and Benevolent Association of New York, which was proudly shown me. The Dumond house was afterwards turned into a hospital for the survivors of the wreck for days afterward.

Miss Dumond said the first finger of Isabel's left hand was taken off by some injury. This member she always seemed confident would grow out again, and she firmly imagined she saw it growing. She could neither talk nor understand anything but low or Holland Dutch when she came to them, having been brought up in that language. She learned English while with the Dumonds, and with much difficulty, and her speech instead of being like that of Southern plantation negroes, as many writers pleased to quote her, was in fact very similar to that of the unlettered white people of her time. All her children were born on the Dumond place, and it is said that Mrs. Dumond, Sojourner's old Missus, finally died in the arms of her faithful servant. When she first met Mrs. Stowe, replying to her question "You go about lecturing, do you not?" she said: "Yes, Honey, that's what I do. The Lord has made me a sign unto this nation, an' I go around, a testifying, an' showing on 'em their sins 'agin my people." Dr. Lyman Beecher once asked her if she preached from the Bible. "Law, no, I'se can't read a word. I allys preach from jess one text. "When I found Jesus."

H. Hendricks.

OHIO'S EARLY GOVERNORS — EDWARD TIFFIN.

WHILE what is now the State of Ohio, was historically known as "the Territory North West of the River Ohio," that is from 1787 to 1802, General Arthur St. Clair was Governor by authority of the National Government. In December of the last named year, President Jefferson, in the exercise of his authority, terminated the official relations between Governor St. Clair and the Territory, the people of said Territory, by authority of Congress, having in November, 1802, formed a State Constitution, preparatory to the establishment of a State Government.

In compliance with the provisions of said Constitution an election for Governor of Ohio was held early in the year 1803, Edward Tiffin of Ross county, being the only candidate for said office, the records showing that he received only 4550 votes, and that no votes were cast for any other candidate, there being no organized opposition to Mr. Tiffin.

The State Legislature being duly convened held its first session in March 1803, and proceeded to inaugurate Governor Edward Tiffin, who read to them his inaugural address, or first message. The Legislature also proceeded, without delay, to elect certain officers, which were provided for by the Constitution, and to regularly organize the State Government.

Among other duties of the Legislature that body was required to organize the Courts, Common Pleas and Supreme, elect the Judges of both Courts, also other officers, and elect two United States Senators, all of which duties were duly performed.

The first Legislature was also required to provide for adequate representation in the popular branch of Congress, which they did by making a single district of the entire State, (our population was sparse then), and that district was represented in the Congress of the United States, without any change of district lines, until 1813, a period of ten years, and during that period Jeremiah Morrow was Ohio's only representative in Congress. His was one of our most honored names for half a century, serving many years in the Executive office and in both houses of Congress.

The first Legislature elected two United States Senators for Ohio,

these being Thomas Worthington of Ross county (a brother-in-law of Governor Tiffin), and Rev. John Smith of Hamilton County. The first named gentleman subsequently became one of Ohio's most prominent statesmen.

Edward Tiffin was a native of England, born at or near Carlisle, June 19, 1766. He emigrated to the United States in 1786, and located at Charlestown, Berkeley county, Virginia, but removed from there to Chillicothe, a thrifty, prosperous town, situated on the Sciota river, in the Territory North West of the River Ohio, in 1798, where he became a permanent settler. Chillicothe was for a time the seat of Government of the North West Territory, and was the first seat of Government of Ohio, being made such in 1803, and remained such, except during the years 1810–12, when it was temporarily at Zanesville. It was finally established at Columbus in 1816. Chillicothe, however, has remained one of Ohio's most substantial and prosperous inland cities, to the present time.

Edward Tiffin was a gentleman of high character, of pure morals, and of dignified deportment. He held strong anti-slavery sentiments, and on arranging to locate in the North West Territory he was reputed to have placed himself certainly, unmistakably, unequivocally in harmony with the celebrated ordinance of July 13, 1787, that immortal Charter of Freedom, which was the basis, the fundamental law, the constitution really of the Territory North West of the River Ohio. The act by which Edward Tiffin put himself in entire harmony with the Ordinance of Freedom, was the emancipation of his slaves, by which act he gave force and effect to opinions he had held nominally, theoretically, substantially, heartily, practically, during the previous years of his adult life.

It was in all probability due to State-craft which had placed almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of practical and effective emancipation that Edward Tiffin and other Virginia philanthropists and statesmen of decided anti-slavery sentiments and purposes did not, at an earlier period in the history of the "Ancient Dominion" practically carry into effect their long-cherished and well-matured philanthropic purposes, (as was the case with John Randolph of Roanoke, and others that might be named). But when the way was finally opened to Edward Tiffin for effective emancipation, by the adoption of Freedom's Ordinance he cheerfully embraced the opportunity thus presented (as did many others of like sentiments, similarly situated,) and emancipated those they had held in bondage.

The Constitution of Ohio made the Executive of the State eligible to that office for two terms of two years each, accordingly the second election for Governor of Ohio came on in 1805. Governor Tiffin's administration of

public affairs had been so entirely satisfactory to the people of Ohio that when the day came to hold the election for the second time, no candidate appeared to oppose the re-election of Governor Tiffin; and being urged by his friends acquiesced, and gave his consent to be voted for the second time for Governor of Ohio, if no other desired to be a candidate, and there being none to contest the Governorship with him, his election was certain, he receiving 4788 votes, all that were cast, and of course was declared re-elected, his term to continue from 1805 to 1807.

Governor Tiffin closed his second gubernatorial term in 1807, with great credit to himself and with a well-earned reputation for ability, integrity and undoubted patriotism, and his fame and history remain untarnished to the present day. None of his successors in the Executive office of Ohio, although they were generally men of high character, were reputed to have discharged their official duties with greater fidelity, or in the spirit of a higher order of patriotism, or acquired a better reputation for personal or official honor or for honesty of purpose than was enjoyed by Edward Tiffin who was twice honored by the people of Ohio, by elections to the office of Executive of that intelligent commonwealth, as above stated.

Happily the excellent reputation of Edward Tiffin had preceded him to the North West Territory. His predominant and most admirable characteristics were known by many of the intelligent settlers of the Territory, even before he reached there in person in 1798, which was the date of his location in the Territory North West of the River Ohio. Among the evidences of Edward Tiffin's high standing and popularity in Territorial times, it may be stated that in the closing year of the last century (1799), the preliminary steps were taken to establish a second grade of government, with a legislature elected in part, by popular vote. The people of Ross County elected Edward Tiffin a member of the popular branch of this Legislature, and when this body of legislators was organized they chose Mr. Tiffin as their presiding officer.

And by way of further proof of Edward Tiffin's popularity among the Territorial settlers in early times, it may be observed that when in 1802 there met a body of men selected from all sections of the Territory charged with the responsible duties of forming a State Constitution, Edward Tiffin was one of them, chosen by a very intelligent constituency, residing in Ross county; and that intelligent body of statesmen, honored Mr. Tiffin and themselves as well, by electing him as the President of their body. And it should be stated that at the second election which occurred in 1801, for members of the popular branch of the Territorial Legislature Edward Tiffin was

not only honored by a re-election, but was doubly honored by being again chosen as their presiding officer, thus establishing unequivocally his popularity at that time which was in one of the last years of the Territory.

We gladly give these conclusive proofs of Governor Tiffin's popularity and high standing during the closing years of the North West Territory. And it was so during his later career. His administrations as Governor, as we have said, were acceptable and generally popular, and he retained his popularity for many years.

After the close of his last term as Governor, he frequently held highly honorable official positions, among others being that of United States Senator, first by appointment in 1807 when he filled the vacancy created by Senator John Smith; and in 1809 when he succeeded Senator Meigs.

And in conclusion we add briefly that Governor Tiffin was honored by an appointment by President Madison in 1812, to the office of Commissioner of the General Land Office, which he held a number of years; and lastly he held the responsible position of Surveyor General of the North West, which office he held until near his death, which occurred at Chillicothe in 1829.

ISAAC SMUCKER.

THE PORT OF THE ANGELS.

PORT ANGELES, WASHINGTON.

AN OLYMPIC HUNTER.

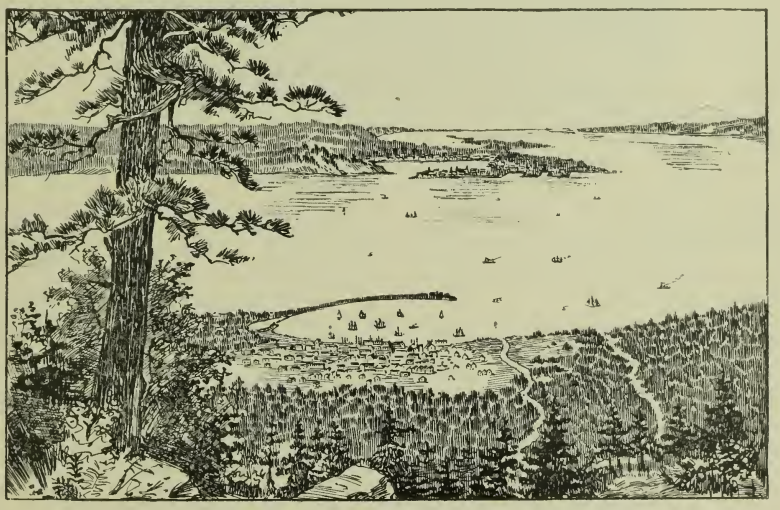
THE Puget Sound region in northwestern Washington is one of the most interesting localities of the great American continent. Its settlement is a story of modern history—an accomplishment of the last half century—but the coast hereabouts had been more or less carefully explored by Pacific voyagers, English, Spanish and American, ever since the memorable excursion of Sir Francis Drake in 1579.

Vancouver's Island (ancient "Nootka") is fitted into the mouth of Puget Sound in such a way as to form two straits—Georgia, between the east coast of the island and the mainland, and San Juan de Fuca between the mainland and the south shore of the island. An arm of the strait of San Juan de Fuca juts into the southern mainland, at a point opposite the present city of Victoria, forming a splendid inlet, which General McClelland declared to be "the first attempt of nature on this coast to form a good harbor."[1] Situated on this inlet is Port Angeles—the latest phenomenon of a city built in a day.

Tradition states that Port Angeles was discovered by Spanish voyagers of the sixteenth century, who, making the shelter during a storm, named it "Puerto de Los Angeles," the Port of the Angels. The first practical discovery of these waters, however, was made about a hundred years ago. Barclay, an Englishman, discovered the strait of San Juan de Fuca in

[1] Pacific R. R. Report, vol. 12, p. 278.

1787, but did not enter it. In 1789 Captain John Kendrick, an American, discovered Vancouver's Island and explored the strait of Fuca. He sailed through a strait, says the old record, "whose southern entrance is Fuca, and the northern shore above Queen Charlotte Island." He also bought from the Indians huge tracts of the lands he discovered, and sent the deeds to the Government at Washington. Kendrick was accompanied to the Pacific by Captain Robert Gray, the two men changing about in the command of the companion vessels, the "Columbia" and "Lady Washington." These expeditions formed the principal basis of the claim of the United States to the northwestern territory.



PORT ANGELES—THE CHERBOURG OF AMERICA.

The purchase of the vast territory of Louisiana by Jefferson in 1803 opened the way to put forth this claim, while the explorations of Lewis and Clark, during the same administration, strengthened the American cause. The Missouri Fur Company, in 1809, established a post on the Snake River, while the Winships of Boston, in 1810, and Astor of New York, in 1811, established Astoria, on the Columbia. Then came the interminable boundary dispute, in which the Hudson Bay Company of England, the Astor Company, and many pioneer Americans, figured prominently, and which was not finally settled until 1846, when the claim of the United States was recognized.

John R. Jackson was the first permanent settler in the Puget Sound country of whom we find any authen-

HOTEL AT PORT ANGELES.

tic record, and he was immediately followed, in October, 1845, by a small colony of seven men. Of these Jesse Ferguson and Samuel B. Crockett were single, while James McAllister, David Kindred, Gabriel Jones, George W. Bush and Michael Simmons were accompanied by their wives and families. All these men came from Oregon. Port Angeles was settled by a few squatters some years later and remained insignificant until political influences brought the place into prominence.

Upon the succession of President Lincoln in 1860, at the instance of his Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, Mr. Victor Smith of Ohio, was made Collector of Customs at Port Townsend, on Puget Sound, a port some distance east, and further inland than Port Angeles. Smith soon represented to the Government at Washington the advisability of removing the Custom House from Port Townsend to Port Angeles, as a better strategic location from a commercial standpoint. By this course Smith naturally aroused enemies in the growing community of Port Townsend, and the latter declared that Smith owned a fifth interest in a Port Angeles land company, that had recently been organized, and was influenced in the Custom House question by his desire to sell town lots in the new settlement.

Whether this charge was well-founded or unjust, Smith succeeded in his design, and in June, 1862, a bill passed Congress authorizing the proposed removal of the Custom House. Various complications, including a charge of embezzlement of public

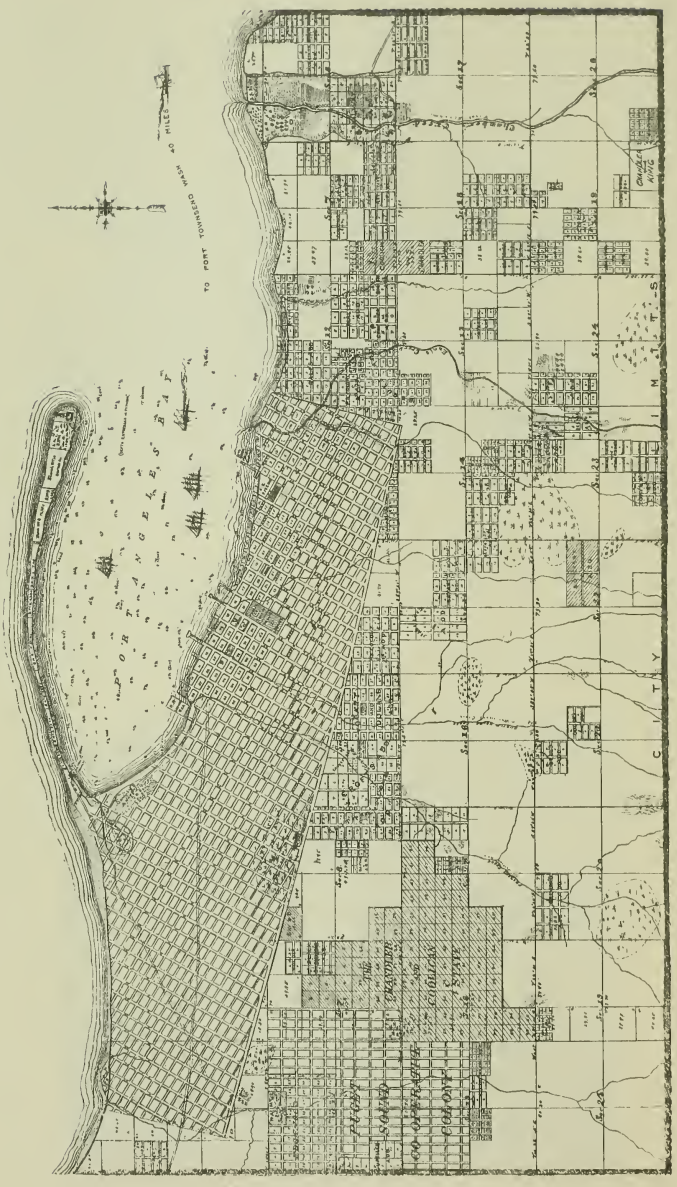
funds preferred by his enemies, had forced Smith to visit Washington, D. C., and when he returned to Port Townsend, the authorities refused to deliver up the key to the Custom House. Smith took summary measures, however. He went on board the revenue cutter, "Shubrick," which lay in the harbor and, assuming command, began to fire upon the rebellious town, which very soon came to terms. After the capture of the Court House, the books and papers were taken on board the cutter, and for some time all the customs business was transacted on the deck of the "Shubrick." In September, 1862, the Custom House was formally located at Port Angeles, where a building had been erected, and where a population of about two hundred souls had congregated.

Port Angeles as it appeared at this time, is thus described by Mr. H. H. Bancroft: "It was well protected from the north winds by the sand spit of Ediz Hook, three miles in length, running out eastward, and from the southeast gales by the mainland, and had a good depth of water, besides lying more directly in the path of commerce than its rival [Port Townsend]. . . . Three small streams ran down from the highlands back of it, and furnished abundance of water, the Custom House, a fine large structure, being built at the mouth of the canon through which one of these rivulets ran, Smith's residence adjoining it and the other buildings being near these central ones."[1]

The new port thrived wonderfully for a short time after its acquisition

[1] History of the Pacific States, vol. 26, pp. 223–4.

OPERA HOUSE.



CITY AND HARBOR OF PORT ANGELES.

of the customs business, but this brief period of prosperity was cut short by a severe catastrophe in December, 1863. It will be remembered that the Custom House was located at the mouth of a cañon which served as the bed of a small river. For several days in December, in the language of Mr. Bancroft, this stream "was dried up, the unknown cause being a land-slide which had fallen into the narrow gorge about five miles from Port Angeles, and by damming up the water formed a lake. On the afternoon of the 16th of December, it being almost dark, a terrible roaring and tearing sound was heard in the canon, and in a few moments a frightful calamity was upon the until now prosperous new town. The earth which formed the dam had at length given way, freeing a body of water fifteen feet in height, which rushed in a straight volume, carrying everything before it, and entirely changing the face of the ground swept by it.

"Crushed like an egg-shell, the Custom House fell and was carried out into the harbor. Deputy Collector, J. M. Anderson, formerly of Ohio, and Inspector William B. Goodell, lately master of the tug "General Harney," stood at the front entrance of the building as the water and debris it carried struck the rear side. Their bodies were found two hundred feet away, covered four feet deep with earth and fragments of buildings and furniture. . . . No lives were lost excepting those of the two Custom House officers, but the town was in ruins, and although an effort was made to resuscitate it by removing what remained to a better site higher up the coast, it never recovered from the calamity and gradually diminished in population, until

RESIDENCE OF J. S. COOLICAN.

it was reduced to the condition of a small farming community."[1]

But the original Port Angeles, which was begun so auspiciously, and a few months later was thus summarily annihilated, had little in common with the present city, except identity of location. The story of modern Port Angeles is the story of but three brief years. The United States Government had been interested in the original attempt to build up the city. In July, 1862, one month after the passage of the law removing the Custom House from Port Townsend to Port Angeles, a second bill was passed by Congress, characterized as "a bill for increasing revenue by reservation and sale of town sites." The Government reserved a large tract of land in and about Port Angeles, and sold town lots by auction to the highest bidder. Thus this far western port shares with Washington, D. C., the distinction of a city of which the general government was the original proprietor and chief colonizer and "boomer." When the flood overtook the infant municipality it had sought to foster, the Government still retained its holding of land in the shape of a large reservation; and now, since the regeneration of Port Angeles, the Government is once more disposing of town lots in fulfillment of the original plan of thirty years ago.

The present city of Port Angeles, as has been said, has sprung into existence within the past three years. On January 1, 1890, the town numbered only some 400 souls. By the following June this number had been increased to 1,009, and the community was incorporated as a town of the fourth class. By November, 1890, the population had reached 2,500; in January, following, the number was 3,000, while the corporation was advanced to that of a city of the third class. At the present writing Port Angeles boasts a population of more than 5,000, with no apparent halt in her phenomenal growth. Remarkable natural advantages, and the belief that this port is destined to become the great commercial center on the Pacific sea-board, as New York is the metropolis of the Atlantic, has inspired this development. The harbor is the chief feature in which the new city has a superlative advantage over her rivals. "A remarkable and beautiful harbor, in which no winds blow home," is the description of Captain Richards of the Royal Navy.[1] "On the south side of the strait [Juan de Fuca] it is the occasional northwesters which are dreaded," says another authority, "and against them there is only a single harbor of value — Port Angeles. A curving spit reaching out from the shore encloses an oval harbor three miles long, which is sufficiently deep for the use of any vessel, and thoroughly protected. The shores are

[1] History of the Pacific States, vol, 26, pp, 224–5.

[1] Reports of Surveys on North Western Coast Harbors.

admirably adapted for wharfage purposes, and the country behind the port abounds in splendid timber and in soils valuable for agriculture. Many persons regard it as certain that one of the chief seaports of this region will eventually grow here."[1]

Port Angeles is on the opposite side of the strait of Juan de Fuca, from Victoria, B. C., and only fifteen miles distant, and the Canadian Pacific Railway is about to establish an extensive ferry system between the two cities. Communication south and east with the United States will be provided by the project of the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific Railroads to construct branch lines to the port. In short, the new city holds the commercial key to Puget Sound, and all that great region of northwestern America, dependent upon and tributary to the Sound. The natural advantages have been utilized, and the new city improved in a fashion highly creditable to the spirit of western enterprise. Large ocean piers have been built here and there along the five miles of water front; business blocks, school houses, churches, public halls, large hotels, an opera house, and beautiful residences have been erected on the broad streets of the place. More than twenty miles of streets — all of a uniform width of eighty feet have been laid out, together with a number of splendid boulevards one hundred feet in width. One-fourth of this street area is already carefully graded, and lined with sidewalks. The city has established an electric lighting plant and an excellent system of water works; daily steamboat connections with

A SPRUCE TREE.

SQUATTERS CABIN ON THE RESERVE.

[1] North Pacific Pilot, pp. 485–6.

Victoria and all other Puget Sound ports are established, and a daily mail service secured. By recent decision of the government, Port Angeles is made a full port of entry and call, and already the place has taken first rank among the ports of Puget Sound in the number of vessels entered and cleared. In addition to the three grand trunk lines, the Canadian, Northern and Union Pacific, four other railway companies have been organized to focus at Port Angeles, as the common center. The First National Bank of Port Angeles was organized by its first president, B. F. Schwartz, in September, 1891, and immediately secured popular support. Mr. Schwartz, for ten years, was connected with the Treasury Department in Washington, D. C. He is also President of the Bank of Port Angeles, organized in May, 1890.

These commercial advantages are supplemented by unusual natural resources. The mountains within ten miles of the city are stocked with supplies of semi-anthracite and blacksmith coal, as well as the precious metals, while the same lands are covered by well-nigh inexhaustible forests of cedar, hemlock, fir and spruce. The slopes immediately in the rear of the city are admirably adapted for agricultural and grazing purposes.

As a place of residence Port Angeles presents more of the advantages and fewer of the inconveniences of the peculiar climate of the Pacific coast than almost any other city. The maximum annual rainfall is only thirty inches, while at Cape Flattery, sixty miles distant, it reaches the phenomenal figures of 120 inches per annum. This great difference is accounted for by the fact that Port Angeles is situated at the eastern base of the Olympic Range, whose snow-capped peaks wring from the travelling clouds most of their moisture on the western slopes before they have passed the range. Moreover, the coldest day ever recorded on the shores of Juan de Fuca was three degrees above zero, while the hottest weather in summer is never above eighty. An ordinary winter does not induce a temperature lower than twenty degrees above zero.

For beauty of its natural settings of landscape and sea, this city can defy almost any competitor in the world. "For scenic beauty," says the *North American Review*, "Port Angeles cannot be surpassed outside of Italy. The lay of the country makes it naturally one of the most beautiful sites for a city in the world, the ground gradually sloping from the base of the Olympic Range, a distance of ten or twelve miles, to the shores of Port Angeles Bay and strait of Juan de Fuca. Everywhere from this beautiful slope of country can be obtained a magnificent view of the snow-capped Olympic mountains, the blue waters of Puget Sound, Port Angeles Bay and Strait of Juan de Fuca, and farther in the distance can be seen the shores of

British Columbia, Victoria, its capital, and the snow-capped peaks of Mount Baker."

If the prophets be not at fault, the strait of San Juan de Fuca is destined soon to become a familiar name on the tongue of the English speaking people, for "toward the wider end of this strait which is 100 miles long and from 10 to 20 miles wide, standing *vis-a-vis*, are the two cities that during the coming decade are sure to attract the attention of the entire country — Victoria, B. C., and Port Angeles, Wash." [1]

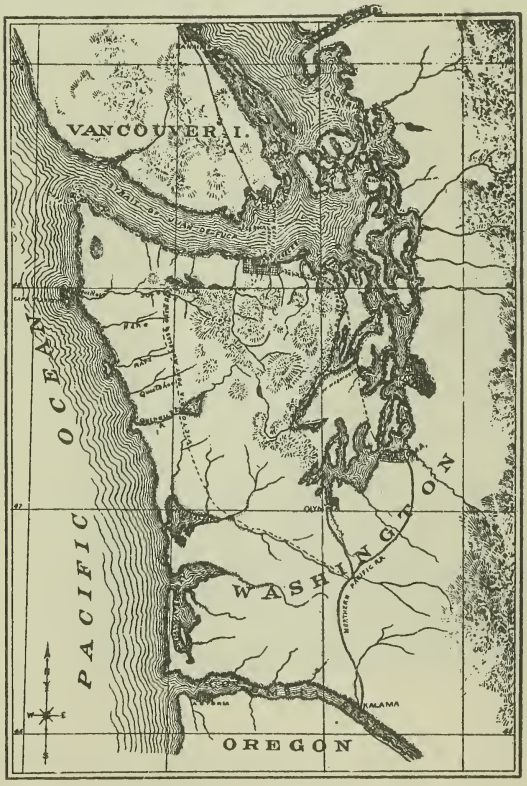
[1] North American Review.

Before concluding this sketch we are tempted to revert to an incident which although not strictly a part of the history of Port Angeles, yet intimately concerned the individual most active in the planting of the town, and which, therefore, by virtue of its own romantic complexion, must ever figure as a picturesque side-light in the story of the young city.

CENTRAL SCHOOL, FIRST WARD.

Collector of the Port, Victor Smith, the patron of Port Angeles, who secured the removal of the Custom House from Port Townsend in 1862, after the demolition of Port Angeles by flood, was promoted by the Gov-

ernment from the position of Collector of the Port to that of Special Treasury Agent of the United States for the Pacific Coast. In this capacity he transported millions of dollars of Government treasure from the Treasury vaults in the east to the Pacific Coast. The last of these voyages was undertaken in May, 1865, and proved to be a most unfortunate affair for both Mr. Smith and the Government. He took ship for Panama from New York City on the "Golden Rule," Captain Denny, carrying with him some $3,000,000 in trust for the Government.

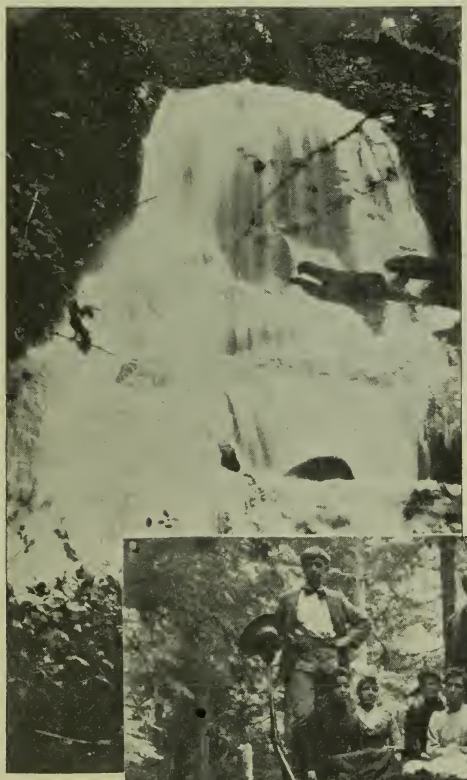


Mr. Smith encountered some trouble at the outset of his journey which did not augur well for the success of it. Before embarking he found himself shadowed by one Montgomery Gibbs—who is not, however, to be confounded with the famous pirate Gibbs who was hanged, however similar their inclinations and operations may seem to have been. In fact, the famous pirate was caught and triced up long before the time of this Montgomery Gibbs, whereas the latter may be alive to this day for ought that is known to the contrary. Suffice it to say that the Gibbs in question was a detective employed in the Secret Service of the Treasury Department, but much more concerned, as there is reason to believe, in furthering his own personal interests than in looking after the interests of the Government.

Having by some means discovered that Smith was in charge of a large treasure, Gibbs shadowed the Pacific Agent, and at length followed him on board the "Golden Rule," as that vessel was about to start on her voyage. Believing that this espionage was a private enterprise on Gibbs' part, rather than a commission of the Government, Smith had the detective arrested and put off the

vessel. The "Golden Rule" then set sail, and was proceeding peacefully on her way when another craft, following in her wake, overtook her and violently collided with her wheel, inflicting injuries which obliged her to put back to port for repairs. This might be considered merely an unfortunate yet common-place accident, were it not for the fact that the colliding boat had Gibbs aboard, and had been secured by him for the special purpose of pursuing and overtaking the "Golden Rule."

However, the wily detective made no further demonstration beyond the matter of the innocent collision, and during the three days wherein the "Golden Rule" was undergoing repairs, the anxious Smith saw no sign of him. But when the ship was once more well out to sea, the pseudo-detective emerged from his place of concealment in the hold, which he had occupied, evidently through the



LYRE FALLS NEAR PORT ANGELES.

A CEDAR STUMP.

connivance of the captain, and appeared boldly on deck. As the voyage progressed he even boldly demanded, in the name of the Treasury Department, that Smith should tell him where the money was deposited. The Special Agent refused, but Gibbs somehow learned this secret.

This story, as it progresses, has all the elements of the regulation melodrama, the villain performing his part with characteristic impudence and boldness. Even the necessary ship-wreck actually took place. The "Golden Rule" struck on Ronkadore reef in the Carribean Sea. Whether Captain Denny was already fully immeshed with Gibbs in a plot to rob the Government, and the ship-wreck was deliberately planned as part of the scheme is not certain as the incident occurred during something of a storm, and, of course, excited no suspicion at the time.

The mate of the ship manned a boat with sailors and set out for Colon, where he arrived after a most perilous voyage. Two United States gunboats, the "Huntsville" and "State of Georgia," set out from Colon immediately after the mate's arrival, and rescued all the passengers save one. This one was Victor Smith, who refused to be taken off the reef until the treasure which had been entrusted to him was recovered. Thus he was left on the reef alone for three weeks after the rest were gone, until he was finally rescued by a Government revenue cutter.

The vessel had entirely gone to pieces, but among the general wreckage, however, was found the safe in which the treasure and bonds had been secured, but it contained no money. It had been forced open—there were evidences of the use of crow-bars and cold chisels—

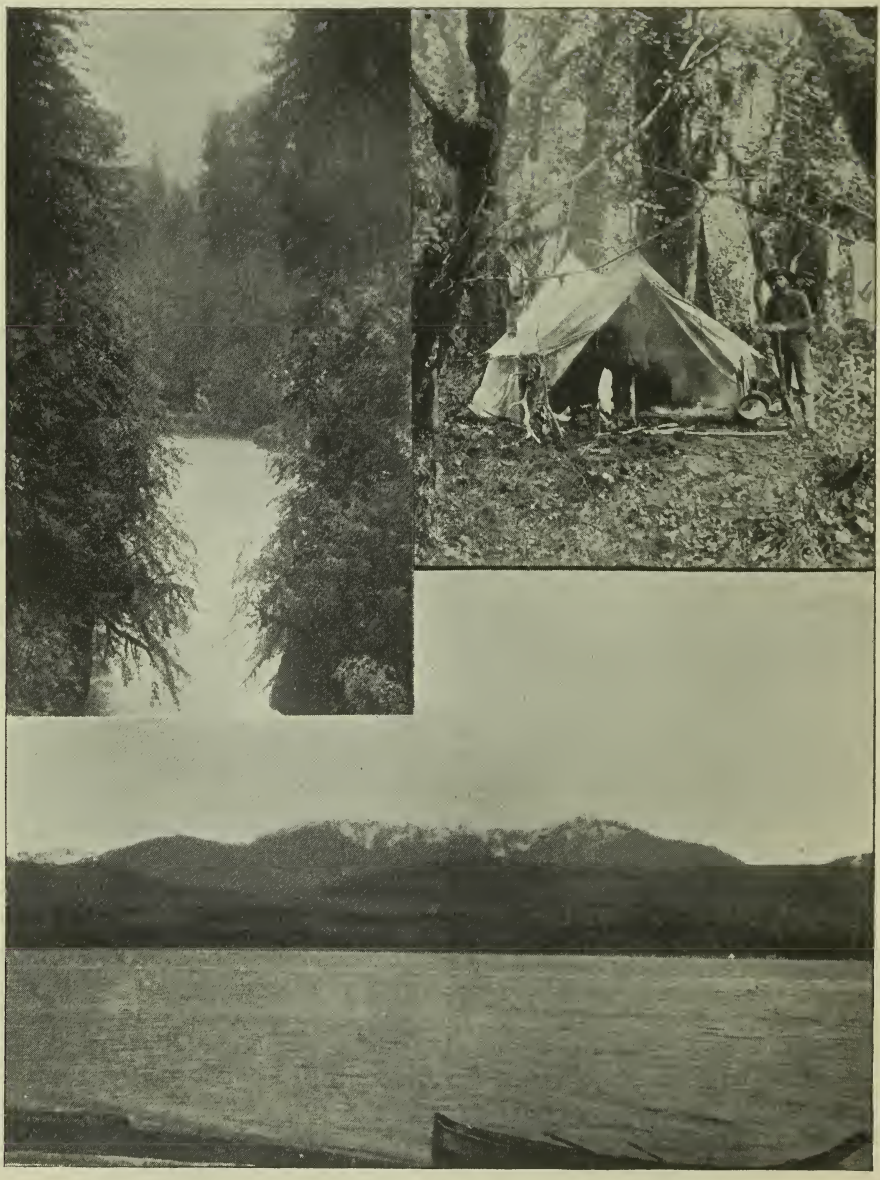
THE PILLARS—CHALLEN BAY

PORT ANGELES IN 1862.

and all the available funds stolen. Two-thirds of the $3,000,000, consisting of greenback and Treasury Notes, were missing, while another third—notes which needed the signature of the Sub-Treasurer at San Francisco to make them currency—were found scattered about. It was evident that the thief was expert enough to know that these notes were valueless.

Having no clue to the robbery beyond his well-founded suspicions of Gibbs, Smith pushed on to Panama, where he contracted a severe fever. The disease remained with him until he reached San Francisco, and when he finally recovered, and set out from the latter city for Port Angeles, his misfortunes culminated in a violent death. He was one of the passengers on the ill-fated "Brother Jonathan," which sank off Point St. George with all on board. Of course the robbery of the safe on the wrecked "Golden Rule" excited general suspicion when it became known, as it was evident that some one conversant with the affairs of the Treasury Department must have been involved. Thus there were many grave doubts whether Smith was as innocent as he had professed to be, although since the movements of Gibbs have been known, he has been universally credited with engineering the whole affair.

A very remarkable corroborative link in the chain of evidence is found in the after lives of both Gibbs and Captain Denny of the "Golden Rule." Gibbs remained thereafter in Europe, principally in Paris, where he lived in luxurious style, seemingly with an unlimited fortune, although he never before had shown any evi-



VIEWS NEAR PORT ANGELES.

Elwha River, Lower Cañon. Hunter's Camp on the Elwha.

Mt. Angeles from the Spit.

dence of the possession of wealth. In after years, also, he was charged with the embezzlement of £25,000 from an English steam-ship company. Gibbs is supposed to be yet alive and living some where in Egypt. Captain Denny, likewise, was a poor man before the voyage of the "Golden Rule;" that disastrous voyage was his first trip out—and his last also, as it proved, for his license was revoked. Nevertheless, he retired a rich man, and, building himself a fine house in Seven Mills, New York, lived handsomely until the time of his death several years ago.

An additional element of mystery was imparted to the case by the fact that no investigation of the robbery was ever instigated by the Treasury Department, from which it was surmised by some, that the chief Treasury officials knew more about the affair than they wished to air before the public. There is no evidence of this, however, and the exciting events during and following the close of the Civil War, together with the prevailing spirit of lawlessness necessarily attending upon war, are a sufficient combination fully to account for any apparent laxity in pushing an inquiry in the case. Nevertheless it would be interesting to know authoritatively whether, at the time, Smith or Gibbs was most in the confidence of the Treasury Department, and whether Gibbs was really detailed to follow or accompany Smith and the treasure, or was altogether an impostor in this respect.

Mr. Norman R. Smith, son of Victor Smith, and the present Mayor of Port Angeles, accompanied his father on the voyage of the "Golden Rule." He was eight years of age at the time, but vividly recollects all the circumstances of the voyage and wreck.

W. R. McGarry.

LOG DRIVE ON CHALLEN RIVER.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT—LETTER OF THE BOARD OF NINE MEN.

ACCREDITING DELEGATES TO HOLLAND, 1649.

As in the New England town-meeting, civil liberty in the Netherlands or Holland found its cradle in the town. But while in America the town was a large territory, covering many square miles of open country, in the older Republic the town was a limited space, surrounded by walls and filled with crowded streets. In these narrow spaces began to develop a class of human beings finally rising to the dignity of being called the people. Their confrêres of like degree outside, were not much more than chattels; to think of them as having any right to take part in government was as absurd as to concede such right to crows or foxes. But within the walls the cheorls or churls, as artisans, or workmen, or shopkeepers, were distinctly recognized. Here the burghers, of whatever lineage or degree originally, who had acquired a little property, had a voice in the affairs of state. It was a very feeble voice; their influence was exceedingly limited; it began at the very bottom of the governmental superstructure. But still the common people had both voice and influence. It was the entering wedge, which succeeding centuries saw driven in further and further, until power was wrested entirely from privilege, and fell into the hands of those for whose benefit it is meant to be wielded.

In the towns of Holland the share of the people in the government began thus: "A great council of the citizens possessing certain property qualifications, met annually and chose eight or nine 'good men;' these in turn elected the burgomasters and the candidates, from whom the schout, as representative of his master, selected the schepens." The burgomasters were a sort of municipal upper-house, or senate, composed of two, four, or more members, in even numbers. The schepens (Latin, *scabini*) might be called the lower-house, or the board of assistant-aldermen, were it not that their functions were more distinctively judicial. They were a regular court, civil and criminal. The schout was a sort of Mayor, representing the Count or Baron of the province. Yet later, the burgomasters (and at present one burgomaster) represented our Mayor, while the schout became a more sub-

ordinate functionary, resembling our sheriff.

Now, New Amsterdam became a Dutch city or town about 1653, while Director Peter Stuyvesant reigned over the land. Then appeared upon the scene two burgomasters and a proper number of schepens. The latter functionaries, in contradistinction from the burgomasters were always in the odd numbers of three, five, seven, or nine. But even under Director Kieft, in the face of the terrors of the Indian wars, ten years before, the Dutch spirit of self-government, of which the people had had experience for generations, broke through the restrictions of colonial government, and chose a body of men to the number of twelve, who were to be consulted by the Director. The pressure of war gone, Kieft soon made this Council or Assembly of the Twelve a nugatory affair, falling into innocuous desuetude. But later during his rule and again under Stuyvesant, the magic number of the "good men" was hit upon, to establish a body of Nine Men to represent the people and watch over their interests as invaded or ignored by the stern Director. We used the word reign advertently, a moment ago. Hard-headed Peter almost exercised, or certainly tried to exercise, despotic rule. But the Dutch colonists were the worst people in the world to try that experiment on. The Nine Men were called into being with a definite purpose: to realize some of that kind of republican government which prevailed in the United Provinces. And when Stuyvesant attempted the other thing, there was bound to be a clash or a crash somewhere. We hear the mutterings of the thunder rolling among the sentences of the petition which the Nine Men addressed to the States General, or Congress of the Dutch Republic. It was a bill of grievances, ennumerating the tyrannical practices of the Director General. Not satisfied with putting this matter on paper, the grim determination of these thorough-going republicans to have done with despotism however petty, is shown by the fact that they actually delegated three men to carry the petition personally to Holland, and to present it in person, with oral comments and the prompt answer of plain interrogations, if called for. To be sure that their mission might not be misunderstood, a letter of credence was given them, signed by eight of the Nine Men, as one of the three delegates was also one of that number.

This letter reads as follows:

GREAT, POWERFUL, HIGH AND MIGHTY SOVEREIGNS.

After our distressed circumstances had forced and obliged us to represent the poor condition of this country and to pray for redress therein, we considered it proper to delegate also some persons whom we know and acknowledge to be honorable, honest and trustworthy; likewise well experienced in, and acquainted with, the circumstances of this country, in order that they may furnish your High Mightinesses, if such be your will and pleasure, with further informa-

26 July
13 — 1649

Groot Machtighe Hooghe en Mooghende Souvereijnderen.

Wijsen dat de bedroefde gelegentheden, daer wy mede in, Ons gelaedt en genoodsaeckt hebben, den selighen toestandt deses Lants, te gemoet te treden, en redres daer voor te versoecken. Soo hebben wy noodich gevonden Personen daer ter plaetse te senden die wy wel en bekwaem, oprecht, vroom ende gelooffwaerdich te wesen, oock wel ervaren ende bekent in de gelegentheden deses Landts: den Eersten sy Gaere Hoo: Moo: in dien saecke gaer wel gevallen en gelieven mochte wesen, alsmede in alle gelegentheden, nae dese verklaringe en ordeninge mochten gebuijen oock by Gaere Hoo: Moo: een tijdich redres en hulpe aenbrengen. Soo ist, dat wij by desen Ootmoedelijck bidden ende versoecken dat Gaere Hoo: Moo: deselve gelieven, te willen Adriaen vander Donck: Jacob van Couwenhoven ende Jan Evertsz: Bout: Onse afgesondene en volmachtige, gelieven te gelooven gelooft, in alles wat sy Ons aen gaende doen of spreecken sullen, alsoo wij het selve tuijgen van Ons te wesen, tot Gaere Hoo: Moo: Landts beste gereetschap

Gaere Hoo: Moo: sonder dese noodige Recommendatie, gelieven Gaere dan in gunstige gelooven aen te nemen, en wy sijn en blijven Gaere Hoo: Moo: getrouwe Onderdanen.

Gaere neerlants Gebeden wy Ons oock vriendt aenGaere Hoo: Moo: te sonden: Een staelteken van de Hollandsche vruchten, gewassen, om voor te dringen: Gelijck Ootmoedelijck bidden, dat het gelieft de naeder onse soberen gelegentheijt in danck mage aengenomen worden, Hier willende wy vertrouwen de goede God alsoo sal gelieven in weders gewaringe wy de Persoonen van Gaere Hoo: Moo: Landt slaenghen en voorneemen altijdt bidden Amen

In den Naeme ende van wegens de Gemeente in Nieuw Nederlandt
Actum den 26. July. Anno 1649. in N. Amsterdam op d'Eylandt Manhatans in Nieuw Nederlandt.

Sijmon Germain
Arnoldus van Hasencamp
Olaff Stevensz
Marten Gerritsz
Cornelis Jacobsz
Elbert Elbertsen
Govert Loockermans
Hendrick Hendricksz Kip.

tion and explanation on every subject & circumstance, and also to importune your High Mightinesses to grant seasonable relief and aid. We, therefore, hereby humbly entreat and request your High Mightinesses to be pleased to give credence in all things that they may do or say in the premises, to these persons, to wit, ADRIAEN VAN DER DONCK, JACOB VAN COUWENHOVEN, and JAN EVERTSE BOUT, our Delegates and Agents, inasmuch as we know them for persons of honor and of good name and fame, also right well disposed towards the interest of this country. With humble reverence we pray your High Mightinesses to be pleased to grant them a favorable audience, and we are and remain your High Mightinesses' faithful subjects.

We have, in addition, presumed to send your High Mightinesses a specimen of this country's products, crops and forage, most humbly praying that, according to our straightened circumstances, it may be graciously accepted, which we pray God also to grant, to whose keeping we ever commend your High Mightinesses' persons, deliberations and undertakings. Amen.

In the name, and on the behalf, of the Commonalty of New Netherland, Done the 26th July 1649 in New Amsterdam, on the Island Manhattans in New Netherland.

(Signed) AUGUSTIN HERMAN.
ARNOLDUS VAN HARDENBERCH.
OLOFF STEVENSS.
MACHYEL JANSSEN.
THOMAS HALL.
ELBERT ELBERTSEN.
GOVERT LOOCKERMANS.
HENDRICK HENDRICKSEN KIP.

The original of this letter is preserved among the Royal Archives at the Hague, and here the indefatigable Brodhead discovered it. Naturally enough he seized upon it as an important documentary treasure, had it copied, brought it to Albany, and deposited the copy in the State Archives. When it was resolved to publish these documents, the letter was translated and appears on p. 258, Vol. I., of "Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York."

It seemed of interest to look upon the actual characters which conveyed such sturdy sentiments. The document was indicated to the General Archivist, or Keeper of the Rolls, at the Hague, Mr. T. H. F. Van Riemsdyk, which was an easy matter, as Mr. Brodhead took care to mark its whereabouts: "*Loket Kas* of the States General; Rubric, *Westindische Compagnie*, No. 30. Division 2." With the courtesy and cordial accommodation which so honorably distinguishes the Dutch Archivists, Mr. Van Riemsdyk at once looked up the original document, and permitted it to be photographed. The fac-simile on another page, is copied from the photograph thus made, and enables the American student to observe its exact original appearance.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

History and Poetry.

We are none too rich in legendary lore on this New Continent of ours, and in our young Republic. Tradition, carrying the tales of events by mouth from generation to generation, and losing nothing in embellishment by this verbal carriage—has had no chance (or not much) to place events of the past in dim and mystic lights, wherein ghostly fantastic shapes mingle with grim realities. The grim realities have had the whole field, for on this side the Atlantic the newspaper and the historical society are almost coeval with history itself. Yet once in a while (and Godspeed to them all) we have had a Cooper with his "Spy," a Hawthorne with his "Septrinius Felton" and the battle of Lexington, or with his "Scarlet Letter" and a still earlier period. A Longfellow we have had as well who has given us a poetic version of "Paul Revere's Ride." It is possible that, being a poet, he exercised some of the license usually accorded to that "fine-frenzied" individual; and thus possibly misread so eminently accurate a chronicler as Bancroft, getting some of the events mixed. In that case it would seem quite sufficient to take the history and the poetry "unmixed;" turning to the one if we wanted information, and to the other if we wanted a little elevation of sentiment. But a certain newspaper man of Boston thought differently. The unbridled license of Longfellow's spirited ballad shocked him, and so he took a ride in a "herdic," accompanied by an "artist" (of as much soul doubtless as he himself possessed) over the ground that Paul Revere rode the Deacon's admirable mare. And he dilates in a semi-humorous style on the fact that somebody else was watching the lanterns; on the specific circumstance that, while Longfellow makes Revere "mount the steep" on the road to Medford, the newspaper man found it "as level as a billiard table;" and finally Longfellow is discovered to be all wrong as to Revere's "getting there" after all, for he never did, but was captured when about half-way between Lexington and Concord. Now this is really unpardonable in Mr. Longfellow, for he might have read the correct account of the term-

ination of Revere's ride in Mr. Bancroft's history. The only consolation we may derive from these melancholy deficiencies on his part is that had he made no mistake—or (at least) had he not boldly used his license as a poet, the ride in the "herdic," by this brilliant newspaper investigator, would never have been taken, with or without an artist.

* * *

About Benedict Arnold.

On Water Street, New Haven, still stands the house built in 1771 by Benedict Arnold, and occupied by him until after the breaking out of the Revolution. It was a good house for its day, surrounded by spacious grounds and a fine orchard. This property also belonged at one time (1802–1812) to Noah Webster.

Other Arnold relics of scarcely less interest are in the possession of the New Haven Historical Society. Among them is the following petition to the Assembly of Connecticut to authorize the organization of a military company, the first in New Haven and the second in the State, which took part in the War of Independence. This petition is signed by Benedict Arnold and fifty-seven others, among which are the honored names of Nathan Beers, James Hillhouse and Pierpont Edwards. Arnold's signature is in the fairest hand of the lot. The paper is given spelling and capitals verbatim:

To the Honorable General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut now sitting at New Haven in New Haven County

The Memorial of us the subscribers inhabitants of New Haven, many of us independent of any Military Company

Humbly sheweth

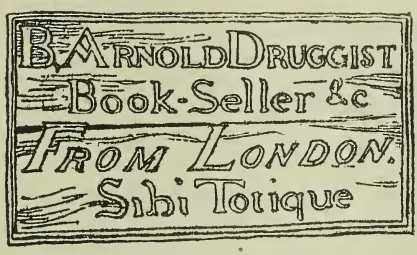
That your memorialists anxious for the safety of their Country and desirous of Contributing all in their power to the support of their just rights and Liberties have formed themselves into a Military Company, have hired a person to instruct them in the Military Art which They are daily practising and have been at much expense in providing a uniform dress. We your Memorialists therefore humbly pray your Honnors to Constitute Them a distinct Military Company by the name of the Governor's Second Company of Life Guards with Power to Choose their Proper Officers to be Commissioned by your Honnors and that They may be under the same Privileges and exemptions as the Military Company in Hartford called the Governor's Guards under such regulations as to your Honnors shall seem meet and Your Memoralists as in duty Bound shall ever pray.

New Haven, March 2, 1775.

There is a current easy fashion of saying that Arnold was unpopular with his neighbors—even distrusted and heartily disliked by them. This may well be doubted. The evidence is the other way, since this company organized in his own neighborhood and authorized by their "Honnors" "to Choose their Proper Officers," proceeded at once to choose Arnold for their Captain. Under him they marched to Cambridge upon receiv-

ing news of the battle of Lexington and thereafter continued in honorable service.

Arnold's career as a country merchant is recalled by the curious sign, which has been preserved with the legend:



Here also may be seen Arnold's mortar and the pestle of white marble. They stand upon a quaint cupboard with a door opening upon three tiers of drawers. It is two feet high, eighteen inches wide and ten inches deep. The hinges of the door, as well as the nails which fasten them, are iron and hand-made. The drawers are of different shapes and sizes, nine in all, and may be pulled out by leather loops nailed on.

But most interesting of all in this collection is a long, narrow book bound in parchment, which its owner called a "Waste Book," but we should call a blotter. On the fly-leaf in a very exact and careful hand is written:

BENEDICT ARNOLD'S
Waste Book,
Began Monday, April 26, 1773.

The first entry, made on the above date, is as follows:

Bragantine Harriot, Dr.
To 24 lbs. beef.

This would seem nowadays scarcely in keeping with the business of a drug and book store. But this is not all, for the list of charges includes oats, rum, meals, knives and forks, towels, table-cloths, "tow-cloath," "worsted hoas," pins, shoes, cordage, and awnings, padlocks and spikes, rudders and bulkheads, gimlets and nails, green tea and brass headed screws — from all which it appears that B. Arnold, Druggist, Bookseller, etc., traded in anything and everything pertaining to the most promiscuous country store.

The price of beef is not stated, but oats were one shilling ten pence per bushel; rum, three shillings six pence per gallon; eight meals, three shillings four pence, or five pence each, which certainly is not expensive living. A dozen knives and forks cost twelve shillings; "worsted hoas," three shilling six pence per pair, and a paper of pins, fifteen shillings, or three dollars and sixty-three cents!

Hannah Arnold appears constantly in these pages. Evidently she was a free buyer, generally traded with her husband, and never paid cash. Fastened to a page with some of those expensive pins with hand-made heads, is a receipted bill of Samuel Goodrich for thirty-two pounds

fifteen shillings for about half a year schooling of Arnold's three boys. Nothing shows that the business changed hands, though the last entry is March 3, 1780.

* * *

Hamilton's Death and the Duelling Practice.

Apropos of the Hamilton-Burr article in our previous number, one feature of it deserves notice. We have very little notion to-day, even in the midst of an impending presidential election, of the exceeding bitterness of party-spirit at the beginning of the present century. But when Hamilton fell, there was a momentary stop to the utterance, perhaps also, the entertaining of it. There was a sudden and spontaneous outburst of grief in every part of the country. Federalist and Republican alike, for the moment, forgot or suppressed their political antagonism. It was forgotten that Hamilton was the Colossus of the Federalists. It was remembered only that to him the young republic owed whatever credit in finance it possessed abroad; and along the lines which he had laid down, glory as well as strength and prosperity were sure to be attained by the nation, and were already incipient. It was the part of true patriotism to regard these national advantages, this common good for all the nation, instead of harping upon party methods and party aims. To stand around this open grave with a deep feeling of sincere regret and sorrow for the country's loss was a much more patriotic attitude.

Great as were Hamilton's services to his day and generation, even in the flagrant "manner of his taking off" he did his country another service. In those anxious days when a presentiment of disaster made him fear that he would be torn from his family, Hamilton put in writing his sentiments with regard to duelling. "My religious and moral principles are strongly opposed to the practice of duelling, and it would ever give me pain to be obliged to shed the blood of a fellow creature in a private combat forbidden by the laws." When men read this protest against a practice which yet the writer of it felt bound by public opinion to engage in, that public opinion received a shock which awakened it to a due sense of its enormity; and "the code of honor" henceforth became one of dishonor. Duelling was doomed in New York and the northern states forever.

* * *

Destruction of Memorials of Jefferson.

What time and the corroding air combined with human carelessness do not destroy of our precious historic relics, some ruthless fire may be trusted to annihilate.

Here was youthful and unhistoric

Missouri only lately rejoicing in the guardianship of a most interesting memento of Thomas Jefferson in which the whole country had a profound interest. This was the marble tablet bearing his epitaph and the original modest monument which had been erected at Monticello in literal fulfilment of his specific directions. These are of the greatest interest and include a pen and ink sketch of the shape of the monument. They read as follows:

"Could the dead feel any interest in monuments or other remembrances of them, when, as Anacreon says:

A heap of ashes we shall lie,
Our bones to dust dissolved—

the following would be to my manes the most gratifying: On the grave a plain die or cube of 3 feet, without any mouldings, surmounted by an obelisk of 6 feet height, each of a single stone; on the faces of the obelisk the following inscription, and not a word more:

HERE WAS BURIED

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,

OF THE STATUTE OF VIRGINIA FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM,

AND FATHER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

because by these, as testimonials that I have lived, I wish most to be remembered. [It is] to be of the coarse stone of which my columns are made, that no one might be tempted hereafter to destroy it for the value of the materials."

The stone proved so coarse that the epitaph could not be inscribed upon it with the chisel, and his grandson, Col. Randolph, had depressions made in the obelisk and a marble tablet inserted, bearing the simple and noble words as written by Jefferson. The efforts to save the monument from mutilation did not prove successful, and it became necessary for the family to remove this tablet from the monument to a place of safety After Congress in 1882 had decreed a fit memorial, the family were persuaded to part with the tablet, and monument and tablet were afterwards awarded to the Missouri State University at Columbia. It adorned the campus, standing in front of the new chapel of Liberty, which was the pride of the University. In January of this year the cruel flames which consumed the main building of the college, destroyed the tablet beyond restoration. It was a highly prized souvenir of one of the founders of the Republic and the main agent in the great purchase of Louisiana of which Missouri was once a part.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PIANO.

WILLIAM STEINWAY.

Latest in the succession of keyed instruments, the piano has been a slow and gradual invention. The "organum," without keys, came into use as an accompainment to the human voice in the tenth century. Step by step it was improved as a vehicle for musical expression. In the eleventh century, the Pythogorean Monochord—direct precursor of the piano—was revived for use in singing schools to teach religious chorals.

The monochord is described as "an instrument consisting of a long box of thin wood, with a bridge fixed at each end, and an intermediate movable bridge over which is stretched a wire or catgut string." It was an easy step from this contrivance to the clavichord—from a single string to several parallel strings. "Virdung's[1] clavichord," says A. J. Hipkins, "was really a box of monochords." The clavichord is the direct ancestor, as to speak, of the grand piano, a rude sort of keyboard being eventually contrived for striking the strings to produce the notes. Early in the sixteenth century the clavichord went out of favor in England and the Netherlands, giving place to the less tender and expressive, but more brilliant spinet; but in Germany, the especial home of music, the clavichord held its own even down to the beginning of the present century, only giving place to the modern piano.

The great masters preferred the sweet clavichord to the early crude pianos, as they did, in fact, to every other instrument. It was the chosen vehicle of Johann Sebastian Bach, greatest musician of his day, as also of the other Bach; and Handel, Mozart and Beethoven were partial to it. Beethoven declared that "Among all keyed instruments the clavichord was that on which one could best control tone and expressive interpretation." In this important respect it was the nearest approach to the admirable modern piano. Handel's clavichord, an Italian instrument of 1726, is preserved in the museum at Maidstone, England. The oldest clavichord now known to be in existence is the "Maincordo [French

[1] Sebastian Virdung, 1511.

manicorde, for monochord] d'Eleonora di Montalvo," 1659, in the Kraus Museum at Florence, Italy.

The harp, the psaltery, and the dulcimer were stringed instruments of the Middle Ages analogous to the clavichord. The psaltery "that favourite mediæval stringed instrument," appears to have been the first of the group to receive a keyboard, which happy contrivance the clavichord soon adopted. The keyed psaltery—in the hands of a skilled musician, one of the most exquisite of mediæval instruments—led to the virginal, spinet and harpsichord or clavicymbalo. The virginal was "a parallelogram in shape, with a projecting keyboard and compass of keys the same as the clavichordium." The spinet ("spinetta" or "espinette") "may be described as a small harpsichord or virginal, with one string to each note." The harpsichord is first mentioned (1404) under the name of clavicymbalo. These instruments "were often described as spinets or virginals." These vague and interchangeable definitions of the spinet, virginal and harpsichord, occasioned a confusion of terms even in the days of their popularity.

Thus among the household furniture of Henry VIII, of England, we find some "virginalls" mentioned which it is believed a strict classification would pronounce as really harpsichords. In the expense account of that unsavory monarch occurs this curious entry: "1530 (April). Item the vj daye paied to William Lewes for i i payer of virginalls in one coffer with i i i i stoppes brought to Grenewiche i i i li And for i i payer of Virginalls in one coffer brought to the More other i i i li."

And in the inventory, after the King's death, we read. "Two fair pair of new long Virginalls made harp-fashion of Cipres, with keys of ivory, having the King's arms crowned and supported by his Grace's beastes within a garter gilt, standing over the keys."

The principal spinet and harpsichord makers were Andreas Ruckers, Antwerp, 1614; Joanes Antonius Baffo, Venice, 1574; Pascal Taskin, 1786; Annibal Posso, Paris, 1555; in London; Keene, 1685; John Hitchcock, 1630; and Charles Harvard, 1676; and Haxby, of York, 1766. It also appears that "there are some spinets and harpsichords in this country." A "fine spinet made by Harvard, 1684," and a "harpsichord made by John Hitchcock, 1658," are in the Drexel collection at the New York Metropolitan Art Museum. The harpsichord given "to fair Nellie Custis by George Washington" can be seen at Mount Vernon. William Knabe, of Baltimore, and Mr. Sypher, of New York City, possess harpsichords, the latter gentleman owning a beautiful instrument" embellished with a fine painting," Mr. Chickering, of Boston, has both a spinet and a harpsichord.

But the psaltery-harpsichord group of instruments had one serious draw-

back. They were built on the plectrum principle, that is to say, the sounds were produced by leather or quill points arranged to twitch the strings as the keys were touched. But the stroke on the string was in every case necessarily uniform, with no possibility of producing difference in tone by a difference of touch on the keys. But an instrument, similar to this group except in this one particular, was the dulcimer, in use during the Middle Ages. The performer on the dulcimer produced his tones by striking the strings with small leather-tipped hammers held in his hands. In principle, therefore, if not in form or appearance, the dulcimer was the truest prototype of the piano among stringed instruments.

Near the end of the seventeenth century, Pantaleon Hebenstreit, a famous German dulcimer artist, had a very large and double dulcimer constructed. It possessed two sound boards, and double sets of strings. It was the nearest approach to the piano in its possibilities. In 1705 Hebenstreit visited Paris, and Louis XIV. gave the double dulcimer the name of "Pantaleon" in honor of its inventor. Ch. G. Schröter (1763) claimed that it was Hebenstreit's Pantaleon which first set him the problem of inventing the piano. The problem was to construct an instrument which through the agency of keys should make possible the same effects which Hebenstreit produced with his hammers. But Schröter's pretensions just here require some investigation.

Gottfried Silbermann, an organ builder, was once universally regarded as the inventor of the piano. In 1763, ten years after Silbermann's death, Schröter put in his claim to the honor, and offered drawings and documents as proofs. Researches in recent years discover that neither of these men, but an Italian, was the first maker of the modern instrument.

Bartolommeo Cristofori, "the man of genius who invented and produced the pianaforte," was a harpsichord maker, born in Padua, May 4, 1653. Cristofori solved the puzzle of putting "hammers to a harpsichord." Not only did he contrive a mechanism whereby hammer heads should strike the strings upon the depression of a key board, but he regulated the fall of the hammers by a system of checks, so that the force of the blow should depend upon the touch of the key. Here, indeed, was the complete principle of the piano.

The first mention of Cristofori's invention occurs in a Venetian newspaper of 1711, announcing the construction of a "Clavicymbalo with piano and forte" — before believed impossible. It was announced that "Bartolommeo Cristofali" (his name is spelled variously), had made three grand pianos, and the fact was emphasized that "it depended upon the strength with which the player touched the key to produce a weaker or stronger tone, with all its gradations."

But the best evidence which we have of Cristofori's work are two of his instruments, made in 1720 and 1726 respectively, (he died in 1731), which are still preserved in Florence. The one in the Kraus Museum (1726) shows the original leather hammer-heads, and the checks used to regulate the blow from the keyboard. "After this discovery of the actual instruments of Cristofori," says A. J. Hipkins, "There can be no longer doubt as to the attribution of the invention to him in its initiation and its practical completion with escapement and check. To Cristofori we are indebted not only for the power of playing *piano* and *forte*, but for the infinite variations of tone, or *nuances*, which render the instrument so delightful."

The name "pianoforte," which Cristofori gave to his instrument, has endured ever since. While we would not in the least detract from Cristofori any of the honor due him for having completely solved the seemingly impossible; yet we may credit Silbermann with such practical improvements of the new instrument as to bring it into popular use, so that, in the words of Agricola," he is not much less than the inventor thereof."

As to the pretensions of Schröter, the Nordhausen organist, it is difficult to put much faith in them. In 1763, undertaking to combat the claim made for Silbermann, then the accredited inventor of the piano, Schröter declared that he had produced an instrument in 1717; and that in 1721 he submitted two models to the court in Dresden, was unable to get them returned to him, and presently had the mortification of seeing his invention bruited about Germany as Silbermann's discovery. But unfortunately for Schröter he wasted his strength upon a straw man. He thought he had but to destroy Silbermann's claim to establish his own pretensions, and all unconscious of the Italian Cristofori, doubtless never dreamed that after all his care, the ghost of the latter would arise to snatch the glory from both himself and Silbermann. Schröter did not even claim his invention to have been prior to 1717; whereas we know that as early as 1711 Cristofori had constructed three grand pianos.

As a matter of fact and history, the account of Cristofori's invention, published in 1711 by an Italian musician, Marchese Scipione Maffei di Verona, was translated into German in 1725, by König, court poet at Dresden, and the personal friend of Silbermann. With this account to guide him Silbermann set to work, and it seems highly probable that Schröter was either indebted to Silbermann, in turn, or else derived his information from the same source—the German translation of Marchese Meffei. But curiously enough, even should we eliminate both Cristofori and Silbermann, Schröter's claim would still remain unproved, for Marius, in 1716,

submitted to the Royal Academy of Paris descriptions and models of four different pianos. Whether Marius is to be credited with an independent invention, or whether he was benefited by some knowledge of Cristofori's instrument, it is difficult to say; but we will not be far amiss to pronounce Schröter's invention an afterthought.

Following Silbermann, Charles E. Friederici of Gera (died 1779), Johann Andreas Stein of Augsburg (died 1792), and John Adam Spath of Regensburg (died 1792), were famous pioneer makers of pianos. Yet notwithstanding that J. S. Bach in 1737, and Mozart in 1777, had praised the piano and used the new instrument, the clavichord for a long time retained its popularity.

The Stein family were remarkable piano makers and some of them were excellent musicians. Their instruments were favorites with Mozart and Beethoven. Besides the father, Johann Andreas, there were two sons, Matthaus Andreas and Friedrich, and a daughter, Maria Anna, or Nanette. Upon the death of the senior Stein, his oldest son Matthaus and Nanette carried on the business together until 1793, when the young woman married Johann Andreas Streicher, a Stuttgart musician and teacher. They removed to Vienna and started a separate manufactory. Mrs. Streicher was the personal friend of Beethoven, and she and her husband in the latter years of the great musician constantly administered to his comfort. Concerning her skill as a piano maker, we have this tribute from Beethoven in a letter to Mrs. Streicher: "Perhaps you do not know, though I have not always had one of your pianos, that since 1809 I have invariably preferred yours."

The London Bach — Johann Christian — was one of the first musicians to use a piano in England. According to Burney the first piano, or "hammer harpsichord," brought to England, was made in Rome by a monk named Father Wood, for an English gentleman, Samuel Crisp of Chesington. From Crisp, Fuller Greville bought the instrument for one hundred guineas. It had no companion in all the realm until Plenius in 1745, constructed a second piano modeled upon the first. The arrival of Johann Christian Bach in London in 1759, led some London string instrument makers to attempt to build pianos. But the instruments turned out were poor affairs, not omitting those of Americus Backers, a Dutchman, who at least had the satisfaction of doing a little better than his neighbors. But the piano remained a unique and unaccustomed instrument even in London, up to 1767, as we learn from the following announcement on a theatre programme, dated May 16, of that year; "End of Act I — Miss Brickler will sing a favorite song from 'Judith,' accompanied by Mr. Dibdin on a new instrument called piano."

Later on the London makers, Stodart and John Broadwood (especially the latter), so materially re-arranged and improved the piano as to gain the style of "English action" applied to instruments modeled after their pattern. Broadwood fairly "reconstructed the square piano," and then turned his attention to the grand.

Meanwhile a new school of makers had been established in Paris by Sebastian Erhard or Erard, who hailed from Strasburg in 1768, and was afterwards joined in Paris by his brother, Johann Baptist Erard. They built a factory, and their fame soon filled the French Capital. But Sebastian Erard's most signal achievement was the invention of his hammer mechanism with double repeating action, which has since been almost universally adopted in concert grand pianos.

America has been one of the most active centers of piano making, and this branch of our theme is deserving of a chapter by itself. But it is doubtful if we can claim a distinctive school prior to 1855, when the firm of Steinway & Sons of New York, successfully produced an overstrung scale with the American iron frame in a square piano, for which they received the gold medal at the American Institute Fair, Crystal Palace, New York. Previous to this time no combination had been effected of the nicest sensitiveness and delicacy with great power and volume of tone, sufficient for rendering such diverse masters as Schumann and Liszt. But by the Steinway invention instruments were constructed "on an entirely new system," which were "capable of serving the performer as a musical instrument to express truthfully — the dreamy ballads of a Chopin, to bring into life the poetical strains of Schumann, and to withstand — in regard to their solidity of construction — the marvelous fancies of Liszt."

Having applied their invention successfully to grand pianos in 1862, the Steinways exhibited their invention at the London World's Exposition. They received first awards, while their pianos created a furore in the musical world.

Since that time American makers have retained their lead and superiority as manufacturers and inventors and pattern-setters for the world. "Thus in late years," says the *Musical Courier* of New York, "by the inventive genius of three or four first-class American piano manufacturers — but especially by the production of the house of Steinway & Sons — have American pianos become and are conceded to be the standard of perfection and the models from which the civilized world copies." Many more important inventions, both in grand and upright pianos, have been made since that time by Steinway & Sons and several other firms, which improvements are readily adopted by the European makers, especially by those of Ger-

many, which next to the United States of America, is the largest piano producing country in the world.

Among American piano manufacturers, as indeed among the piano makers of the world, the House of Steinway & Sons, of New York, has long had a pre-eminent position. The original firm consisted of Henry Englehard Steinway and his four sons, Theodore, Charles, Henry, jr., and William. The father had been a successful piano maker in Brunswick, Germany, and some of his older sons, especially Theodore, were associated with him in business. The cordon of custom houses hemming in Brunswick on every side, the compulsory military system of Germany, and other considerations induced the Steinways to remove to America. They reached New York, June 9th, 1850, William, the fourth son and sixth child, being then fourteen years of age. Theodore, the eldest son, aged twenty-five years, remained in Germany until 1865, carrying on the European branch of the business, for his own account.

Mr. Henry C. Steinway and his sons did not immediately organize an establishment, but secured positions as workmen in various piano factories in this country, in order to make a careful and practical study of the language, customs and different methods of American manufacture. The remarkable success and important inventions of the Steinways undoubtly have been largely due to this thoroughness of preparation and practical mastery of all the details of their business. Already experts in the methods of the European system, they devoted three years of hard work to familiarizing themselves with the peculiarities of the system of piano-making prevalent in the United States. This double mastery of the subject resulted, a few years later, in the Steinway piano, the revolutionary invention combining the sweetness and delicacy of tone of the best European instruments with the strength, durability, and capacity for great power and volume provided by means of the American metal frame.

On the 5th day of March, 1853, (William's seventeenth birthday), Mr. Henry C. Steinway and his three sons in America, Charles, Henry and William, having resigned their various positions as workmen, organized the house of Steinway & Sons. After the death of Charles and Henry, Jr., in March, 1865, Mr. Theodore Steinway gave up his flourishing business in Brunswick, came to America October, 1865, and joined the firm, and Albert, the youngest son, also entered the business. It is impossible in this brief sketch to trace the phenomenal growth, or describe the various inventions and contrivances which originated in this establishment. As early as 1854, at the Metropolitan

Fair at Washington, D. C., they scored the victory over the other contesting manufacturers, and also secured many first honors at various American fairs thereafter. At the London Crystal Palace World's Fair in 1862, and the Paris International Exposition in 1867, they achieved signal triumphs over every competitor in Europe and America, and secured for their house immediate recognition throughout the civilized world. The highest honors from the most distinguished sources were conferred upon them. The brothers Theodore and William, in 1867, were elected honorary members of the Royal Academy of Berlin, while the King of Sweden presented them with the gold medal of the State in 1868.

The phenomenal success of this great house was the result of the joint contribution of industry and genius on the part of the father, and each one of the sons. It is difficult to estimate the exact contribution of each, and it is certain that the same degree of success could not have been achieved with the elimination of any factor. Yet while not losing sight of the part played by Henry Englehard Steinway, a most remarkable man, and the sons, Charles, Henry and Albert, it remains true that the careers of the brothers, Theodore and William, have a special interest and signification for us. The inventive faculty, which more or less characterized all the family, had its most remarkable development in Theodore. While the enterprise and genius for business management, which all possessed to a considerable extent, was in an unusual degree, the peculiar talent and power of William. As his genius in this direction became evident, the enormous and all important task of conducting the mercantile business and financial affairs of the house was shifted upon his shoulders, and as a result the house of Steinway & Sons, is to-day one of the most extensive and representative business concerns in the city of New York, and conceded to be by far the largest piano manufacturing establishment in the world.

That Mr. William Steinway is every where recognized as the chief factor in this great business success is attested by the fact that his influence in financial affairs is recognized and has been sought in other and outside directions. He has been for nearly thirty years a trustee and vice-president of the German Savings Bank, one of the soundest banking institutions of New York. He was one of the founders of the Bank of the Metropolis in 1871, and has been a director ever since. He is vice-president of the Queen's County Bank, and holds the same office in the State Trust Company, while he is interested in and officially connected with various other financial institutions. In 1889 he was appointed by Mayor Grant a member of the committee of one hundred representative citizens of New York to control the affairs of

the World's Fair, should the Metropolis be chosen as its site; and he was elected to the sub-committee of finance. President Cleveland offered to him the sub-treasuryship of New York, but stress of business did not permit him to accept office. In April, 1890, he was appointed by Mayor Grant a member of the Rapid Transit Commission, together with August Belmont, John H. Starin, Orlando B. Potter and Woodbury Langdon.

In January, 1891, a new Rapid Transit Act was passed by the State Legislature, the appointments by Mayor Grant under its provisions, and unanimously confirmed by the Legislature being William Steinway, John H. Starin, Samuel Spencer, John H. Inman and Eugene L. Bushe. Mr. Steinway was unanimously elected President of the Commission, and with the genius and ability of these gentlemen centered upon the subject, the difficult problem of adequate Rapid Transit is nearing the point of solution.

Mr. William Steinway is to-day the sole surviving representative of the original house of Steinway & Sons. His brothers, Charles and Henry died in 1865, his father in 1871, his brother Albert in 1877, and his brother Theodore in 1889. From time to time the younger members of the family — sons of the brothers, and grandsons of Henry Englehard Steinway — have been admitted to the firm, so that it is at present as strong in every department as at any time in its history. These younger members have emulated the example of their fathers in acquiring a thorough mastery of the details of their business. Nearly forty patents have been issued to cover the peculiar improvements in piano manufacture devised by the Steinways, and if one may venture to forcast the future, it appears altogether probable that this house will continue to lead the world in the progressive development of their great and increasingly important industry.

In this connection one cannot well withstand the temptation to pause and consider the great influence this remarkable family has exerted in the encouragement of musical endeavor in America. Steinway Hall may truthfully be described as having been for years the centre of the musical interests of the New World. Its historic walls have echoed the performances of the great artists from Rubenstein down, and the sweet strains of Patti and Nilson have filled it with the most exquisite melody. It was the cordial support and help of the Steinways, especially of William Steinway, which sustained Theodore Thomas in the dark days when he failed of appreciation and patronage, and but for the same generous spirit and enterprise, many of the greatest foreign artists who have delighted Americans would never have touched upon our shores.

Mr. William Steinway has also been a liberal patron of other departments of art and education. For many

years he has been President of the German Liederkranz, the oldest musical organization in America. He is a member of the German Legal Aid Society and of the German Society for emigrants. He has permanently endowed the German Hospital, and in 1889 was President of the phenomenal fair for the hospital whereby with an expenditure of $6,000, more than $118,000 was realized. The welfare of the families of the firm's employees is carefully considered by Mr. Steinway, and in connection with the extensive piano manufacture at "Steinway," Long Island City, model houses for the employees have been erected, with every improvement and convenience. In 1877 a public school, accommodating one thousand children, was erected, where the best teachers are retained at the expense of the firm to give free instruction in German and music. In 1881 a fine bath for the employees was erected on the shore of the East River, and a park laid out, and in 1890, a fine Union Protestant Church was erected, an excellent kindergarten established, and the Steinway Free Circulating Library organized and permanently endowed.

These numerous benevolent enterprises, and his great business interests have fully occupied Mr. Steinway's attention and led him to refuse all offers of political preferment. He was, however, one of the "Committee of Seventy" which in 1871 accomplished such sweeping reforms in the local government of New York. Again in October, 1886, he presided at the great meeting of citizens at Cooper Union Institute who nominated Mayor Hewitt, and was largely instrumental in the election of the latter. In 1888 he was unanimously elected the member for the State of New York of the National Democratic Committee.

He is at present (elected February 22, 1892) presidential elector at large for New York State, with Erastus Corning, to attend the coming National Democratic Convention. The Mayoralty of New York has been twice offered to him. In 1888 his election was assured, both factions of the Democracy proposing to nominate him for the sake of harmony. But he resolutely refused. In 1889 the Democratic nomination of Secretary of the State of New York was offered him and refused. This policy of refusal of political honors has been resolutely maintained by him under a sense of duty, to the present time, that he might devote his energies in less ostentatious, but more necessary directions.

Mr. William Steinway possesses that rare accomplishment of being a ready and happy speaker — in either the German or the English language.

JULIUS HOFFMAN.

The Donnan Publishing & Engraving Co Chicago

John B Turner

CHICAGO PIONEERS.

JNO. BICE TURNER.

JOHN BICE TURNER became a citizen of Chicago in 1843, and was in at the birth of Western railway enterprise. An experienced builder of railroads and other public works when he came to Chicago, he became a promotor of, and one of the most important factors in building up what has since become one of the great railroad systems of the Northwest.

Mr. Turner was born in Colchester, Delaware County, New York, January 14th, 1799, and died in Chicago, February 26th, 1871. His father died when he was two years old, and his mother when he was fourteen, so that he was left an orphan while still a mere lad. Several years prior to his mother's death, however, he had been taken into the family of a New York State farmer named Powers. Mr. Powers operated a tannery in connection with his farm, and his adopted son divided his time between these two enterprises, comparatively little opportunity being given him for securing an education. He, however, made the best use of the time at his disposal, and by dint of persistent effort managed to acquire the kind of knowledge most essential to a successful business career.

In 1819 he married Miss Mattie Valentine, of Malta, Saratoga County, New York, settled on a farm, and for a time gave his attention mainly to agricultural pursuits. At the end of five years he sold the farm, or rather his interest in it, and purchased a planing-mill, which he operated in connection with a distillery and general store at Maltaville, New York. For a time he met with flattering success, and accumulated money somewhat rapidly in this business, but at the end of half a dozen years he met with reverses which left him practically bankrupt. He was not, however, without resources, and in 1835 he entered into a contract to build seven miles of the Ransom & Saratoga Railroad, which had been projected, and the construction of which was under way. After completing this work according to contract, he took charge of the line as manager, and this being one of the primitive railroads on which horses supplied the motive power, he built barns at intervals of ten miles along the line for their accommodation.

While he had charge of this road he put into service "The Champlain," a five-ton locomotive, famous as the second of its kind to run on a Northern railroad.

In November of 1835 Mr. Turner, in connection with other gentlemen, whom he had associated with him as contractor, broke ground for the New York & Erie Railway, but the financial crash of 1837 made a suspension of operations necessary, and left him and his partners stranded and practically ruined in a business way. After a time the enterprise was again gotten under way, and he received compensation for work done on the line, sufficient to give him fair operating capital.

His next important undertaking was the construction of the Genesee Valley Canal, in which his brother-in-law, John Vernam, was a partner. In 1840 the State suspended work on this Canal, and again all Mr. Turner's plans were upset, and his business demoralized. After delays which caused serious embarrassment work was resumed, and that portion of the Canal which he had under contract was completed. He also built a section of the Troy & Schenectady Railroad, and the spring of 1843 found him again in comfortable circumstances—the result of his public works contracts. He then visited Illinois and other Western States, accompanied by his wife, and embraced the opportunity afforded him of learning something of the resources and prospects of the West. His explorations of the country were thorough, and his conclusions were those of the far-seeing and sagacious business man. Believing that Chicago, as the trade center of a vast and remarkably productive region, would become a city of consequence before many years should elapse, he determined to locate here, where his keen perceptions, his enterprise, and his practical knowledge of railroad building made him an especially valuable citizen of the community just at that time. His residence in Chicago began in the fall of 1843 as a guest of the Tremont House, kept then by Ira Couch, famous among the pioneer landlords of the Northwest. His first investment was in a farm of one hundred acres, lying north of Blue Island, which he stocked with a flock of sheep brought from Ohio. After a time he became active among the business men of Chicago in his advocacy of building a railroad to what was known as the Fox River country, then a prosperous and rapidly improving agricultural district. As early as 1837, the building of a line of railroad between Chicago and Fox River had been gotten under way, but funds soon gave out and it was abandoned. In 1847 Wm. B. Ogden and John B. Turner resuscitated this enterprise, and it was largely as a result of their efforts that the road was pushed to completion. Mr. Ogden was elected first President of the company, with Mr. Turner as Man-

aging Director. A survey of the line was made, and Messrs. Ogden and Turner traveled over the route soliciting subscriptions to aid in the building of the road. The land owners and farmers came to their assistance, and although the work of construction progressed slowly, the pioneer railroad of northern Illinois gradually approached completion. In 1850 the road had been completed to a point beyond Elgin, and Mr. Turner then became President of the company. Under his management it was completed to Freeport within the next two years, and was operated as the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad, its length being something over one hundred miles. During his administration the company also built the "Dixon Air Line" to Fulton, Illinois, and constructed a line, part of the way across the State of Iowa.

In 1853 he had also organized the Beloit & Madison Railroad. In 1858 he resigned the presidency of the railway company, which he had held for eight years, but continued to be actively identified with railway interests and railway management up to the time of his death in 1871. When the Galena & Chicago Union was consolidated with the Chicago & Northwestern lines of railroad in 1864, Mr. Turner was made chairman of the managing committee of the consolidated roads, and subsequently served continuously as a director and member of the executive committee.

Not only was he recognized as one of the chief promoters and builders of one of the great railroad systems of the United States, but he was regarded as a railroad manager of superior ability and high character. During the war of the rebellion, while General John C. Fremont had command of the Union forces in Missouri, he charged the railroad companies with swindling the government in the transportation of troops, supplies, etc. In order to ascertain the true status of affairs, Mr. Turner was directed to make an investigation under government authority, and his investigation and report were so complete and satisfactory that the commissioners appointed to look into the matter adopted it and transmitted it to the authorities at Washington without change. Through his realty investments and railway interests he amassed a large fortune, as a natural result of the general development and growth of the City of Chicago, and its tributary country, to which he himself contributed in no small degree. His death, occurring in the prime of his early old age, removed a conspicuous figure from among Western railway men and pioneers. The esteem in which he was held among those who had been associated with him officially, and in the conduct of railway affairs, was fittingly expressed by General Manager Dunlap, of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway, who announced that the general offices and shops of the company would be closed on the day of the

funeral, in token of respect to the memory of "this judicious and faithful counselor, genial companion, constant friend and christian gentleman. His devotion to the material interests of the country was excelled only by the patriotism which never lost sight of the highest duties of citizenship. His great work lives after him, and will keep his memory green forever."

VALENTINE C. TURNER.

Like his father John B. Turner the noted railway builder and manager, Valentine C. Turner became identified with Chicago during the second decade of its existence. He was born in Malta, Saratoga County, New York, February 25th, 1823, and partially grew up there. After receiving the ordinary preliminary education, he was fitted for college at the academies of Troy and Oxford in New York, and at the same time received a fair share of practical business training at the office of his father, then engaged in the construction of the Erie Railroad and the Genesee Canal. After leaving the academy he went to Williams College, of Williamstown, Massachusetts, from which he graduated in 1846.

Meantime his father had completed his public works contracts in New York State, and had established himself in Chicago, and immediately after his graduation the son joined him. In the fall of the same year he opened a law office in Chicago, and continued in the practice of his profession twelve years. In February of 1859 he joined with his father and other gentlemen in inaugurating the North Chicago City Railway Company. A charter was procured for the construction of a horse railway, and Mr. Turner was appointed secretary and treasurer upon the organization of the company, and continued to act in this capacity until July of 1865, when he was made vice president. In 1867 he was elected president of the corporation, and retained this position until a few years since, when the road was sold to a syndicate of Eastern capitalists, of which Charles T. Yerkes became president and general manager.

Mr. Turner turned over to this corporation a valuable property, which had been built up under his management, and which has since been expanded into one of the great street railway systems of the country. The rapid growth of the city and its extension along the north shore of Lake Michigan have made necessary the substitution of the cable system for the horse car lines, which seemed to answer every purpose a few years since, and with the main cable system, horse and electric lines form connect-

V. C. Turner

ions radiating to all portions of the northern division of the city. Since his retirement from the presidency of the Street Railway Company, Mr. Turner has not engaged actively in any business, but has given himself up to the enjoyment of his ample fortune. Much of his time has been spent in travel, and in the course of his travels—both in this country and abroad—he has been a discriminating collector of works of art, and curios of all kinds.

His home, one of the noted residences on the famous Lake Shore Drive of Chicago, is always regarded as a most hospitable mansion, notwithstanding the studious habits and quiet disposition of the owner.

An enthusiastic sportsman, he is now president of the Pelee Club, composed of sportsmen resident in Chicago and New York, of high social and business standing. Of this club the late General Phil. Sheridan was a conspicuous member, and among present well known members are Judge Walter Q. Gresham, George M. Pullman, Col. J. Russell Jones, and other prominent citizens of Chicago. On a Canadian island in Lake Erie, opposite Sandusky, Ohio, the association has a magnificient club house, erected at a cost of $100,000. The island belongs to the club, and in May and October of each year members meet there to enjoy the fishing season and the pleasures of social reunion,

A Democrat in politics, Mr. Turner has only now and then taken anything more than the interest which all good citizens take in public affairs. In the presidential campaign of 1876 he was an ardent supporter of Samuel J. Tilden, and put forth unusual efforts to secure his election, aiding actively in the organization of his party in Illinois and elsewhere.

While he was recognized during the early years of his residence in Chicago as a capable and successful lawyer, he has been better known as one of the careful, conservative, and able business men of Chicago, whose strict integrity and high character have never been questioned.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

HORATIO O. STONE.

One of the noted pioneers of Chicago, long identified with the city, the builder of a handsome fortune, and a conspicuous figure among self-made western men, was H. O. Stone, who came to Illinois in 1834, settled in Chicago and was actively engaged in business here up to the time of his death in 1877.

Mr. Stone was born in Boughton Hill, Ontario—now Monroe County—New York, January 2nd, 1811. His father, Ebenezer Stone, was one of the early settlers of western New York, who served as a soldier in the war of 1812, and was an active participant in much of the warfare with Indians, which was a prominent feature of pioneer life in that region.

He married Clarissa Odell, who died leaving H. O. Stone, an infant six weeks old. Deprived of a mother's tender care and sympathy, the boy grew up to form an early acquaintance with the burdens and duties of life. His father was a farmer, and the tasks allotted to him, as soon as he became old enough to make himself useful, were of a character which left him little time for recreation or indulgence in boyish pastimes. He attended the country schools a portion of each year until he was fourteen years of age, when he was apprenticed to a shoemaker. He served three years in this apprenticeship, learning at the same time, something of the trade of tanner and currier. Not being satisfied to follow this calling, when he was seventeen years old he started out through the country as an itinerant merchant, with a stock of goods, which he carried in a tin box. This boyish venture was not successful, and at the end of a year he sought other employment for his time and talent.

Working his way down the Onandaga River, on a raft of lumber to Chenango Forks, he made his way from there to Honesdale, Pennsylvania. There his capability and businesslike methods of doing things were recognized by his appointment as overseer of a gang of laborers on the Lackawanna Canal. After this he spent a year boating on the Erie Canal, and what he saw and heard during these years led him to the conclusion that in the West was the place for him to seek a permanent location. Filled with this idea he journeyed to Michigan, where he visited a brother who had preceded him to that territory. There he "entered" eighty acres of government

W. O. Stone

land, in the town of Clinton, Washtenaw County, settled on it and began farming. When the Blackhawk War broke out, he was called into military service, and under command of General Jacob Brown marched to Niles, Michigan. There news of the capture of the famous Indian chief was received, and the troops disbanded, Mr. Stone returning to his farm at the end of twenty-two days absence.

In 1833 he married Miss Jane A. Lowry, of Erie, Pennsylvania, who shared with him the hardships of pioneer life until 1835 when he sold his Michigan farm. He then sent his family to Erie, while he himself proceeded to Chicago, which had attracted his attention, and which he thought was at least worthy of a visit. He arrived in Chicago at the end of a tedious journey in midwinter of 1834–5. He stopped at the old Saugenash Hotel, kept by Mark Beaubien, and after looking about the town for a few days, determined to locate here, notwithstanding its uninviting aspect. John Dean Caton, afterward Chief Justice of Illinois, was then a young lawyer and Justice of the Peace in Chicago. Mr. Stone dropped into Caton's court one day, and while there gave a practical demonstration of his faith in the future of Chicago, by purchasing from one of the habitues of the office a "town lot" on Clinton street, for which he paid $90.00. Two-thirds of all the money he had went into this real estate venture. Then he looked about for work and found employment, chopping timber for the harbor piers on the north branch of the river near Chicago, for which he was paid at the rate of sixteen dollars per month. Notwithstanding the smallness of his wages, he laid aside something during the winter, and the following spring, accompanied by a friend, he went into Wisconsin on a prospecting trip. On this trip, which lasted, from first to last, three months, he thoroughly familiarized himself with that portion of the Northwest then attracting the most attention. At Sheboygan, Wisconsin, he filed a claim on eighty acres of land near the mouth of the river, and then went to work in a saw-mill. In June he came back to Chicago, attending the first public sale of government lands in the city. He discovered upon his return that Chicago realty was in great demand, and the lot for which he paid ninety dollars was sold in a short time for three hundred and forty-eight dollars. The sale of this lot, and the profit realized therefrom, gave him some capital to operate upon, and he opened a grocery store.

This was the beginning of his career as a merchant, and for twenty-seven years thereafter he was prominently identified with the trade in Chicago. During a portion of this time he was also one of the extensive dealers in grain of all kinds, and shipped the first cargo of wheat sent out from Chicago, the grain being

carried aboard the vessel in which it was to be shipped, in sacks.

While merchandising, he also gave a large share of his attention to real estate operations, and became the owner of several large tracts of land in the city, which he sub-divided and sold at handsome profits. A remarkably good judge of lands and land values naturally, the merchant soon developed into one of the most sagacious investors in and handlers of real estate in Chicago, and at a later date, he gave to this business his entire time and attention. For nearly thirty years he was conspicuously active in this branch of business, contributing in numerous ways to the upbuilding of the city. The firm which he established—one of the oldest of its kind in the city—is still known as the firm of H. O. Stone & Co., although Mr. Stone died July 20th, 1871, his son who bears the same name, having succeeded him in the business.

The widow of Mr. Stone still resides in Chicago, and the family is one of the most widely known of the old families of the city.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

SOUTHERN MEN IN CHICAGO.

HENRY H. HONORÉ.

JEAN ANTOINE HONORÉ, grandfather of Henry H. Honoré, who has acquired distinction among the men most actively identified with the building up of Chicago — was a Parisian by birth, and came of a family well-known in the French metropolis. Being a younger son he was educated for the priesthood, as is often the case, but he felt that he had no inclination to follow that vocation. He was a man of culture and very liberal views, and like many of the young Frenchmen of his time was inspired with an ardent enthusiasm for the newly established American Republic, in whose struggles for independence, which he had watched with the greatest interest during his college days, LaFayette and many other personal friends had taken a gallant part. Upon coming of age, therefore, he turned his back upon his own country, and became one of the group of Frenchmen who exerted so potent an influence in the early days of the Republic. He brought with him his patrimony, which was considerable, and became a resident of the City of Baltimore, where for many years he was a conspicuous citizen. In 1806, having reached the conclusion that Louisville, Kentucky — on account of its favorable location at the Falls of

H. H. Lamore

the Ohio River — was likely to become one of the chief cities of the West, he removed from Baltimore to that city. There he invested in various enterprises, and became greatly interested in the development of the resources of the rich country tributary to the Mississippi River. He was the owner of one of the first steamboats which made the trip from Louisville to New Orleans. For many years he was recognized as one of the leading merchants of the southwest, a shrewd man of affairs, scarcely less noted for his courtliness of manner than for his business sagacity. He died in Louisville, in 1843, leaving a son Francis Honoré, who was born in Baltimore in 1792, but who grew to manhood and spent the greater portion of his life in Kentucky.

Having a comfortable fortune and less taste for affairs, Francis Honoré engaged much less actively in business than his father had done, and much of the time he lived at his country place in the interior of the state. He married Matilda Lockwood, a notably beautiful young southern woman — daughter of Captain Benjamin Lockwood, of the United States Army. In this connection it may be of interest to note the fact that Mrs. Honoré's mother, after the death of Captain Lockwood, became the wife of John Cleves Symes, also a Captain in the United States Army, and a man widely known for his scientific attainments.

One of the sons of Francis and Matilda (Lockwood) Honoré is Henry Hamilton Honoré, who removed from Louisville to Chicago in 1855 to become recognized within a few years thereafter, as one of the most active among the builders of the great western metropolis, and one of its prominent and representative citizens. He was born in Louisville, Kentucky, February 19th, 1824. As a boy he spent a portion of his time with his grandfather in Louisville, and the remainder on his father's plantation. He received an academic education, and at quite an early age was married to a daughter of Captain John Carr, of Oldham County, Kentucky, Miss Eliza Carr, noted for her great personal beauty, as well as for her intellect and accomplishments.

Immediately after his marriage Mr. Honoré established himself in Louisville, where he engaged in the wholesale hardware business. While engaged in this business, which he conducted successfully for several years, he also developed a fondness for real estate, and his investments were by no means confined to the city in which he lived, or to the surrounding country.

When Fort Dearborn, and the cabins of John Kinzie and other Indian traders were all there was of Chicago, or rather of the settlement which preceded Chicago, Mr. Honoré's grandfather, Captain Lockwood, had been stationed there, and as early as 1840, his father, Francis Honoré, had passed through the vil-

lage on his way to Galena, Illinois, stopping long enough to take some note of its advantages and prospects. From the forecasts as to the future of Chicago, made by his father, and from other sources, Mr. Honoré had gained an impression that it was destined to become an important center, and it was this which induced him to make his first visit to the place in 1853. This was designed merely as a prospecting trip, but after taking a careful survey of the situation, and finding the outlook for the future growth and prosperity of the city fully equal to his most sanguine expectations, he become at that time an investor in Chicago realty.

Returning to Louisville he did not hesitate to acknowledge himself a full-fledged convert to the idea that Chicago was destined to become the most populous of western cities. In this view he found comparatively few of his southern friends ready, at that time, to concur, but so forcibly did he present his views, that while many thought him wildly enthusiastic, they were, nevertheless, impressed by his arguments.

Not long after his first visit to the city, he sold out his commercial interests in Louisville, and made further investments in Chicago, becoming at once one of the most prominent of those who began scattering broadcast over the country, information as to its resources and prospects. Through his influence his Kentucky friends began coming to Chicago, and within a few years thereafter many of them had become residents of the city, while others had become extensively interested as property owners.

At the end of two years from the date of his first visit, he removed to Chicago, giving his time and attention at the start, mainly to dealing in real estate, but at a later date to the substantial improvements of much of the property he had acquired.

His first investments were on the north side, where he had a home occupying an entire square, as was then not uncommon in that part of the city. His next extensive operations in realty were in the west division of the city. With other parties he acquired and laid out what became known as "The Ashland Addition," and "The Ashland Second Addition" to Chicago. At his suggestion, the name of one of the streets of this addition — which had been christened "Reuben Street"— was changed to "Ashland Avenue." This street, he predicted, would, before the lapse of many years, become the finest residence street of West Chicago, and he followed up the change of name with a plan of improvement which was calculated to contribute toward bringing about this result. With one or two associates he widened the street to 100 feet, and made other improvements, the ultimate result of which has been to give to the city the present Ashland Boulevard, one of the handsomest and most attractive

streets to be found in any of the cities of the United States. One of the earliest building improvements made on this street was the residence of Mr. Honoré, a spacious building, now the home of ex-Mayor Carter Harrison. He became also extensively interested in the subdivision and sale of other large tracts of land on the "West Side."

Some time later he turned his attention principally to the purchase and improvement of property in the south division of Chicago, where his most efficient and valuable services to the city have been rendered. He was an early discoverer of the trend of business in this portion of the city, and was singularly correct in his forecasts of what would be demanded in the way of accommodations for its rapidly increasing trade and commerce.

He became a leader in the improvements of Dearborn street, erecting two large blocks, known as the "Honoré Block" and "Honoré Building," extending from Monroe to Adams street, which were among the handsomest business blocks in the city before the great fire of 1871. One of these buildings was just being completed when it was swept out of existence along with everything else in that portion of the city. As soon as possible after the fire, Mr. Honoré rebuilt both of these buildings in a most attractive style of architecture, and with all the conveniences and improvements of that period. They were then a long way in advance of neighboring structures, and in the opinion of the general public, in advance of any demands likely to be made upon them. But the fact that they are now the centre of the district within which real estate commands a higher price than in any other portion of the city, emphasizes the wisdom of the builder.

A heavy loser through the fire, Mr. Honoré was one of the first to undertake to replace what had been destroyed in the way of buildings, which had belonged to him. He applied himself to this task with the vigor, the courage and the enthusiasm of his earlier life, and among all those who were called upon at that time to aid in lifting Chicago out of its ashes, none bore a more conspicuous part than he did. Beset by extraordinary difficulties, he persevered in his efforts, and one after another many new buildings took the place of those destroyed, and the new ones were in the main vastly superior to the old. Financially, he was a sufferer by reason of the rapidity with which he pushed these improvements, but the city was unquestionably greatly benefitted thereby.

Among the most conspicuous services, perhaps, which Mr. Honoré has rendered Chicago — much as he has done for the city — was that rendered in connection with the establishment of the splendid parks and boulevards, which have made the western metropolis — in one sense, at least — the

Paris of America. He was one of the originators of the great system of parks and boulevards of the south division of the city, which have already become famous the world over, while one of the parks is to become known to more people than any other in America, as the site of the World's Columbian Exposition.

Prior to the inception of this enterprise, Chicago had but a single park of any consequence, and this was located in the north division of the city. There were few attractions for either visitors or residents, other than those of a business character. The creation of the South parks led to a system of boulevards and drives, which are unequaled by those of any other city in the world, and to a very few men Chicago is indebted for this public improvement. Of this small number of men Mr. Honoré was one of the most prominent. These men conceived the idea of laying out the parks and boulevards, put the project into tangible form, brought it before the public, and pushed it to a successful issue. In carrying forward this work they encountered the most violent opposition, and provoked criticism so hostile that it required great moral courage and tenacity of purpose to pursue the course they had mapped out. They had not only to meet and overcome the opposition of that class of people who oppose an increase of taxation, whatever may be the benefits which are to accrue therefrom, but also of the large class of people who could not look far enough into the future to perceive that Chicago would ever have need for these parks.

To have been successful in inaugurating the park improvements in the face of this bitter opposition, to have set on foot a movement which not only built up the south division of the city, but inspired simultaneously an effort which resulted in the establishment of the park system of West Chicago, through which that portion of the city has been enormously benefitted and improved, testifies strongly to the force of character, the persistency, and perhaps to the diplomacy as well, of the gentlemen whose labors have been productive of such magnificent results; and to have lived to see their work endorsed unanimously by their fellow citizens, and the breadth and scope of their wisdom appreciated by visitors from all parts of the world has been the good fortune of Mr. Honoré, and a few of his associates.

Of the value of his influence, his activity and his enterprise to the city of Chicago, there can be no better estimate than that contained in the following brief utterance of D. H. Burnham, Chief of the Bureau of Construction of the World's Fair: "Too much cannot be said of what he has contributed to the growth of Chicago. Wherever his hand has appeared, there has been big, broad development. It was so in the west division, and it has been so in the

south division of the city. He looked into the future, planned for the future, and acted for the future. Prosperity never spoiled him, and reverses never soured him. He is a grand man, to whom Chicago should build a monument."

Mr. Honoré's usefulness as a citizen of Chicago has not been confined to his public spirited enterprise in seeking to promote the growth and improvement of the city. His generosity always kept pace with his prosperity, and in the practical affairs of life he had a happy faculty of helping people to help themselves, and of bestowing charities in the most graceful and unostentatious way.

There has never been a more hospitable home in Chicago than that of Mr. Honoré. With true Southern hospitality he has coupled the courtesy which comes to him as an heritage from French ancestry, while beauty and culture have commingled in the family circle to make his home attractive. In a family of six children there are four sons and two daughters. Both the daughters are remarkably beautiful women. The elder, Mrs. Bertha Honoré Palmer, wife of Potter Palmer of Chicago, always a social leader, has within the past two years gained national and international celebrity as a woman of magnificent executive ability, rare tact and brilliant attainments. Appointed a member of the National Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition, she was chosen President of the Board upon its organization by unanimous vote, and in this capacity has rendered signal service in the promotion of the exposition enterprise.

The second daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Honoré, noted in her young womanhood as one of the social leaders of Chicago, and later of Washington and New York, is the wife of Col. Frederick D. Grant, son of General U. S. Grant, and now minister-resident representing the United States at the Court of Vienna.

The four sons are still comparatively young men. They are all pursuing prosperous business careers, and are among the representative young men in Chicago's business and social world.

HOWARD LOUIS CONARD.

WESTERN PIONEERS.

WILLIAM PICKERING HUMBLE.

On January 17, 1892, there passed away at his home in Chicago, after a brief illness, and while yet in the prime and vigor of a stalwart manhood, a man who for more than thirty years had been a prominent and influential factor in the wholesale commercial interests of that city.

William Pickering Humble was descended from an ancient and honorable lineage and bore some of the best blood of England in his veins. The surname of Humble is of great antiquity, and may be traced back through William, Prince of Orange, to the Norman invasion and even beyond. The family, at the present time quite numerous, still reside in England on estates having been owned and occupied by them for generations. One of his ancestors particularly distinguished himself for bravery at the battle of Quebec, and was tendered the honor of Knighthood, but declined in expectation of a Baronetcy—of 1660—which was to be revived in his favor.

Joseph Oliver Humble, father of William P., was the second son of Thomas Humble of Humbles Hill in the county of Northumberland. The father of Thomas Humble was an iron merchant and the owner of large collieries in Northumberland. He presented the "City Gates" to the town in which he lived, situated at the foot of Humbles Hill, this hill having been named for him. One of the daughters of Thomas Humble married a son of Robert Stephenson, the inventor of the locomotive.

Joseph Oliver Humble, like his immediate ancestors, was a colliery owner in England, and he was also a practical engineer and mechanic. In 1840 he determined to emigrate to America. Disposing of his possessions in England, he came to Milwaukee, Wis., with his wife, Jane (Merchant) Humble, and his young son, William Pickering. He invested his capital in extensive timber lands and saw mills at Manistee, Mich., and also engaged in the building of vessels for the lumber trade on the lakes, building, among other vessels, the Mary Bonesteel and Honest John. In 1852 Mr. Humble came from Milwaukee to Chicago and engaged in the produce and commission business which he conducted for some years when he removed to Keokuk, Iowa,

Wm. P. Humble.

where he established a large foundry and began the manufacture of car-wheels, which he continued for many years until advancing age induced him to retire from active business. He died May, 1892.

William Pickering Humble was born at New Castle upon Tyne, England, December 24, 1832, and was consequently eight years of age when he came with his parents to Milwaukee. Here his boyhood was spent and his early education obtained under the tutorship of Prof. Skinner, a noted educator. He was apt, studious, energetic, and ambitious, and was regarded by his preceptor as one of his brightest pupils, and the tender regard then established between teacher and pupil ripened into a friendship in after life, that continued unbroken till the death of Prof. Skinner, a few years past. And it may be worth while here to note the fact that the friends of Mr. Humble's youth continued to be his steadfast friends through life, thus testifying to the magnetism of his personality and the sterling worth of his character.

When in 1852 his father embarked in the produce and commission line in Chicago he gave the son charge of the business. This was his first business experience, and he remained in this position three years, until he had accumulated a sufficient sum to enable him to make a venture for himself. He then went to St. Louis and entered the Bryant and Stratton Business College. After graduating from this institution he obtained employment in the wholesale clothing house of Martin Bros., corner Main and Market streets, St. Louis, where his excellent business qualities were at once recognized, and his advancement was rapid. This store was known as No. 1 of the Martin stores, and the proprietors determined to try the experiment of concentrating all their trade in another store on Main street and so closed out their store No. 1 with that end in view. Mr. Humble was offered a position at an advance in salary, by a firm just across the street, in whose employ he had spent some little time prior to engaging with Martin Bros. He accepted this position, but six weeks later, Martin Bros. not being satisfied with the result of their experiment determined to re-open "No. 1" again. They sent for Mr. Humble, and at another advance in salary, gave him entire charge of the business which he conducted with credit to himself and profit to his employers until the outbreak of our Civil War, which caused such depression in the wholesale trade of St. Louis, that in August, 1861, Mr. Humble came to Chicago with this stock of goods, and established a wholesale clothing business, on Lake street near the old Tremont House. In 1863 he closed out this business to accept a partnership in the wholesale cloth house of Charles Beardsley Bros. and Company, one of the largest and wealth-

iest firms then existing in this country, having stores in New York City, St. Louis, Mo., and Chicago, Ill. During his connection with this house Mr. Humble distinguished himself as one of the most active and enterprising members of the firm. Their business continued till 1871. Since that time, Mr. Humble, after some other unimportant business ventures, connected himself with McCullough, Parker, and Co. of Boston, and was their western representative at the time of his death.

Probably no man was better known or more respected by the fraternity of merchants throughout the country than Mr. Humble. Of fine physique, genial manners, gentle bearing, and attractive presence, he added to these qualities a keen sense of honor, a strict morality, and unquestioned integrity. He was devoted to his business, but more devoted to his family, thoroughly domestic in his tastes and habits; he was the idol of his family circle, and their beau-ideal of noble manhood.

He married in 1856 Margaret, youngest daughter of Felty Pearce and Margaret (Lyon) Farmer of Claybourne Co., Miss. Mrs. Humble has an ancestry of which she, too, may be justly proud. The Farmers are of Saxon origin and were seated in Northamptonshire, England, in the reign of Edward IV.

In 1540 Ann, daughter of Richard Farmer Esq., of Eastonstone, married Wm. Lucy. Their son, Sir Thomas Lucy, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1565, and was associated with some of the earlier events in the life of Shakespeare. Jasper Farmer, one of this family, is the ancestor of Felty Farmer of Pennsylvania, the grandfather of Mrs. Humble. On the maternal side she numbers among her ancestors the Mahones of Virginia, and the Lyon family, distinguished alike in peace and war.

In 1852 Mrs. Humble's father fitted out a train to cross the plains to California. At the last moment he abandoned the idea of taking his family with him on account of illness of some of the members, and left them in St. Louis while he went on with the train. The last news his family had from him was a letter written from Taos, New Mexico, in which he expressed his gratification that his family had remained in St. Louis, as they had thereby escaped the many hardships he had endured. He further expressed his intention, as soon as he had arrived at his destination and prepared a home for them of returning for them "as fast as a steamship could bring him." This was the last ever heard of him or his party. They were undoubtedly murdered by savages.

Mrs. Humble and three daughters are the surviving members of Mr. Humble's family. His only son, a bright and promising young man of splendid business ability, died three years ago. In politics Mr. Humble was a Democrat, in religion an Epis-

copalian. He was broad and charitable in all his views, and in all his dealings. He had always a firm and abiding faith in Chicago's future, and it is to men like him, that the Chicago of to-day owes its being.

J. P. Bishop.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PORT ANGELES.

PHILIP A. DOLAN.

The development of the new city of Port Angeles, a history of which is given in this number, has been largely the result of the personal efforts of one man — Philip A. Dolan. He is still a young man, being born in Poughkeepsie, New York, November 9, 1863. His education was acquired in the common schools and High School of his native city. He stood high in mathematics, and was proficient in his Latin studies, but evinced a special aptitude along geographical and historical lines.

He determined early to follow a commercial career as affording the best opportunities for an ambitious young man, in view of the crowded condition of the various liberal professions. With this end in view, at the age of sixteen, he entered the employ of a Poughkeepsie dry-goods merchant. He rapidly mastered every detail of the business, won the confidence and good-will of his employer, and was frequently promoted to positions of responsibility and trust. He believed, however, that the best chance for a young man would be found in a newer country, and accordingly in 1882 he obtained a position as bookkeeper and commissary clerk for the K. C. S. & N. Railway, then in process of construction. His salary was ninety dollars per month, and his headquarters Jonesboro, Arkansas. In this position he made on his own account such investments as his moderate salary permitted. He purchased "time checks" at a discount, and with his accumulated earnings at length purchased the property where the Jonesboro depot was located. He was entrusted with the complete supervision of the stores of the railway company, and assumed the responsibility of purchasing agent, in this latter capacity acquiring a valuable acquaintance with the principal merchants and dealers of the west.

At the expiration of a year spent in this service, he had acquired by means of his savings and judicious investments a capital of $3,000, and with this sum he established a general merchandise business at Arksdale, Mississippi. This place at the time, was a village of but one hundred souls, but it was the center of a

rich cotton valley, and the young man soon inaugurated a large supply business with the neighboring planters, taking their cotton in exchange for provisions. In a year's time he had the largest mercantile establishment in all that locality.

The South was just then entering upon the greatest "boom" in its history. Mines of iron and coal were being opened up. Cities doubled and trebled and quadrupled their populations in incredible spaces of time. Fortunes were made in a day, speculation running riot. Every one with capital was seeking some good Southern investment. Young Dolan judiciously availed himself of this opportunity. He invested early in many growing places, and sold out his interests when the "boom" was at its height. This policy, of course, secured him an independent fortune. He still retains interests in the South, and has great faith in the future possibilities of that great region. He believed, however, that still better opportunities were open in the great Northwest, and after an investigation of this new region, he hit upon the beautiful Port Angeles, which, in his own language, he "believed was to become the greatest of all the Pacific ports."

He came to this place when it was an unknown village of 400 people, and he has been chiefly instrumental in transforming it into the present bustling ocean port of 5,000 inhabitants. He purchased large tracts of land in the heart of the little town, and by means of his own graphic pen began to inform the outside world of the natural advantages of the place, while at the same time he inaugurated a generous policy of internal improvements, expending thousands of dollars in building steamship docks and wharfs, and making large donations to establish schools, academies, churches, and various public institutions required by a thriving city. There was no public interest toward the upbuilding of which he did not contribute conspicuously. He was one of the few who raised $30,000 as a bonus to encourage local enterprise and assist new manufactories to establish themselves in the city. Friends sent him money to invest for them, and he placed it as judiciously as though the investments were his own.

In a statement of the situation at Port Angeles, he says: "Looking at the map you find us in the extreme northwestern point of the United States, and to get here requires energy, determination and capital. Knowing that twenty years ago this country was comparatively unknown, and wholly undeveloped, you do not expect to find here a metropolis like New York, but you do find here intelligence and progress, and every evidence of a brilliant future. The very fact of a man's settlement here is an evidence of his perseverance and enterprise. Let one hundred families leave New York or Boston

W. M. Butters.

with the intention of settling in the west. The first to settle will be the poorer class, who drop off in Wisconsin or Minnesota, or some point further south. Others becoming stranded, or disgusted by the 'Bad Lands' of Dakota will stop in the Western plain States, dropping off one by one until they reach the Rocky Mountains. But others more persevering and enterprising, or possessed of greater wealth, push to the westward limit, and thus reap the greatest reward of fine opportunities which our great continent affords."

WM. R. MCGARRY.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST.

WILLIAM M. BUTTERS.

WILLIAM M. BUTTERS is one of the representative pioneers who have contributed to the upbuilding of the business interests of Denver, Colorado. A native of the "Pine Tree State," he came to Denver in 1875, before the territory of Colorado had assumed the dignity of Statehood.

From the first he has been identified with the grocery business, in 1881 building a store at the corner of Broadway and second Avenue—the first establishment of its kind in Denver, south of Cherry Creek.

At that time the southern section of the city was but sparsely built up. Mr. Butters predicted a bright future for the South Side, and governed his business affairs in accordance with his faith, although at that time few believed with him, and an investment in property on the South Side was considered an error of judgement and an evidence of incapacity. When Mr. Butters crossed Cherry Creek to erect a building for his business, he was commonly characterized, with a sad shake of the head, as "another man gone wrong." But in a few years these predictions rebounded upon the heads of the false prophets, now tantalized by recollections of the opportunities they had despised when property on the South Side could be had for a trifle.

But a large share of the credit for the transformation of the newer Denver must be given to Mr. Butters, for he energetically and determinedly set himself to the task of realizing his own faith, and the influx of population to the South Side was largely due to his exertions and the moral influence of his example. With the growth of the community about him Mr. Butter's business thrived wonderfully. In 1868 he established a branch business—the canning of tomatoes and beans—which he conducted at the first in a back-room of his Broadway store. The experiment proved immediately successful, and

he saw the opportunity for an unlimited business. With his customary promptness and decision he sold out his grocery interests and organized the stock company known as the "Butters Manufacturing Company." The present large works at the corner of Bayard and South Eleventh Streets were erected in 1888, and the canning business regularly begun.

The same energy and ability which had conducted lesser enterprises was now directing this new business, and the same success was immediately achieved, but on a much larger scale. A branch concern was presently established at Topeka, Kansas, in the heart of one of the finest fruit growing sections in America. At this point the principal part of the jellies, preserves, fruit-butters, etc, are prepared, and shipped to the Denver Headquarters for distribution. Another branch establishment, including the salting works, was located at Brighton, Colorado, and made the center of the business of pickling and canning vegetables. The preparation of all manner of garden vegetables has been made a prominent part of the business, the needs of modern civilization, conspiring with advancement in methods of preservation, and facilities of transportation, having produced a condition of things whereby, throughout the world, may be enjoyed at all times and seasons the good things of Mother Earth which before had been available to man, only during the brief season of their nurture on her bosom.

The clientage of the Butters Company extends throughout Colorado and the adjoining States and Territories, and is gradually extending to the markets far beyond. Mr. William M. Butters is President and General Manager of the Company, the other officers being J. P. Van Wormer, Vice-President, John L. Daily, Treasurer, and W. F. Ripley Secretary.

HON. JOHN L. RUSSELL.

THE life of this man presents another striking instance of the enterprising Eastern boy, who, accepting in good faith Horace Greeley's oft-quoted injunction, "Young man, go west," became early identified with, and soon a recognized leader and important factor in the development of our great rich territory beyond the Mississippi. John L. Russell was born in Baltimore, Maryland, being descended from an old family of that State. He enjoyed the educational advantages which come to the ordinary well-bred city boy up to the age of sixteen; but he cherished aspirations and was possessed of energies of which the ordinary boy knows noth-

L. L. Russell

ing. He had confidence in his ability, unaided, to carve out for himself a career successful and honorable, and he early determined to venture the experiment.

Accordingly, in 1874, when only sixteen years of age, we find him pushing out from home toward the growing west. He settled first in Missouri, lived there three years, came to the conclusion that there was a still better field in which to work out his plans and so pushed on to the new town of Denver. This was in 1877. Colorado had been a State of the Union but a few months, and afforded to its settlers the usual trials and unusual opportunities of pioneer life. Young Russell engaged, in a small way, in horticulture and floriculture. At first thought a new country may not seem to offer a promising prospect for such a business, but this young man had the sagacity to choose a pursuit which would give him the inestimable advantage that always comes to the first in a new field.

As a matter of fact his business grew and expanded so rapidly that in a short time his patronage not merely extended to every part of Colorado, but spread into Montana, Wyoming, the Dakotas, Utah, Idaho, Arizona, Texas, New Mexico and even the older states of Kansas and Nebraska. With others, Mr. Russell organized the Colorado Nursery Company, with head-quarters at Myrtle Hill, and he became its Vice-President. He identified himself with the interests of South Denver, and since 1882 he has been one of the most active of the citizens engaged in developing that community. In the establishment of educational institutions and kindred interests he has been especially helpful.

He was one of the few energetic men who conceived and successfully executed the scheme of organizing a town corporation.

A Republican in politics, ever since he became a resident of Arrapahoe County, Mr. Russell has taken a live interest in, and has generously devoted his energies to the advancement of that party. For this reason, and because he enjoys the confidence of the people in the section of the country where he lives, and stands a representative man among them, he was nominated by his party in 1886, and elected to the General Assembly of Colorado. He served his term with credit to himself and his constituents, and in the Spring election of 1887, he was chosen in the local service of South Denver, being elected one of her Board of Trustees. He has ever since been consistently re-elected to this position, upon the expiration of his term in office.

Beginning business with no other capital than a thorough mastery of his chosen occupation, and the determination to succeed, Mr. Russell in a few years has built up one of the most extensive enterprises in Colorado. He stands in the very foremost rank of the florists of the United

States. The significance of this achievement needs no further comment than the mere remembrance that Mr. Russell has not yet reached the age of thirty-five—a point at which most men are only well launched upon their work, with the goal of success and eminence yet far beyond them.

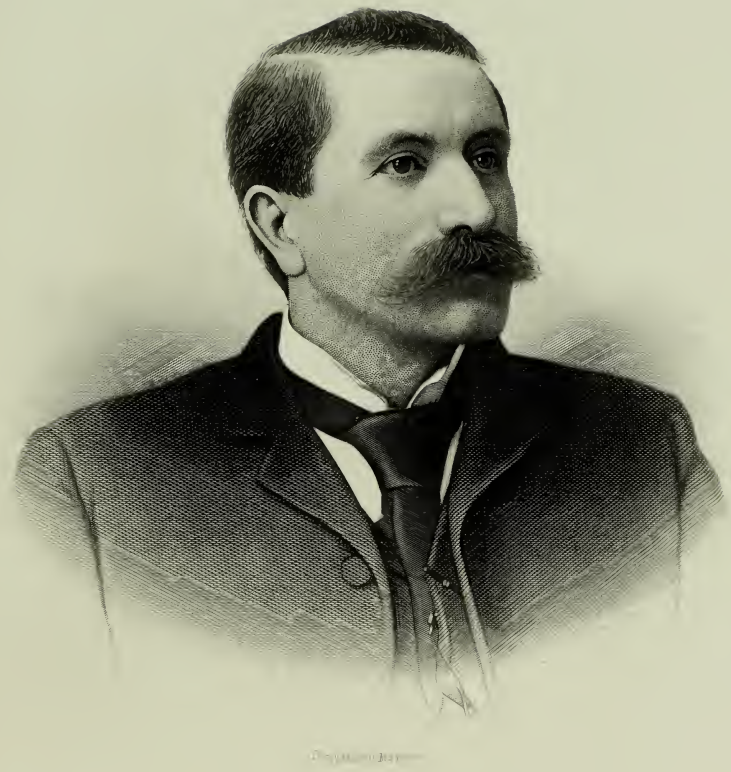
B. F. NIESZ.

B. F. Niesz, who has been intimately identified with the development of Denver, was born in Canton, Ohio, in 1842. He is of German-Quaker parentage and was reared on a farm, working throughout the summer months and during winter attending the ordinary country "district school." This course was followed until he reached the age of eighteen, when for several terms he attended Greensburgh Seminary. Later on he completed a full course at Mount Union College, graduating in 1870 and taking first honors in a class of twenty-eight.

Immediately after his graduation he was associated with two prominent Ohio educators in founding a new educational institution at Ada, Ohio—the Ohio Normal University. The school has since become one of the leading institutions of learning in Ohio, being attended by no less than a thousand students every term. While he was engaged in the Normal work, Mr. N. was married to a very estimable young lady—Miss Rosalie Schneider, of Kenton, Ohio, who, with her practical good sense has been a constant inspiration to him in all of his business undertakings.

Repeated efforts were made to induce Mr. Niesz to take charge of the graded schools at Kentland, Indiana, and he at length consented. For four years he was in charge of them and succeeded in bringing the Kentland schools to a high standard of excellence. During two years of his service in this capacity he also served as Superintendent of Schools of the county of Newton, Indiana, having the supervision of eighty-two schools. The failing health of members of his family forced him at length to resign these positions and seek another climate. In 1877, therefore, he located in Denver, where he has ever since remained.

Mr. Niesz began business with a wholesale and retail shoe establishment in the Evans Block, near Lawrence street, Denver. This was in September, 1877, and he continued in the business at this spot for eight years. He subsequently occupied quarters at the corner of Champa and Sixteenth streets, and located still later on Lawrence street near Six-



Benjamin A. Niesz

teenth. Selling out his establishment in 1887, Mr. Niesz has since been engaged in the real estate business in which he has been eminently successful. During the past five years he has operated very extensively, confining himself principally to properties along South Broadway, where he has laid out and platted many acres. Among the properties are Edgerton Place, Lawndale, West Broadway, Overland Park "Sub," the First Addition to Overland Park and Grant "Sub." A part of this last tract Mr. Niesz has retained for his own residence—a modest and unpretentious home, but bearing evidence of substantial comfort and convenience.

Mr. Niesz has been largely instrumental in securing the establishment in Denver of the large Cotton Mills, Woollen Mills, and the Woeber Brothers Car Works which furnish employment to upwards of four hundred men. He has also been interested in establishing a small community of comfortable workingmen's homes in close proximity to the employers' works, thus making it convenient and possible for whole families to obtain employment.

He has been for some time a director of the Denver Real Estate and Stock Exchange, having been re-elected to the position at the expiration of his first term. For the past two years he has been identified with the municipal affairs of South Denver, as a member of the Town Council. A short time ago he was re-elected as Trustee against great odds, and a strong combination of opposing circumstances. Mr. Niesz is a man of great public spirit and is in the foremost ranks of those engaged in promoting public improvement in Denver.

A. N. Towne.

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

CHARLES SUMNER, By Anna Laurens Dawes, New York, Dodd, Mead & Company, 1892, [Makers of America Series.]

This is a well written and interesting book. The subject is an eminently noteworthy one. Sumner had his bitter enemies; and his was the kind of temperament to make them. In passionate debate his excoriations of men could be frightfully intense and offensive: they were so severe that justice was too often wounded to death even in the case of the worst opponents, and thus the punishment intended was cheated of its end.

But Charles Sumner had—and still has—very ardent admirers. And who that desires to see the "Scholar in politics," will not be of the number, at least on this score? His biographer says of him at the outset, wisely and well: "Unlike Lincoln, Seward, Grant—whose deeds live after them, and whose great service can be expressed in idiomatic phrase—this man's work is hard to define, harder still to measure. But it is only a cheap and easy way out of the difficulty. A sort of blind thoroughfare in historical criticism, to say that we cannot yet determine his place in history; for in truth his service to our development is not hard to discover, whatever may be thought of its relative value."

Any contemplation of Sumner's career, no matter how cursory, will at once bring to mind two striking and painful events. The murderous, and really cowardly assault on him in the Senate Chamber; and his bitter opposition to General or President Grant, beginning with the San Domingo affair, It is a good test of a biographer's impartiality, or possession and exercise of the historical spirit—to observe how these incidents are treated. On the one hand the tendency would naturally be to render more dark and dastardly the unpardonably disgraceful rowdyism of the caning by Preston Brooks. On the other hand, loyalty to the subject of the book might tempt a derogatory view of Grant. This test the author of this book stands well. There is no abatement of the horror wherewith we must ever regard the act of the southern assassin, and his cowardice is clearly brought out. But then we are fairly made to look upon the provocation given by the polished but none the less envenomed shafts of Sumner's eloquence. His speech on "The Crime against Kansas": its very title as the writer truly remarks, "a dagger thrust," was exasperating enough, yet it was entitled to the "freedom of speech." But it is with much regret we learn that in the subsequent debates Sumner descended to such terms, in speaking of a fellow Senator, as these: "a noisome squat,

and nameless animal," who "in violation of all decency, switches out from his tongue the perpetual stench of offensive personality." After which to make sure the shot should go home, Sumner added: "The Senator has switched his tongue, and again he fills the Senate with his offensive odor." Billingsgate is sweet and gentle compared to such an outburst.

In the unhappy controversy with Grant, the author succeeds in placing both men before us in such a way, that while Sumner is seen to err, yet Grant's character is not lowered. By a careful detail of attending and preceding circumstances, their mutual misunderstandings of each other, are readily perceived, and amply explain how each conscientiously and therefore honorably was led to the extreme of antagonism. "Out of these and other different interpretations of a single interview, arose much of the difficulty" says the author. "It seemed as if some malign atmosphere enveloped the occasion, making all its details work together for destruction. Even its trivialities became crimes."

Sumner is a character eminently worthy of the study of the historical student. We heartily commend a book affording so just a weighing of that character.

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Maine Historical Society had its annual field day excursion on Sept. 9th and 10th. Friday afternoon was spent at old Fort Halifax in Winslow. In the evening a public meeting was held at Waterville, at which President Baxter read a valuable paper on Father Sebastian Raslè, the Jesuit missionary, who was killed at Norridgewock, in the attack on the Indian village by Harmon and Moulton in 1724. Rev. E. C. Cummings read a letter written at the same time by another Jesuit missionary, giving an account of Father Raslè's death. On Saturday, the 10th, the society, with invited guests, about one hundred in all, proceeded to the scene of this Indian village near the Madison and Norridgewock line. The granite Monument erected by Bishop Fenwick in 1833 is still standing, although injured by time and especially by relic hunters, Another interesting meeting was held on the banks of the Kennebec near the Indian spring, and a paper was read by Rev. C. F. Allen of Kennebunk, a native of Norridgewock. He described the location of the earlier Maine Jesuits, the early life of Raslè, his labors among the savages, his loyalty to France, the attempts against him, and finally his martyrdom. Father Raslè's strong box and other relics were exhibited.

The Minnesota State Historical Society held its first regular monthly meeting since last spring, Sept. 12, with ex-Governor Ramsey in the chair. Messrs. Mayo and Williams gave an interesting account of some valuable manuscripts given to the society by Col. John H. Stevens of Minneapolis. Judge Flandrau, chairman of the committee on the Columbian celebration reported that the committee had made arrangements for the celebration by this society of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of the new world. Hon. Henry W. Childs, assistant attorney general of Minnesota had been invited to be the orator on the occasion.

The New Hampshire Historical Society

held sway at The Weirs, Monday, Aug. 8th, and the ceremony of turning over the Endicott Rock Memorial to the State of New Hampshire attracted a large crowd. The memorial exercises were conducted in Music Hall, a few rods in the rear of which stands the handsome granite building erected by New Hampshire to protect and preserve the rock, which was marked just 240 years ago August 1, as the supposed northern boundary of Massachusetts. J. B. Walker presided. E. P. Jewell of Laconia, made a fine historical address, after which John Kimball, chairman of the commission, formally delivered the structure to the State. Governor Tuttle, who was present with his council, made a speech of acceptance.

The Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, has recently become the possessor of a fine building in which to store its valuable library and museum. It has a fine collection of original documents of great historical value, besides many interesting relics. Among other implements it rejoices in the possession of King Philip's war club, dating from 1665, and brought to the Reserve by an old Massachusetts family. The society at present has a membership of upwards of 300, and includes many of the most scholarly and able men in Ohio and the west.

The Fire Lands Historical Society was held at Norwalk, Ohio, on September 14th. It was particularly an old pioneers' meeting, for short speeches and reminiscences and experience. The special subject for consideration was the granting by the State of Connecticut of the Fire Lands to the sufferers by war and fire in the Connecticut valley during the revolutionary war. There was a short address on this subject by Hon. L. C. Laylin, of Norwalk, followed by brief talks by pioneers and others on the early history of the settlers of the Fire Lands.

The Ohio Historical Society (Columbus), under the active leadership of Secretary Graham, is arranging to have not less than a thousand views of historical points and interesting scenery along the Ohio River, taken for exhibition at the World's Fair. It is a good idea, worthy of every encouragement, and Mr. Graham has asked the co-operation of the World's Fair Executive Commissioners of the States, bordering on the Ohio, in executing the work. There is not time to prepare a complete panorama of the river, and the next best plan of exhibit would seem to be a series of well selected views, such as Mr. Graham proposes. It would be at once geographical, historical and artistic, and for such a work no river in the world presents better material than the "Beautiful River." The glorious events connected with the triumph of Croghan, Perry and Harrison will be freshened, in the minds of the present generation, by such an exhibit.

The Annual Meeting of the Bucks County Historical Society, (Pa.) was held at Pipersville, July 19th. Rev. D. K. Turner read a highly interesting paper on "The claim of Connecticut to Wyoming." In doing this, he traced the conflict of opinion between Connecticut and Pennsylvania for the possession of the richest portion of the celebrated Wyoming Valley, and called up the petty wars and bloodshed that grew out of it, in which Pennsylvania finally triumphed and had the title to her people assured. Few similar disputes in this country have attracted wider attention, or, at times, produced a more angry feeling. Henry C. Mercer read an elaborate paper on Tamenend's grave. It showed a thorough investigation of the subject—and, what he said, we think fully sustained the claim that this celebrated Indian chieftain died and was buried on the bank of the Neshaminy, near Spruce hill, in Doylestown township.

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